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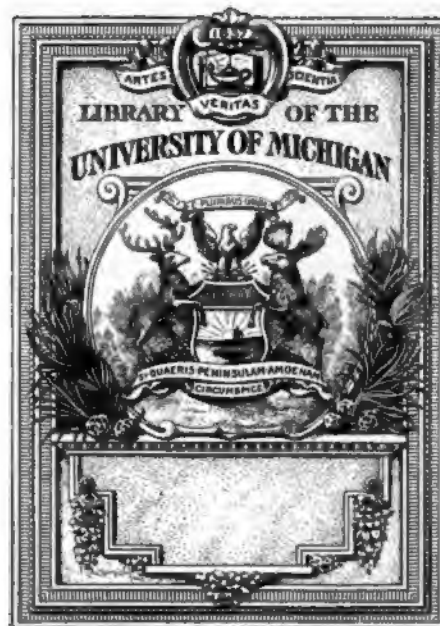
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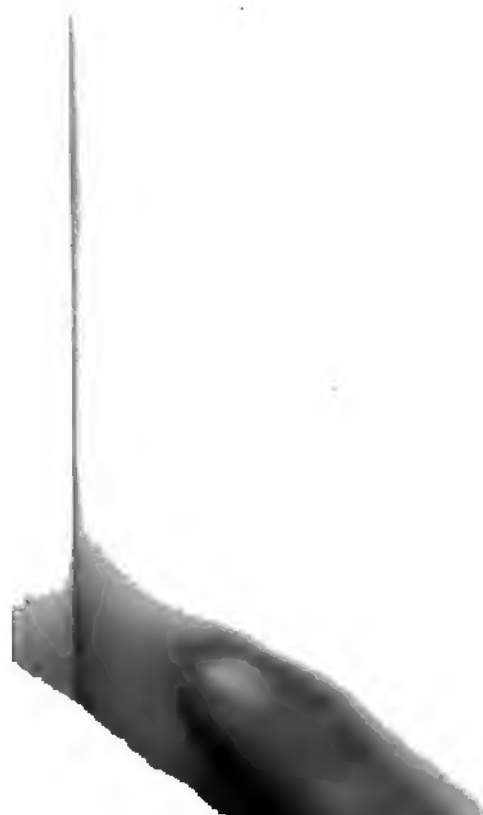
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Wm Walton



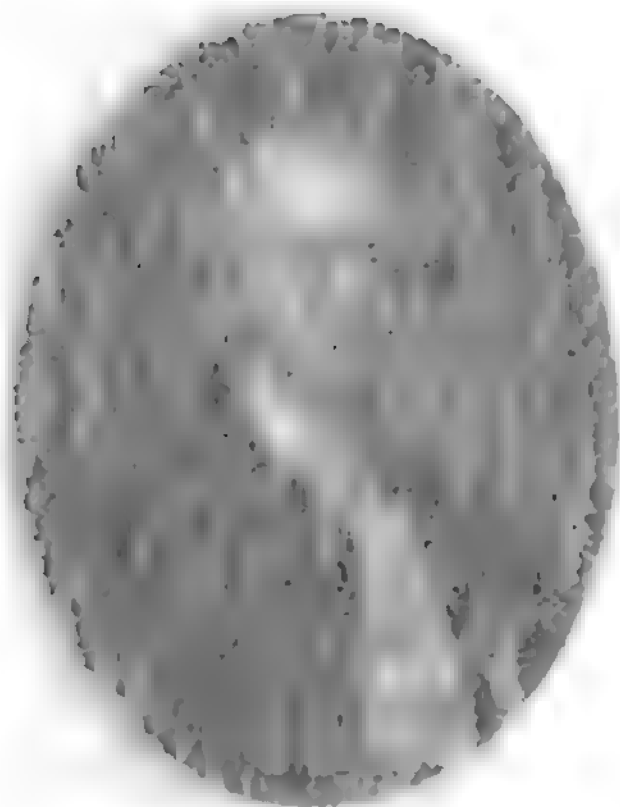
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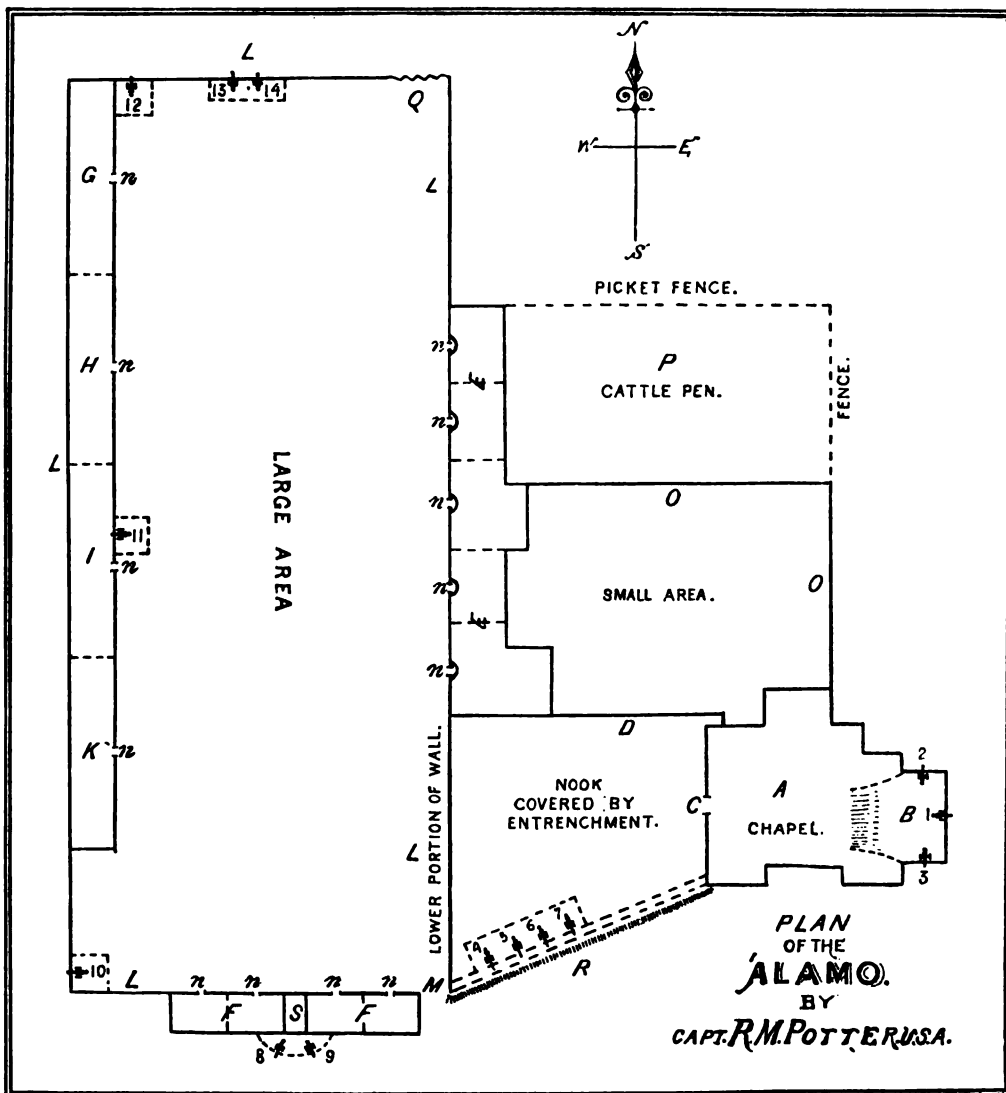
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# MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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## THE FALL OF THE ALAMO

THE fall of the Alamo, and the massacre of its garrison, which in 1836 opened the campaign of Santa Ana in Texas, caused a profound sensation throughout the United States, and is still remembered with deep feeling by all who take an interest in the history of that section, yet the details of the final assault have never been fully and correctly narrated, and wild exaggerations have taken their place in popular legend. The reason will be obvious when it is remembered that not a single combatant of the last struggle from within the fort survived to tell the tale, while the official reports of the enemy were neither circumstantial nor reliable. When horror is intensified by mystery, the sure product is romance. A trustworthy account of the assault could be compiled only by comparing and combining the verbal narratives of such of the assailants as could be relied on for veracity, and adding to this such lights as might be gathered from military documents of that period, from credible local information, and from any source more to be trusted than rumor. As I was a resident at Matamoros when the event occurred, and for several months after the invading army retreated thither, and afterwards resided near the scene of action, I had opportunities for obtaining the kind of information referred to better perhaps than have been possessed by any person now living outside of Mexico. I was often urged to publish what I had gathered on the subject, as thereby an interesting passage of history might be preserved. I consequently gave to the *San Antonio Herald* in 1860 an imperfect outline of what is contained in this article, and the communication was soon after printed in pamphlet form. Subsequently to its appearance, however, I obtained many additional and interesting details, mostly from Colonel Juan N. Seguin of San Antonio, who had been an officer of the garrison up to within six days of the assault. His death, of which I have since heard, no doubt took away the last of those who were soldiers of the Alamo when it was first invested. I now offer these sheets as a revision and enlargement of my article of 1860.

Before beginning the narrative, however, I must describe the Alamo



and its surroundings as they existed in the spring of 1836. San Antonio, then a town of about 7,000 inhabitants, had a Mexican population, a minority of which was well affected to the cause of Texas, while the rest were inclined to make the easiest terms they could with which ever side might be for the time being dominant. The San Antonio River, which, properly speaking, is a large rivulet, divided the town from the Alamo, the former on the west side and the latter on the east. The Alamo village, a small suburb of San Antonio, was south of the fort, or Mission, as it was originally called, which bore the same name. The latter was an old fabric, built during the first settlement of the vicinity by the Spaniards, and having been originally designed as a place of safety for the colonists and their property in case of Indian hostility, with room sufficient for that purpose, it had neither the strength, compactness nor dominant points which ought to belong to a regular fortification. The front of the Alamo Chapel bears date of 1757, but the other works must have been built earlier. As the whole area contained between two and three acres, a thousand men would have barely sufficed to man its defenses; and before a regular siege train they would soon have crumbled. Yoakum, in his history of Texas, is not only astray in his details of the assault, but mistaken about the measurement of the place. Had the works covered no more ground than he represents, the result of the assault might have been different.

From recollection of the locality, as I viewed it in 1841, I could in 1860 trace the extent of the outer walls, which had been demolished about thirteen years before the latter period. The dimensions here given are taken from actual measurement then made, and the accompanying diagram gives correct outlines, though without aiming at close exactitude of scale. The figure *A* in the diagram represents the chapel of the fort, 75 feet long, 62 wide and  $22\frac{1}{2}$  high, with walls of solid masonry, four feet thick. It was originally of but one story, and if it then had any windows below, they were probably walled up when the place was prepared for defense. *B* locates a platform in the east end of the chapel; *C* designates its door, and *D* marks a wall, 50 feet long and about 12 high, connecting the chapel with the long barrack, *E E*. The latter was a stone house of two stories, 186 feet long, 18 wide and 18 high. *F F* is a low, one story stone barrack, 114 feet long and 17 wide, having in the centre a *porte cochère*, *S*, which passed through it under the roof. The walls of these two houses were about thirty inches thick, and they had flat terrace roofs of beams and plank, covered with a thick coat of cement. *G H I K* were flat-roofed stone-walled rooms built

against the inside of the west barrier. *L L L L L* denote barrier walls, inclosing an area, 154 yards long and 54 wide, with the long barrack on the east and the low barrack on the south of it. These walls were  $2\frac{3}{4}$  feet thick, and from 9 to 12 high, except the strip which fronted the chapel, that being only four feet in height. This low piece of wall was covered by an oblique intrenchment, marked *R*, and yet to be described, which ran from the southwest angle of the chapel to the east end of the low barrack. *M* marks the place of a palisade gate at the west end of the intrenchment. The small letters (*n*) locate the doors of the several rooms which opened upon the large area. Most of those doors had within a semi-circular parapet for the use of marksmen, composed of a double curtain of hides, upheld by stakes and filled in with rammed earth. Some of the rooms were also loopholed. *O O* mark barrier walls, from 5 to 6 feet high and  $2\frac{3}{4}$  thick, which inclosed a smaller area north of the chapel and east of the long barrack. *P* designates a cattle yard east of the barrack and south of the small area; it was inclosed by a picket fence. *Q* shows the locality of a battered breach in the north wall.

The above described fort, if it merited that name was, when the siege commenced, in the condition for defense in which it had been left by the Mexican General Cos, when he capitulated in the fall of 1835. The chapel, except the west end and north projection, had been unroofed, the east end being occupied by the platform of earth *B*, 12 feet high, with a slope for ascension to the west. On its level were mounted three pieces of cannon. One (1), a 12-pounder, pointed east through an embrasure roughly notched in the wall; another (2) was aimed north through a similar notch, and another (3) fired over the wall to the south. High scaffolds of wood enabled marksmen to use the top of the roofless wall as a parapet. The intrenchment (*R*) consisted of a ditch and breastwork, the latter of earth packed between two rows of palisades, the outer row being higher than the earthwork. Behind it and near the gate was a battery of four guns (4 5 6 7), all 4-pounders, pointing south. The *porte cochère* through the low barrack was covered on the outside by a lunette of stockades and earth, mounted with two guns (8 9). In the southwest angle of the large area was an 18-pounder (10), in the centre of the west wall a twelve pound carronade (11), and in the northwest corner of the same area an 8-pounder (12) and east of this, within the north wall, two more guns of the same calibre (13 14). All the guns of this area were mounted on high platforms of stockades and earth, and fired over the walls. The several barriers were covered on the outside with a ditch,

except where such guard was afforded by the irrigating canal which flowed on the east and west sides of the fort, and served to fill the fosse with water.

Thus the works were mounted with fourteen guns, which agrees with Yoakum's account of their number, though Santa Ana in his report exaggerates it to twenty-one. The number, however, has little bearing on the merits of the final defense, with which cannon had very little to do. These guns were in the hands of men unskilled in their use, and owing to the construction of the works most of them had little width of range. Of the buildings above described, the chapel and the two barracks are probably still standing. They were repaired and newly roofed during the Mexican war for the use of the U. S. Quartermaster's department.

In the winter of 1835-6 Colonel Neill of Texas was in command of San Antonio, with two companies of volunteers, among whom was a remnant of New Orleans Greys, who had taken an efficient part in the siege and capture of the town about a year before. At this time the Provisional Government of Texas, which, though in revolt, had not yet declared a final separation from Mexico, had broken into a conflicting duality. The Governor and Council repudiated each other, and each claimed the obedience which was generally not given to either. Invasion was impending, and there seemed to be little more than anarchy to meet it. During this state of affairs Lieutenant-Colonel Wm. B. Travis, who had commanded the scouting service of the late campaign, and had since been commissioned with the aforesaid rank as an officer of regular cavalry, was assigned by the Governor to relieve Colonel Neill of the command of his post. The volunteers, who cared little for either of the two governments, wished to choose their own leader, and were willing to accept Travis only as second in command. They were, therefore, clamorous that Neill should issue an order for the election of a Colonel. To get over the matter without interfering with Travis' right, he prepared an order for the election of a Lieutenant-Colonel, and was about to depart, when his men, finding out what he had done, mobbed him, and threatened his life unless he should comply with their wishes. He felt constrained to yield, and on the amended order James Bowie was unanimously elected a full Colonel. He had been for several years a resident of Texas, and had taken a prominent part in the late campaign against Cos. His election occurred early in February, 1836, about two weeks before the enemy came in sight; and Travis, who had just arrived or came soon after, found Bowie in command of the garrison, and claiming by virtue

of the aforesaid election the right to command him and the re-enforcement he brought. They both had their headquarters at the Alamo, where their men were quartered, and there must have been a tacit understanding on both sides that conflict of authority should as far as possible be avoided. This, however, could not have continued many days but for the common bond of approaching peril.

Travis brought with him a company of regular recruits, enlisted for the half regiment of cavalry which the Provisional Government had intended to raise. J. N. Seguin, a native of San Antonio, who had been commissioned as the senior Captain of Travis' corps, joined him at the Alamo, and brought into the garrison the skeleton of his company, consisting of nine Mexican recruits, natives, some of the town aforesaid and others of the interior of Mexico. The aforesaid company and squad of enlisted men and the two companies of volunteers under Bowie formed the garrison of the Alamo, which then numbered from an hundred and fifty-six to an hundred and sixty. Of these the volunteers comprised considerably more than half, and over two thirds of the whole were men who had but recently arrived in the country. Seguin and his nine recruits were all that represented the Mexican population of Texas. Of that nine seven fell in the assault, the Captain and two of his men having been sent out on duty before that crisis. David Crocket, of Tennessee, who had a few years before represented a squatter constituency in Congress, where his oratory was distinguished for hard sense and rough grammar, had joined the garrison a few weeks before, as had also J. B. Bonham, Esq., of South Carolina, who had lately come to volunteer in the cause of Texas, and was considered one of the most chivalrous and estimable of its supporters. I pair them, a rough gem and a polished jewel, because their names are among the best known of those who fell; but I am not aware that either of them had any command.

The main army of operation against Texas moved from Laredo upon San Antonio in four successive detachments. This was rendered necessary by the scarcity of pasture and water on certain portions of the route. The lower division, commanded by Brigadier-General Urrea, moved from Matamoras on Goliad by a route near the coast, and a short time after the fall of the Alamo achieved the capture and massacre of Fannius' command.

The advance from Laredo, consisting of the Dragoon Regiment of Delores and three battalions of infantry, commanded by Santa Ana in person, arrived at San Antonio on the afternoon of February 22d. No

regular scouting service seems to have been kept up from the post of Bowie and Travis, owing probably to division and weakness of authority, for though the enemy was expected, his immediate approach was not known to many of the inhabitants till the advance of his dragoons was seen descending the slope west of the San Pedro. A guard was kept in town with a sentinel on the top of the church, yet the surprise of the population was so nearly complete that one or more American residents engaged in trade fled to the Alamo, leaving their stores open. The garrison, however, received more timely notice, and the guard retired in good order to the fort. The confusion at the Alamo, which for the time being was great, did not impede a prompt show of resistance. In the evening, soon after the enemy entered the town, a shot from the 18-pounder of the fort was answered by a shell from the invaders, and this was followed by a parley, of which different accounts have been given. According to Santa Ana's official report, after the shell was thrown, a white flag was sent out by the garrison with an offer to evacuate the fort if allowed to retire unmolested and in arms, to which reply was made that no terms would be admitted short of an unconditional surrender. Seguin, however, gave me a more reliable version of the affair. He related that after the firing a parley was sounded and a white flag raised by the invaders. Travis was not inclined to respond to it, but Bowie, without consulting him, and much to his displeasure, sent a flag of truce to demand what the enemy wanted. Their General, with his usual duplicity, denied having sounded a parley or raised a flag, and informed the messenger that the garrison could be recognized only as rebels, and be allowed no other terms than a surrender at discretion. When informed of this, Travis harangued his men and administered to them an oath that they would resist to the last.

The officers obtained a supply of corn, and added to their stock of beef after the enemy entered the town. On the same day a well, which a fatigue party had been digging within the walls, struck a fine vein of water. This was fortunate; for the irrigating canal, which flowed past the foot of the wall, was shortly after cut off by the enemy. The investment had not yet commenced, nor was the firing, I think, renewed that evening, and the few citizens who had taken refuge in the fort succeeded in leaving it during the night if not earlier.

On the night of the 22d of February the enemy planted two batteries on the west side of the river, one bearing west and the other southwest from the Alamo, with a range which no houses then obstructed. They were the next day silenced by the fire of the 18-pounder of

the fort, but were restored to activity on the following night. On the 24th another body of Mexican troops, a regiment of cavalry and three battalions of infantry arrived; and then the fort was invested and a regular siege commenced, which, counting from that day till the morning of the 6th of March, occupied eleven days. By the 27th seven more besieging batteries were planted, most of them on the east side of the river, and bearing on the northwest, southwest and south of the fort; but there were none on the east. As that was the only direction in which the garrison would be likely to attempt retreat, Santa Ana wished to leave a temptation to such flitting, while he prepared to intercept it by forming his cavalry camp on what is now called the Powder House Hill, east of the Alamo.

During the first few days occasional sallies were made by the garrison to obstruct the enemy's movements and burn houses which might cover them. The operations of the siege, which, omitting the final assault, are probably given correctly in Yoakum's History of Texas, consisted of an active but rather ineffective cannonade and bombardment, with occasional skirmishing by day and frequent harrassing alarms at night, designed to wear out the garrison with want of sleep. No assault was attempted, though it has been so asserted, till the final storming took place. The enemy had no siege train, but only light field pieces and howitzers, yet a breach was opened in the northern barrier, *Q*, near the northeast angle, and the chapel was the only building that withstood the cannonade firmly, as the balls often went clean through the walls of the others. Yet when I saw them unrepaired five years later, they seemed less battered than might have been expected.

The stern resistance which had sprung up in the demoralized band within, and the comparative unity and order which must have come with it, were ushered in by a scene which promised no such outcome. The first sight of the enemy created as much confusion with as little panic at the Alamo as might be expected among men who had known as little of discipline as they did of fear. Mr. Lewis, of San Antonio, informed me that he took refuge for a few hours in the fort when the invaders appeared, and the disorder of the post beggared description. Bowie with a detachment was engaged in breaking open deserted houses in the neighborhood and gathering corn, while another squad was driving cattle into the inclosure east of the long barrack. Some of the volunteers, who had sold their rifles to obtain the means of dissipation, were clamoring for guns of any kind; and the rest, though in arms, appeared to be mostly without orders or a capacity for obedience. No "army in Flanders" ever swore harder. He saw but one officer who

seemed to be at his proper post and perfectly collected. This was an Irish Captain, named Ward, who though generally an inveterate drunkard, was now sober, and stood quietly by the guns of the south battery ready to use them. Yet amid the disorder of that hour no one seemed to think of flight; the first damaging shock, caused by the sight of the enemy, must have been cured by the first shell that he threw; and the threat conveyed by Santa Ana's message seems to have inspired a greater amount of discipline than those men had before been thought capable of possessing. The sobered toper who stood coolly by his guns was the first pustule which foretold a speedy inoculation of the whole mass with that qualification.

The conflict of authority between Bowie and Travis, owing probably to the caution in which neither was deficient, had luckily produced no serious collision; and it was perhaps as fortunate that, at about the second day of the siege, the rivalry was cut short by a prostrating illness of the former, when Bowie was stricken by an attack of pneumonia, which would probably have proved fatal had not its blow been anticipated by the sword. This left Travis in undisputed command.

The investment was not too rigid to admit of the successful exit of couriers by night, and one or two had been sent out, since the enemy appeared, with letters to Colonel Fannin, at Goliad, asking for aid. On the 29th of February it was resolved to send an officer, who in addition to bearing dispatches, might make his own influence and information available to accomplish the object of his mission. Captain Seguin was recommended by most of the officers; for as he was of Spanish race and language, and well acquainted with the surrounding country, it was thought that he would be more likely than any one of his rank to succeed in passing the enemy's lines. Travis wished to retain him in the garrison, but at a council of war, held on the night of the 29th, he yielded to the wishes of the majority. That night Seguin and his orderly, Antonio Cruz Oroche, prepared for the sally. Another of his Mexican recruits, named Alexandro de la Garza, had already been sent as a courier to the Provisional Government. Having no horse or equipments for himself, the Captain requested and obtained those of Bowie, who was already so ill that he hardly recognized the borrower. To him and the rest Seguin bade what proved to be a last adieu, and sallying from the postern on the northern side, took the high road to the east. As might be expected the rank and file had begun to look with jealousy on any departure from within, though of but one or two; and when Seguin produced the order which was to pass him and his orderly out, the sentinel at the

postern began a rude comment; but a few words from the Captain, intimating that his errand was one which might bring safety, at once soothed the rough soldier, who bade him God speed.

The road which the two horsemen took passed near the cavalry camp of the enemy, and where it crossed their lines was stationed a guard of dragoons, who were then resting, dismounted. Seguin and his man rode leisurely up towards them, responding in Spanish to the hail of their sentinel, that they were countrymen. They were doubtless taken for Mexican rancheros of that neighborhood, and seemed to be riding up to report, but when near enough for a bold start they dashed past the guard at full speed. The hurried fire of the troopers was ineffective, and before they were in the saddle the fugitives, who were both well mounted, were far ahead. The latter then took to the bush and made good their escape. The next day Seguin met an officer from Fannin's post, who informed him that his mission would be wholly unavailing, and advised him to join the camp then forming at Gonzales, which he did.

On the following night, the 1st of March, a company of thirty-two men from Gonzales made its way through the enemy's lines, and entered the Alamo never again to leave it. This must have raised the force to 188 men or thereabout, as none of the original number of 156 had fallen.

On the night of the 3d of March, Travis sent out another courier with a letter of that date to the government, which reached its destination. In that last dispatch he says, "With an hundred and forty-five men I have held this place ten days against a force variously estimated from 1,500 to 6,000, and I shall continue to hold it till I get relief from my countrymen or I will perish in the attempt. We have had a shower of bombs and cannon balls continually falling among us the whole time, yet none of us have fallen. We have been miraculously preserved." As this was but two days and three nights before the final assault, it is quite possible that not a single defender was stricken down till the fort was stormed. At the first glance it may seem almost farcical that there should be no more result from so long a fire, which was never sluggish; but if so, this was a stage on which farce was soon to end in tragedy, and those two elements seem strangely mingled through the whole contest. But the fact above referred to was not really farcical, however singular, and it serves merely to illustrate the mysterious doctrine of chance. It must have tended to uphold the determination of men in a situation where the favor of luck is so apt to be accepted as the shielding of Providence. Travis, when he said, "we have been miraculously preserved," no doubt



expressed a sincere feeling, in which his companions shared; for such fancies are apt to take a strong contagious hold of men who stand day after day unharmed within a step of death: it is a time when the fierce, profane and dissolute often begin for the first time to look upward. It is worthy of note, that although the readiness of couriers to go out indicates a consciousness that the chance of life was at least as good without as within, we know not of a single case of night flitting. Brute bravery or reckless despair would hardly have produced this without some exceptions. The incident of the sentinel at the postern probably showed what were prevailing traits—scorn of desertion with readiness for hope. In many a rough bosom that hope had probably a new and half-comprehended faith under it. Though the hope was disappointed, I trust that the faith was not all in vain.

In stating the force of the garrison during the previous ten days Travis did not include the little reinforcement which had come in only two days before; yet, as he mentions but 145, while the garrison is known to have numbered 156 when the enemy appeared, he must have rated eleven as ineffective or absent. A part of them may have been counted out as departed couriers, and the rest had perhaps sunk under the fatigue of duty. Had there been any wounded he would probably have referred to them.

On the 4th of March Santa Ana called a council of war, and fixed on the morning of the 6th for the final assault. The besieging force now around the Alamo, comprising all the Mexican troops which had yet arrived, consisted of the two dragoon regiments of Dolores and Tampico, which formed a brigade, commanded by General Andrade, two companies or batteries of artillery under Colonel Ampudia, and six battalions of infantry, namely, Los Zapadores (engineer troops), Jimenes, Guerrero, Matamoros, Toluca and Tres Villas. These six battalions of foot were to form the storming forces. The order for the attack, which I have read, but have no copy of, was full and precise in its details, and was signed by General Amador, as Chief of Staff. The infantry were directed at a certain hour between midnight and dawn to form at convenient distances from the fort in four columns of attack and a reserve. These dispositions were not made by battalions, for the light companies of all were incorporated with the Zapadores to form the reserve, and other transpositions were made. A certain number of scaling ladders, axes and fascines were to be borne by particular columns. A commanding officer, with a second to replace him in case of accident, was named, and a point of attack designated for each column. The

cavalry were to be stationed at suitable points around the fort to cut off fugitives. From what I have learned from men engaged in the assault, it seems that these dispositions were modified before it was carried out so as to combine the five bodies of infantry, including the reserve, into only three columns of attack, thus leaving no actual reserve but the cavalry. The immediate direction of the assault seems to have been intrusted to General Castrillon, a Spaniard by birth and a brilliant soldier. Santa Ana took his station, with a part of his staff and all the bands of music, at a battery, about 500 yards south of the Alamo and near the old bridge, from which post a signal was to be given by a bugle note for the columns to move simultaneously at double-quick time against the fort. One, consisting of Los Zapadores, Toluca and the light companies, and commanded by Castrillon, was to rush through the breach on the north; another, consisting of the battalion of Jimenes and other troops, and commanded by General Cos, was to storm the chapel; and a third, whose leader I do not recollect, was to scale the west barrier. Cos, who had evacuated San Antonio a year before under capitulation, was assigned to the most difficult point of attack, probably to give him an opportunity to retrieve his standing. By the timing of the signal it was calculated that the columns would reach the foot of the wall just as it should become sufficiently light for good operation.

When the hour came the south guns of the Alamo were answering the batteries which fronted them, but the music was silent till the blast of a bugle was followed by the rushing tramp of soldiers. The guns of the fort opened upon the moving masses, and Santa Ana's bands struck up the assassin note of *deguello*, or no quarter. But a few and not very effective discharges of cannon from the works could be made before the enemy were under them, and it was probably not till then that the worn and wearied garrison was fully mustered. Castrillon's column arrived first at the foot of the wall, but was not the first to enter. The guns of the north, where Travis commanded in person, probably raked the breach, and this or the fire of the riflemen brought the column to a disordered halt, and Colonel Duque, who commanded the battalion of Toluca, fell dangerously wounded; but while this was occurring the column from the west crossed the barrier on that side by escalade at a point north of the centre; and as this checked resistance at the north, Castrillon shortly after passed the breach. It was probably while the enemy was thus pouring into the large area that Travis fell at his post, for his body, with a single shot in the forehead, was found beside the gun at the north-west angle. The outer walls and batteries, all except one gun, of which

I will speak, were now abandoned by the defenders. In the meantime Cos had again proved unlucky. His column was repulsed from the chapel, and his troops fell back in disorder behind the old stone stable and huts that stood south of the southwest angle. There they were soon rallied and led into the large area by General Amador. I am not certain as to his point of entrance, but he probably followed the escalade of the column from the west.

This all passed within a few minutes after the bugle sounded. The garrison when driven from the thinly manned outer defences, whose early loss was inevitable, took refuge in the buildings before described, but mainly in the long barrack, and it was not till then, when they became more concentrated and covered within, that the main struggle began. They were more concentrated as to space, not as to unity of command, for there was no communicating between buildings, nor in all cases between rooms. There was little need of command, however, to men who had no choice left but to fall where they stood before the weight of numbers. There was now no retreating from point to point, and each group of defenders had to fight and die in the den where it was brought to bay. From the doors, windows and loopholes of the several rooms around the area the crack of the rifle and the hiss of the bullet came fierce and fast; as fast the enemy fell and recoiled in his first efforts to charge. The gun beside which Travis fell was now turned against the buildings, as were also some others, and shot after shot was sent crashing through the doors and barricades of the several rooms. Each ball was followed by a storm of musketry and a charge, and thus room after room was carried at the point of the bayonet, when all within them died fighting to the last. The struggle was made up of a number of separate and desperate combats, often hand to hand, between squads of the garrison and bodies of the enemy. The bloodiest spot about the fort was the long barrack and the ground in front of it, where the enemy fell in heaps.

Before the action reached this stage, the turning of Travis' gun by the assailants was briefly imitated by a group of the defenders. "A small piece on a high platform," as it was described to me by General Bradburn, was wheeled by those who manned it against the large area after the enemy entered it. Some of the Mexican officers thought it did more execution than any gun which fired outward; but after two effective discharges it was silenced, when the last of its cannoneers fell under a shower of bullets. I cannot locate this gun with certainty, but it was probably the twelve-pound carronade which fired over the centre

of the west wall from a high commanding position. The smallness assigned to it perhaps referred only to its length. According to Mr. Ruiz, then the Alcalde of San Antonio, who, after the action, was required to point out the slain leaders to Santa Ana, the body of Crocket was found in the west battery just referred to, and we may infer that he either commanded that point or was stationed there as a sharp-shooter. The common fate overtook Bowie in his bed in one of the rooms of the low barrack, when he probably had but a few days of life left in him, yet he had enough remaining, it is said, to shoot down with his pistols more than one of his assailants ere he was butchered on his couch. If he had sufficient strength and consciousness left to do it, we may safely assume that it was done.

The chapel, which was the last point taken, was carried by a *coup de main* after the fire of the other buildings was silenced. Once the enemy in possession of the large area, the guns of the south could be turned to fire into the door of the church, only from fifty to an hundred yards off, and that was probably the route of attack. The inmates of this last stronghold, like the rest, fought to the last, and continued to fire down from the upper works after the enemy occupied the floor. A Mexican officer told of seeing one of his soldiers shot in the crown of the head during this *mélée*. Towards the close of the struggle Lieutenant Dickenson, with his child in his arms, or, as some accounts say, tied to his back, leaped from the east embrasure of the chapel, and both were shot in the act. Of those he left behind him, the bayonet soon gleaned what the bullet had left, and in the upper part of that edifice the last defender must have fallen. The morning breeze which received his parting breath probably still fanned his flag above that fabric, for I doubt not he fell ere it was pulled down by the victors.

The Alamo had fallen; but the impression it left on the invader was the forerunner of San Jacinto. It is a fact not often remembered, that Travis and his band fell under the Mexican Federal flag of 1824, instead of the Lone Star of Texas, although Independence, unknown to them, had been declared by the new Convention four days before at Washington, on the Brazos. They died for a Republic of whose existence they never knew. The action, according to Santa Ana's report, lasted thirty minutes. It was certainly short, and possibly no longer time passed between the moment the enemy entered the breach and that when resistance died out. The assault was a task which had to be carried out quickly or fail. Some of the incidents which have to be related separately occurred simultaneously, and all occupied very little time.

The account of the assault which Yoakum and others have adopted as authentic is evidently one which popular tradition has based on conjecture. By a rather natural inference it assumes that the inclosing walls, as in the case of regular forts, were the principal works, and that in storming these the main conflict took place. The truth was, these extensive barriers formed in reality nothing more than the outworks, speedily lost, while the buildings within constituted the citadel and the scene of sternest resistance. Yoakum's assertion that Santa Ana, during the height of the conflict, was under the works, urging on the escalade in person, is exceedingly fabulous. Castrillon, not Santa Ana, was the soul of the assault. The latter remained at his south battery, viewing the operations from the corner of a house which covered him, till he supposed the place was nearly mastered, when he moved up towards the Alamo, escorted by his aids and bands of music, but turned back on being greeted by a few shots from the upper part of the chapel. He however entered the area towards the close of the scene, and directed some of the last details of the butchery. It cannot be denied that Santa Ana in the course of his career showed occasional fits of dashing courage, but he did not select this field for an exhibition of that quality. About the time the area was entered a few men, cut off from inward retreat, leaped from the barriers and attempted flight, but were all sabred or speared by the cavalry except one, who succeeded in hiding himself under a small bridge of the irrigating ditch. There he was discovered and reported a few hours after by some laundresses engaged in washing near the spot. He was executed. Half an hour or more after the action was over a few men were found concealed in one of the rooms under some mattresses. General Houston, in his letter of the 11th, says as many as seven, but I have generally heard them spoken of as only four or five. The officer to whom the discovery was first reported entreated Santa Ana to spare their lives; but he was sternly rebuked, and the men ordered to be shot, which was done. Owing to the hurried manner in which the mandate was obeyed, and the confusion prevailing at the moment, a Mexican soldier was accidentally killed with them. A negro belonging to Travis, the wife of Lieutenant Dickenson, who at the time was *enceinte*, and a few Mexican women with their children, were the only inmates of the fort whose lives were spared. The massacre involved no women and but one child. Lieutenant Dickenson commanded the gun at the east embrasure of the chapel. His family was probably in one of the small vaulted rooms of the north projection, which will account for his being able to take his child to the rear of the building when it

was being stormed. An irrigating canal ran below the embrasure, and his aim may have been to break the shock of his leap by landing in the mud of that waterless ditch, and then try to escape, or he may have thought that so striking an act would plead for his life; but the shower of bullets which greeted him told how vain was the hope. The authenticity of this highly dramatic incident has been questioned, but it was asserted from the first, and was related to me by an eye-witness engaged in the assault.<sup>1</sup>

It was asserted on the authority of one of the women, that while the church was being stormed, Major Evans, the Master of Ordnance, rushed with a torch or burning match towards the magazine of the fort to fire it, when he was shot down before his object was accomplished. It may seem unlikely that any of the women would be in a position to witness such an incident, but they may have been put into the magazine as a place most sheltered from the enemy's shots. The powder was probably stored in the little vaulted room on the north of the chapel, which I have just referred to.<sup>2</sup>

There were two officers of the name just mentioned in the garrison of the Alamo, Major Robert Evans, Master of Ordnance, an Irishman, and Captain J. B. Evans, of Texas, a nephew of General Jacob Brown, who formerly commanded the United States army.

I must now endeavor to approximate as nearly as can be done by inference, for I have no direct data, to the number of troops engaged in the assault and the amount of their loss; matters which have been the subject of absurd perversion on both sides. The old popular tale of Texas that the Alamo was stormed by ten thousand men, of whom a thousand or more were killed, shows how rapidly legend may grow up even in this age, and the belief which has been given to it is worthy of an era when miracles were considered frequent. The entire force with which Santa Ana invaded Texas in 1836, and which after his defeat he rated at 6,000 men, probably amounted to 7,500 or 8,500, as it consisted of seventeen corps, viz.; three regiments of horse and fourteen battalions of foot. It is proper here to observe that the Mexicans apply the term regiment only to cavalry corps; a Colonel's command of infantry being always called a battalion. The nominal complement of a regiment or battalion is 1,500; but I never heard of one that was full, and seldom saw one during my long residence in Mexico that contained as much as a third of that number. I doubt if it is considered convenient ever to swell one to over 500 men; for the host of officers who have sufficient influence to obtain commands can be supplied only by keeping up the

number of corps at the expense of their fullness. I saw all the corps composing the said army when it retreated from Texas to Matamoras after the campaign of 1836, and from the size of those which had not been in action, as well as from the remaining bulk of those which had suffered, after allowing for probable loss, I am convinced that their average strength when they entered Texas was short of 500 men each, and that the smaller of the two amounts I have assigned to the aggregate is most likely to be true.

This estimate applies especially to the six battalions of infantry which formed the assaulting force of the Alamo. They may possibly have numbered 3,000 men, but from the best information and inference I have been able to gather, I believe that their aggregate did not exceed and may have fallen short of 2,500. Santa Ana's invariable practice was to exaggerate his force before an action, by way of threat, and to underrate it after, whether to excuse defeat or magnify victory; and in accordance with this trickery, in his report of the taking of the Alamo, he sets down his storming force at 1,400, his loss of 60 killed and 300 wounded, and the number of the garrison all told and all killed at 600. Where the slaughter was wrought by good fire arms in good hands at close quarters there would hardly be such disparity between the number of killed and wounded. The probability is that he struck off an even thousand from the round numbers of the assaulters and a hundred or two from the number of his killed; while he made out as big a butchery of rebels as Mexican credulity would swallow. If we correct his falsification on this assumption, he had in the assault 2,400, and lost in killed and wounded 460 or 560. Anselmo Borgara, a Mexican, who first reported the fall of the Alamo to General Houston, at Gonzalez, having left San Antonio the evening after it occurred, stated that the assaulting force amounted to 2,300 men, of whom 521 were killed and as many wounded. He had probably found means of ascertaining with approximate correctness the number of infantry at San Antonio; but his report of the loss has evidently acquired its bulk by the process of doubling. Neither Mexican troops nor any others are apt to take forts with a loss of more than two-fifths of their number. He had probably heard of 521 as the total of killed and wounded, and then converted the whole into the former and supposed an equal amount of the latter. The odd numbers attached to the hundreds, and the limits which probability would assign to a large loss, favor the belief that he had heard the result of an actual count of the whole deficit. This analysis of falsehood may not be a very sure way of finding out truth, but it is not without value when it

has some corroboration. The Mexican officers captured at San Jacinto, including Santa Ana's secretary, as I was told by Colonel Seguin, were generally of the opinion that the loss at the Alamo in killed and wounded was about 500. Some rated it lower and others higher; and one, but only one, went as high as 700. The opinions of such enlisted men as I have conversed with were about the same as those of the officers, ranging from four to six hundred. Nothing is more apt to make an exaggerated impression on the casual view than a field of slaughter, and I think that the higher of the above estimates may be errors of that kind. General Bradburn, who was at the scene of action soon after it occurred, believed that the eventual loss to the service (killed and disabled for life) would be 300. This I consider equivalent to 500 killed and wounded; and it is my opinion that the Mexican loss at the Alamo differed little from that number.

Now if 500 men were bullet stricken by 180 in half an hour or little more, it was a rapidity of bloodshed which needs no exaggeration, but it may require strong proofs to save it from the imputation of fiction, for defenders of better forts than the Alamo seldom slay many times more than their own number, unless they possess extraordinary means or opportunities for destruction. The slaughter was not in this case the carnage of unresisted pursuit, like that of San Jacinto, nor the sweeping havoc of cannon under favorable circumstances, like that of Sandusky. The main element of defense was the individual valor and skill of men who had few advantages of fortification, ordnance, discipline or command. All their deficiencies, which were glaring, serve only to enhance the merit of individuality, in which no veterans could have excelled them. It required no ordinary bravery, even in greatly superior numbers, to overcome a resistance so determined. The Mexican troops displayed more of it in this assault than they have done on almost any other occasion; but it must be remembered that better troops than those of Santa Ana always fail under loss as heavy as romance often assigns to the assailants of the Alamo.

If we owe to departed heroes the duty of preserving their deeds from oblivion, we ought to feel as strongly that of defending their memory against the calumnious effect of false eulogy, which in time might cause their real achievements to be doubted.<sup>3</sup>

Santa Ana, when he marched on Texas, counted on finding a fortified position at or near San Antonio, but supposed it would be at the Mission of Concepcion, an old church, two miles below the town. That strong building, with the aid of obedience and labor, might have been con-



verted into a tenable fort, not too large to be manned by the garrison of the Alamo. An assault made there by even a larger force than that which captured the other fort might have met with a bloody repulse; which would have led to the rescue of the garrison and changed the character of the campaign, which in that event would probably have been terminated west of the Guadalupe. But such a transfer of garrison and armament was impossible in the state of discipline and command which the foregoing narrative shows to have existed.

A military lesson, though not a new one, may be derived from the fall of the Alamo. Among the essential qualities of a soldier we must consider not only the discipline and subordination that blends him with the mass in which the word of command moves him, but also the individual self-reliance and efficiency which may restore the battle even after the mass is broken. From the lack of the former quality the men of the Alamo were lost; by their possession of the latter they became in the last struggle as formidable as veterans, and died gloriously; and in a better position they would have been saved by it. Though the latter quality depends more on nature than the former, it admits of development, and the perfection of training neglects neither.

Neither Travis nor Bowie had much of the experience or instruction of the soldier, and they were the reverse of each other in certain antecedents and outward traits. The latter in his youth had been noted for daring in bloody personal feuds, and his name has attached to it a characteristic memento in the designation of a homicidal knife, whose pattern he originated. Travis, though ambitious and not backward in revolutionary movements, had been in civil life habitually cautious in avoiding broils and personal collisions, so much so that the rougher class of his cotemporaries took for signs of timidity what I believe merely indicated a cool temper and guarded deportment. That he was deficient in courage is contradicted, not only by the closing scenes of his life and his heroic death, but by the testimony of one who had the best opportunity of judging. Colonel Seguin, who was frequently with him under fire, not only on the works, but in the early sallies of the siege, was convinced that Travis possessed a high degree of constitutional bravery.

The garrison of the Alamo, in personal character, was made up of diverse elements, whose relative proportions cannot now be ascertained. The ruffian, filibuster type, men whose death alone redeemed their life, of course comprised no small part of it, but with them stood also those who, like the band from Gonzales, were fighting for near homes, where their kindred dwelt; and among the new comers was perhaps an

equal number of honorable men, who, like Bonham and Crocket, had an honest faith and generous zeal in the cause they espoused. There were probably few among the lowest of that garrison who lacked the redeeming trait of bravery, and among men of that character common danger is sure to bring out the better qualities in all who share it. When no enemy was in sight the bad element showed its numerical strength, but when peril came over all, the good asserted its power, and the evil in a measure assimilated to it. It requires no stretch of charity then to believe that many a rough wight whose highest aspirations had heretofore been for plunder felt a thrill akin to that of the patriot when he died for a land which he could not yet claim as his own.

Of the details contained in my former brief publication and in this article, I obtained many from General Bradburn, who arrived at San Antonio I think two days after the action, and gathered many of its particulars from officers who were in it, one of whom went over the ground with him.<sup>4</sup> A few incidents I had through a friend from General Amador. Others I received from three intelligent sergeants, one of whom, Sergeant Becero, I have already mentioned. They were men of fair education, and I think truthful witnesses. From men of their class I could generally get more candid statements as to loss and relative strength than from commissioned officers. I also gathered some minor particulars from local tradition of a reliable kind, preserved among the residents of San Antonio. When some of the details earliest learned were acquired I had not seen the locality, and hence I afterwards had to locate some of the occurrences by inference, which I have done as carefully as possible. After my publication of 1860, as already mentioned, I obtained some additional information from Colonel Seguin<sup>5</sup> and Mr. Lewis of San Antonio. The former had had better facilities than any one else in the service of Texas for obtaining and comparing the statements of Mexican officers captured at San Jacinto. These new lights enabled me to correct some errors and many omissions in regard to the fort, its armament and garrison, as well as the siege and assault.

The stranger will naturally inquire where lie the heroes of the Alamo, and Texas can reply only by a silent blush. A few hours after the action the bodies of the slaughtered garrison were gathered by the victors, laid in three heaps, mingled with fuel, and burned, though their own dead were interred. On the 25th of February, 1837, the bones and ashes of the defenders were, by order of General Houston, collected as well as could then be done, for burial by Colonel Seguin, then in command at San Antonio. The bones were placed in a large coffin, which,

together with the gathered ashes, was interred with military honors. The place of burial was a peach orchard then outside of the Alamo village, and a few hundred yards from the fort. When I was last there in 1861, it was still a large inclosed open lot, though surrounded by the suburb which had there grown up, but the rude landmarks which had once pointed out the place of sepulture had long since disappeared. Diligent search might then have found it, but it is now densely built over, and its identity is irrecoverably lost. This is too sad for comment.

A small, but finely executed monument, made from the stones of the Alamo in 1841 by an artist named Nangle, was subsequently purchased by the State of Texas, and now stands in the vestibule of the Capitol at Austin; but neither at the Alamo itself, nor at the forgotten grave of its defenders, does any legend or device, like the stone of Thermopylæ, remind the passer by of those who died in obedience to the call of their adopted country.

### R. M. POTTER

<sup>1</sup> I had for several years in Texas as a servant, one of the Mexican soldiers captured at San Jacinto, Sergeant Becero, of the Battalion of Matamoros. He was in the assault, and witnessed Dickenson's leap. He also saw the body of Bowie on his bed, where he had been killed, and witnessed the execution of the few men who were found in concealment after the action was over. He did not know the names of Bowie or Dickenson, and related the circumstances, not in reply to inquiries, but in a natural way as recollections in narrating his experience. Many absurd stories about the admissions made by Mexicans touching the force of the assailants and the amount of their loss at the Alamo are based on sycophantic statements, drawn by leading questions from prisoners of the lower class.

<sup>2</sup> In 1841 the husband of one of the Mexican women who were with the garrison during the siege and assaults pointed out to me the vaulted room referred to, and observed: "During the fight and massacre five or six women stood in that room all in a huddle." He was an intelligent man, but so given to embellishing whatever he related that I did not then rely much on his information; but I have since called it to mind in connection with what is above said. This man did not refer to Evans' attempt, nor did he say that the cell referred to was used for storing powder, but, according to my recollection, it was the most fitting place for a magazine which I saw about the Alamo.

<sup>3</sup> A brief account of the fall of the Alamo, related in legendary style by Francisco Ruiz, who lived at San Antonio when the event occurred, was published in the Texas Almanac of 1860. The narrator shows total ignorance of the details of the assault, which he blends with a cannonade between batteries that went before it, and, if the printer has not blundered for him, imagines that the storming of the fort began at 3 P. M. on the 6th. This is so contrary to the recollection of old residents, that it began at dawn, and was soon over, that I think "P. M." must have been printed in place of A. M. He asserts that after a long attack and repeated repulses, it ended with the scaling of the outer wall, which formed the final success. He has no knowledge of the speedy loss of the outward barriers, or of the main conflict inside. He rates the besieging forces at 4,000, which would be correct if the eight corps, including two of cavalry, numbered 500 each. He sets down Santa Ana's loss at 1,600, and in a way to imply that this was the number of killed. Now,

estimating the force at 4,000, and leaving out 1,000 cavalry for outside service, the storming masses would consist of 3,000 infantry. If 1,600 were killed, the wounded would cover the remainder, and the total of assailants as well as of defenders must have gone down. If he means that the loss was 1,600 killed and wounded, it was heavy enough to render success impossible, and to cripple the army too much for the prompt and active campaigning on which it immediately entered. The battalion of Toluca he says numbered 800, of whom only 130 men were left alive. If 670 were killed, the small remainder must have been disabled. The whole corps went to the graveyard and hospital, yet eight weeks after a part of it was killed and taken at San Jacinto, and a small remnant retreated to Matamoros. So absurd a narrative would not be worth referring to had it not been quoted in a San Antonio newspaper of 1860 as a testimony of an eye-witness conflicting with my former publication.

<sup>4</sup> General Bradburn was a Virginian, who had been in the service of Mexico since the time of Mina's expedition, in which he held the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel and took a distinguished part. In 1836, when he was on the retired list of the Mexican army, he was ordered, much against his wishes, to join Santa Ana in his campaign against Texas. He reported to Santa Ana soon after the fall of the Alamo, and at his own request was assigned to an unimportant post (Copano landing) where he would not be likely to come into contact with the forces of Texas. Bradburn had a few years before commanded in Texas, and had come unpleasantly into contact with a revolutionary element which did not then culminate in revolution.

<sup>5</sup> Colonel Seguin served gallantly as a Captain under General Houston at San Jacinto, and subsequently commanded a regiment. His zealous adherence to the cause of Texas throughout the campaign of 1836, and for some years after, is undoubted; and his subsequent defection from that cause may be palliated by the popular harshness, endangering life, to which he became subject, and which in a manner drove him to a step of which he evidently repented. I have no reason to doubt the candor and correctness of anything which he related in matters whereon I have cited his authority. He had no motive to misrepresent anything which was not personal to himself, nor did he seem to color unduly what was. A man may be a correct narrator in spite of political errors.

## ORISKANY

The turning point of the Burgoyne Campaign and of the American Revolution was the battle of Oriskany on the 6th of August, 1777. It was also the Thermopylæ of America—the self-sacrifice of honest yeomen, willing to devote themselves, like Curtii, for the salvation of what they deemed right and honest. To this immolation of the male population of one of the richest original settlements of the State of New York the Thirteen Colonies owe their eventual success, and if Independence can be credited to any one action, the date of this is that of Oriskany, 6th August, 1777.

The British Campaign of 1777 was not a single or simple, but a combined operation. To Albany as a common objective tended the advance of Burgoyne from the north with an army something near 10,000 strong; the transportation of Howe from the south with 17,000 to 20,000 effectives, soldiers and sailors, and St. Leger from the west with a column of 675 regulars and provincials—whites, and 700 to 900 auxiliaries—Indians and mixed breeds. To St. Leger in reality the most important part was assigned. This was the opinion of the British General Clinton and also of the American Major-General Nathaniel Greene, both excellent judges of strategy. St. Leger should have had at least two thousand good white troops, whereas under him was a force, not only the weakest in quality and personnel, but the most inadequately supplied with artillery and material of all kinds.

Burgoyne ascended Champlain, bridged, corduroyed and cleared the twenty-one miles between this lake and the Hudson, and watered his horses in this river on the 28th July. About this date St. Leger's advance appeared before Fort Stanwix, on the site of the present Rome, on the portage between the head waters of the Mohawk, which found their way into the Atlantic through the Hudson, and the head waters of the streams which unite with the ocean through the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

Almost simultaneously the absolutely necessary repairs of Fort Stanwix were completed, its magazines filled, its garrison augmented to 950 under Colonel Gansevoort and Lieutenant-Colonels Willet and Mellon, and the investment initiated by the advanced guard of the British. On the 3d of August St. Leger was up and the siege proper began. From Montreal he had ascended the St. Lawrence, crossed Lake Ontario to



Fort Oswego, progressed up the Onondago River, lengthwise and eastward through Oneida Lake, and up Wood Creek, its main feeder. Sixty picked marksmen under Major Watts, of Sir John Johnson's Battalion of Refugees from the Mohawk, known as the "Royal Greens," preceded St. Leger's march, most beautifully arranged, and cleared the way.

Amid all the mistakes and inexplicable blunders of this campaign, the greatest was sending "*local* Brigadier-General" St. Leger with only 675 whites to besiege a regular work, held by 950 good troops, for the Indians counted as nothing in such an undertaking. Besides this, St. Leger had only a few light pieces, barely sufficient to harrass, and inefficient to breach or destroy. Still the Burgoyne scare was upon the colony, and nothing as yet had been done to dissipate it, to restore confidence, or to demonstrate how baseless was the panic.

Justly estimating the importance of relieving Fort Stanwix, Nicholas Harkheimer, a Major-General of Militia, one of God's nobility, a brave man, although not much of a soldier, summoned together the males of the Mohawk Valley capable of bearing arms at Fort Dayton on the German Flats, now bearing his name, Harkheimer. He had remained true to the colony, although his own brother, many relations, connections, and former friends were in the opposite camp. The militia of the Mohawk rendezvoused at Fort Dayton on the very day (3d August) that St. Leger actually began the siege of Fort Stanwix. The evening of the 5th he was at "The Mills," at the mouth of Oriskany Creek, some 7 to 9 miles from Fort Stanwix, and in communication with the garrison, which was to make a sortie in combination with his attack. How many men Harkheimer had is a mooted point. General history estimates his force at 800. Stedman, a veracious and unprejudiced historian, says 1,000. It is unquestionable that Harkheimer had Indians with him belonging to the Oneida "House" or tribe of the "Six Nations," but how many is very dubious, although it is perfectly certain that they were of little account. This tribe had been detached from the British interest by Schuyler, and while they accomplished little for the Americans, they brought down ruin upon themselves by their defection from their ties of centuries. After the impending battle the other Five Nations swooped down upon them and cleaned them out generally.

Early on the morning of the 6th August, Harkheimer got in motion, and into an altercation with his four Colonels and other subordinates. He wanted to display some soldierly caution, and send out scouts to reconnoitre and feel the way through the woods. For this his officers,

with the effrontery of ignorance and the audacity of militiamen, styled him a "Tory," or a traitor and a "coward." The bickering lasted for hours, until Harkheimer, worn out with the persistency of the babblers, gave the order to "march on."

Now comes the question where were his Oneida Indians? These traitors to a confederacy of "ages of glory" must have been emasculated by the dread of meeting their brethren whom they had abandoned, clung close to the main body, and forgot their usual cunning and woodcraft.

Meanwhile General St. Leger was perfectly well aware that Harkheimer was on his way to the assistance of Colonel Gansevoort in Fort Stanwix, and he determined to set a trap for him. He detached his second in command, "*local*" Major-General, or Colonel, Sir John Johnson and the latter's immediate lieutenant, Major Stephen Watts, with about 80 white Provincials, or "Rangers" and refugees, or "Royal Greens," with Butler and Brant (*Thayendanege*) and his Indians. These established an ambush about two miles west of Oriskany—just such as under de Beaujeu and Langlade destroyed Braddock in 1755, and again under the same Langlade, had he been listened to, would have ruined Wolfe by destroying his forces on the Montmorency, below Quebec, in 1759. Harkheimer had to cross a deep, crooked ravine, with a marshy bottom and its rivulet, drained, traversed and spanned by a causeway and bridge of logs. Sir John completely enveloped this spot with marksmen, leaving an inlet for the Americans to enter and no outlet by which to escape. Moreover he placed his best troops—whites—on the road westward, to bar all access to the fort.

No plans were ever more judicious, either for a *battue* of game or ambuscade for troops. Harkheimer's column, without scouts or flankers, plunged into the ravine and had partially climbed the opposite crest and attained the plateau, when, with his wagon train huddled together in the bottom, the enviroing forest and dense underwood was alive with enemies and alight with the blaze of muskets and rifles, succeeded by yells and war whoops, just as the shattering lightning is almost simultaneous with the terrifying thunder.

Fortunately for the Americans, Brant or Butler gave the signal to close in upon them a few moments too soon, so that Harkheimer's rear guard was shut out of the trap instead of in, and thus had a chance to fly. They ran, but in many cases were outrun by the Indians, and suffered almost if not as severely as their comrades whom they had abandoned. Then a slaughter ensued, such as never has occurred upon this



continent, and if the Americans had not displayed heroic bravery they would have been exterminated at once. Most likely they would have been so eventually, had not Heaven interposed at the crisis and let down a deluge of rain, which stopped the slaughter, since in the day of flint locks firing amid torrents of rain was an impossibility. This gave the Americans a breathing spell and time to recover their senses. Almost at the first volley Harkheimer was desperately wounded in the leg by a shot, which likewise killed his horse. He caused his saddle to be placed at the foot of a beech tree, and there sitting upon it and propped against the trunk, he lit his pipe, and while quietly smoking continued to give orders and make dispositions which saved all that escaped. His orders on this occasion were almost the germ of the best subsequent rifle tactics. He behaved like a perfect hero and perished a martyr to Liberty, for he died in his own home at Danube, two miles below Little Falls, ten days afterwards (16th August), of a bungling amputation and subsequent ignorant treatment.

When the shower was about over Sir John Johnson seeing that the Indians were flinching and giving way, sent back to camp for a small reinforcement of his "Royal Greens," or else St. Leger sent them to end the matter more speedily. These, although they disguised themselves like Mohawk valley militia, were recognized by the Americans as brothers, relatives, connections or neighbors, whom Harkheimer's followers had driven or assisted in driving into exile and poverty. These loyalists were certainly coming back to simply regain what they had lost, and doubtless to punish if victorious. At once to the fury of battle was added the bitterness of hate, spite and mutual vengeance. If the previous fighting had been murderous, the subsequent was horrible. Fire arms, as a rule, were thrown aside; the two forces mingled; they grasped each other by the clothes, beards and hair, slashed and stabbed with their hunting knives and were found dead in pairs, locked in the embrace of hate and death.

There is no doubt but that Sir John Johnson commanded the British at Oriskany. One original writer alone has questioned the fact, whereas all the other historians agree to the contrary. The reports of St. Leger establishes the fact of his presence and praise his able dispositions for the fight. Moreover, family tradition and various contemporary publications corroborate it. His brother-in-law, Major Stephen Watts, of New York city, almost wounded to death, appears to have been second in command, certainly of the whites, and in the bloodiest, closest fighting. The latter, like Harkheimer, lost his leg in this action, but



soaked with their blood and covered with their dead and their wounded. Therefore, all the glory of Oriskany belongs to the men of the Mohawk Valley, who, notwithstanding they were completely entrapped, defended themselves with so much heroism for five or six hours, and displayed so much cool courage, that they were able to extricate even a remnant from the slaughter-pit. That Willett captured "five British standards," or five British stand of colors, cannot be possible; in fact, to a soldier this claim seems nonsense. They may have been camp colors or markers. The regimental colors are not entrusted to detachments from regiments. The "Royal Greens" may have had a color, a single flag, although this is doubtful, because at most they constituted a weak battalion. The colors of the Eighth or King's Regiment of Foot were certainly left at headquarters, likewise those of the Thirty-fourth. The same remark applies to the Hanau Chasseurs. As still further incontrovertible proof, the camp of the Regulars was not attacked. The fact is the American story of Willett's sortie has an atmosphere of myth about it. St. Leger's report to Burgoyne and likewise to Carleton—the latter the most circumstantial—in their very straight-forward simplicity of language present the most convincing evidence of truthfulness. St. Leger writes to Carleton:

"At this time [when Harkheimer drew near] *I had not 250 of the King's troops in camp, the various and extensive operations I was under an absolute necessity of entering into, having employed the rest; and therefore [I] could not send above 80 white men, rangers and troops included, with the whole corps of Indians.*

"SIR JOHN JOHNSON *put himself at the head of this party.* \* \* \* \*

"In relation to the victory [over Harkheimer] it was equally complete as if the whole had fallen; nay, more so, as the 200 who escaped only served to spread the panic wider. But it was not so with the Indians; their loss was great. I must be understood, *Indian computation*, being only about 30 killed and wounded, and in that number some of their favorite chiefs and confidential warriors were slain. \* \* \* \* as I suspected the enemy [Willett] made a sally with 250 men towards Lieut. BIRD's post, to facilitate the entrance of the relieving corps, or bring on a general engagement with every advantage they could wish. \* \*

"Immediately upon the departure of Captain HOYES I learned that Lieut. Bird, misled by the information of a cowardly Indian that SIR JOHN was prest, had quitted his post to march to his assistance; I marched the detachment of the King's Regiment in support of Captain HOYES, by a road in sight of the garrison, *which with executive fire from his party immediately drove the enemy into the fort without any further advantage than frightening some squaws and pilfering the packs of the warriors, which they left behind them.*"

It was Harkheimer who knocked all the fight out of the Indians, and it was the desertion of the Indians that rendered St. Leger's expedition abortive.

What is more, honest reader, remember this fact: St. Leger had only 675 Regulars and Provincials besides Indians, and ten light guns

and diminutive mortars to besiege a fort well supplied, mounting fourteen guns and garrisoned with 750 at least, and according to most authorities, 950 troops of the New York line, i. e., to a certain degree regulars.

Harkheimer (bear the repetition) had knocked all the fighting out of the Indians. Nevertheless, St. Leger continued to press the siege with at most 650 whites against 750 to 950 whites, from the 6th until the 22d August, and when he broke up and retreated at the news of Arnold's approach with a force magnified by rumor, it was more on account of the infamous conduct of the Indians than anything else. All the evidence, when sifted, justified his remark that the Indians "became more formidable than the enemy we had to expect." By enemy he meant Arnold's column hastening its march against him and the garrison in his immediate front, and yet neither St Leger nor Burgoyne under-estimated the American troops—not even the militia.

The gist of all this and the moral of this story concentrates in one fact:—it was not the defense of Fort Stanwix but the heroism of Harkheimer's militia that saved the Mohawk Valley, and constitutes Oriskany the Thermopylae of the American Revolution, the crisis and turning point against the British of the Burgoyne campaign, and the "Decisive Conflict" of America's seven years war for Independence.

J. WATTS DE PEYSTER

## REMARKS ON THE PORTRAITURE OF WASHINGTON

The following remarks occur in the Home Journal of December 15, 1855: "In 1789 the first President lost his teeth, and the artificial ones with which he was furnished answering very imperfectly the purpose for which they were intended, a marked change occurred in the appearance of his face, more especially in the projection of the under lip, which forms so distinguishing a feature in the works of Stuart and others who painted portraits of the great man subsequent to 1789." This imputed wholesale loss from which our Pater Patriae was doomed to suffer within the space of one year, is apt to raise the smile of incredulity, and the mind reverts to the oft repeated tale of the old Israelite, who during the reign of King John, refusing to make known the secret deposit of his treasure, was doomed to the daily loss of a tooth. Laying aside the idea of so sudden a deprivation of these useful articles, we may more justly suppose their loss due to the gradual action of the medical panacea so freely administered during the past century by the ablest practitioners, and as Washington was on several occasions confined to his couch through sickness, it is not to be imagined that he was so fortunate as to escape the regular treatment.

Suetonius, it is true, informs us in his writings that Nero was obliged to use the "galericulum," that rude apology for a wig, thus honoring with his imperial patronage some worthy Huggins or Phalon of imperial Rome; but it is seldom the curious investigator turns to the historians' page to learn the physical defects of the world's great dead—most surely not so in the case of such a man as Washington. From the private correspondence and the daily journals of the latter, interesting material bearing on the subject herein undertaken might be gathered, but these unfortunately have not been within the immediate sphere of the writer's research.

As late as 1783 the Commander-in-Chief still had at least some teeth remaining in his head, if we may judge from a letter written by himself two months after the cessation of hostilities, and which was published in the Historical Magazine of August, 1859:

" Private.

" Major Billings, at Poughkeepsy—

Newburg, June 17, 1783.

" Sir: By some mistake or other the Horse was not sent for yesterday—the Dragoon comes up for him now, & those small Tools which you conceived might

be useful to me—among which I pray you to send me a small file or two ; one of which to be very thin, so much so as to pass between the Teeth if occasion should require it—another one round.

“Have you been able to satisfy yourself as to the practicability and means of colouring Sealing Wax? If so can you bring the Stick I now send you to the complexion which is wanted? Mrs. Washington sends a lock of both our hair (inclosed).

“I am, with much regard, Sir, Y'r very Humble Serv't,

“Go. Washington ”

“Do not forget the Instrument \* \* \* \* to cut \* \* \* ”

(Mem.—The letter is here mutilated.)

The gentleman addressed, Major Andrew Billings, of Poughkeepsie, a son-in-law of James Livingston, and a watchmaker by trade, had taken an early and active part in the military affairs of Dutchess County ; he was on terms of intimacy with General Washington, and there is no reason to doubt that the instruments referred to were made by his own hand, as he was possessed of remarkable mechanical genius. However this may be, the letter evidently proves that the attention of Washington was already anxiously directed towards the preservation of his teeth ; a few years subsequent, however, and these had almost entirely disappeared, though whether during the interim their deficiency was supplied by any artificial means cannot be said.

Six years thereafter, elected President of the United States, the General left his home at Mount Vernon, and reaching New York on the 23d of April, 1789, was inaugurated on the 30th. The necessity of remedying in some way the loss to which he had been subjected must have naturally suggested itself to the mind of the first President at an early period ; a loss most especially impairing both fluency and clearness of speech, and which withdrawing from the dignity of his personal appearance would scarcely escape observation in the frequent and fashionable levees, at which as Chief Magistrate of the nation, his presence would soon be required. At this time the only native dental practitioner in the city was Mr. John Greenwood, located at the corner of William and Beekman streets ; a young man, who having faithfully served his country throughout the late war, had settled at its close in New York and was now pursuing the same business as his father was engaged in at Boston.

Washington having employed the services of Mr. Greenwood, the latter constructed for him a complete dental apparatus, including both upper and lower jaw. The entire upper portion was carved from a piece of sea-horse or hippopotamus tusk, advantage being taken as far as pos-

sible to increase the effect of the front teeth by preserving the natural enamel of the tusk. Into the lower portion, worked out of the same material, human teeth (their fangs having been cut off) were inserted and fixed permanently by means of gold pivots. When in use the solid bars (or gum-work) were thinly coated with flesh-tinted wax, and were united at their extremities by fine semi-circular spiral springs of gold wire. Though their movement was like that of a hinge, there was at the same time a strong lateral action, or outward pressure, exerted especially upon the lower mandible, tending to thrust it forward in the mouth. Altogether the apparatus was an uncouth and awkward affair, though in point of workmanship it will bear close scrutiny even in the present advanced stage of the profession. One tooth alone (a sinister bicuspid) was left firm and staunch in the lower jaw of the President, and this, his last natural tooth, he was indeed loath to part with. To insure its remaining in the head it became necessary to form a hole or cavity through the lower ivory mandible that the tooth might pass through; and though this, in one sense, as resisting the outward pressure of the false jaw, was an advantage, yet the very action we allude to must have caused an irritation in the surrounding gum and at times been very painful. Finally, some six years later, this tooth became so much loosened that it was removed, and its place, as we learn from the President's own letters, was supplied by an artificial one; then and not till then, as there was no longer any barrier to the outward pressure of the lower jaw, that force was exerted in full upon the under lip, causing it to project.

Congress adjourned September 29th, 1789, and on the 15th of the ensuing month the President left New York for a tour through the Eastern States. Previous to his arrival at Portsmouth, however, it is said that the breaking down of his carriage, giving a violent shock to his person, fractured the upper portion of his artificial teeth,<sup>1</sup> which were immediately sent back to New York for repair, and the remainder of the journey was performed without them.

On the forenoon of Tuesday, November 3d, Washington being at Portsmouth, gave a sitting of two hours to Mr. Christian Gulligher, an artist from Boston; judging from an engraving of this portrait, which appeared in the first volume of the "Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society," it is evident that the artist was no flatterer. During this same year two other portraits of the President had been taken; the first on Saturday, October 3d, was a miniature painted for Mrs. Washington by John Ramage, an Irish artist of New York, and which I

believe has never been reproduced. The second, for which he gave a sitting on the afternoon of the same day, was a miniature by the Marchioness de Brienne, sister of the Count de Moustier, the French Minister. This last portrait, according to Washington's own diary, was a profile "which she had begun from memory, and which she had made exceedingly like the original;" several copies were afterwards taken, and an engraving having been made from one at Paris, some impressions were sent to Washington. The Marchioness "also painted on copper, in medallion form, the profiles of Washington and Lafayette in miniature, within the same circumference, and presented the picture to Washington. It is now at Arlington House." An engraving of the last in Lossing's Mount Vernon, presenting no unnatural feature about the mouth, leaves a pleasanter effect upon the mind than a contemplation of the more elaborate production of later years.

Washington returned to New York on Friday, November 13th, and on the 21st of the ensuing month gave a sitting of three hours to Edward Savage, and another on the 6th of January, 1790; this portrait was painted for Harvard College and still remains there. Though possessing little reputation, it has been engraved from at times, and more lately by J. C. Buttre, of New York.

Alas for the greatness of man, that he is still but mortal! the President, in his daily journal of Sunday, January 17, 1790, writes: "At home all day—not well," and the next day, "still indisposed with an aching tooth, and swelled and inflamed gums"—and the casual reader would think the writer blessed with a mouthful of the useful articles. Poor, solitary aching tooth!

In November, 1789, Colonel John Trumbull, who had been studying on the continent with Benjamin West, returned from Paris, and soon after visited New York. Washington makes the following entry in his diary of Wednesday, February 10, 1790: "Sat from 9 till 10 o'clock for Mr. Trumbull to draw my picture in his historical pieces." This was the equestrian portrait for the battle pieces of Trenton and Princeton. Other sittings were given on the 12th, 15th, 18th, 20th and 27th, and on Monday, March 1st, writes the President, "exercised on horseback this afternoon, attended by Mr. John Trumbull, who wanted to see me mounted." The final sitting was given on the 4th of March. During the following summer Trumbull executed for the city of New York a full-length painting of the General, standing erect, dressed in uniform, with one hand resting on his horse's neck. It now hangs in the Governor's room at the City Hall. "This work," observes Tuckerman, after

eulogizing it, "was executed before the loss of his teeth changed the expression of Washington's mouth.

On the 12th of August, 1790, the first Congress of the United States adjourned, having previously passed an act that the seat of the Federal Government should be removed to Philadelphia, where it subsequently remained located some ten years. As during his tour of the previous year the President had passed over the State of Rhode Island, seeing that it had not yet joined the Union, he now made a short voyage to Newport, and returning thence set out on the 30th for Mount Vernon, to spend a few months previous to the next meeting of Congress. It is said that "Washington never saw New York again," a statement which I believe to be erroneous. The President proceeded safely in his newly imported English coach, drawn by six horses, as far as Elizabethtown Point; just after leaving which place the vehicle, through careless driving, ran off into a gully and was injured. Dinner was taken at the seat of Governor Wm. Livingston, near by, and another driver procured, and on reaching Philadelphia the coach was left for repairs.

Through the summer of 1791 Washington ordered a new set of teeth from Mr. Greenwood, and sent the old ones on for repair. He appears to have missed them very much, and was quite anxious lest neither set should reach him before Congress reopened; and fearing the package had miscarried, he dispatched a second letter from Philadelphia, dated September 4th, which was delivered to Mr. Greenwood by a son of Sir James Jay. A few days thereafter he set out for Mount Vernon with Mrs. Washington to enjoy a few weeks repose, and the articles were received by him in time for his annual message, which was delivered October 25th at the Hall, corner of Sixth and Chestnut streets, the day after the first meeting of the second Congress.

On the afternoon of Tuesday, December 13, 1791, Washington gave a sitting to Mr. Archibald Robertson, a Scotch artist but recently arrived in the country. From the miniature then taken a large picture was finished in oil towards the close of May, 1792, and sent out to the Earl of Buchan, for whom it had been executed. Robertson at the same time painted a miniature of Mrs. Washington, and photographic copies of the two pictures were presented to the New York Historical Society in May, 1857, by Mr. T. W. C. Moore. That of Washington possesses few points of interest, and does not most certainly warrant the following observation, which occurred soon after in the Historical Magazine: "They were painted before the Father of his Country lost his teeth, and though devoid of the venerable air which characterizes the ordinary

resemblances, the recommendation that elaborate portraits from them be made may commend them to adoption as the standard likenesses." The Hon. Edward Everett, in his "Mount Vernon Papers,"\* falls into the same error, and says "it is evident, on an inspection of this likeness of Washington, that it was painted before he had begun to wear artificial teeth." Colonel Trumbull, however, in an article which appeared in the *Atlantic Magazine* of 1824, more justly observes: "If we wish to behold Washington when he began to wane in his latter years, when he had lost his teeth, but with full vivacity and vigor of eye, looking at the spectator, we must behold Robertson's portrait of him." A small wood-cut vignette from this picture was attached to some copies of the "Washington Diary," published for Mr. J. C. Brevoort by Lossing, and an engraving was issued in 1866 by Elias Dexter of New York.

Through the year 1792 Trumbull visited Philadelphia, and painted a full-length portrait of Washington, representing him on the eve of the battle of Princeton. This the Colonel considered not only the best of those he ever painted, but of any existing of the Commander-in-Chief in his heroic and military character. It was purchased subsequently and presented to Yale College. Executed for the city of Charleston, S. C., it was deemed by their agent as unacceptable, delineating the great leader at a younger period of life, and not recalling him to memory as he had appeared to them so recently in his southern tour. Accordingly another portrait in civilian dress was finished for the State of South Carolina. Peale has gone so far as to say Trumbull's Washington "is a fable." In the course of the same year Guiseppi Cerrachi, an Italian and pupil of Canova, finished a bust of the first President, recently in the possession of Gouverneur Kemble, Esq., of Cold Spring, N. Y. It has been engraved from by Prudhomme and Hall; the latter, a profile view, though it shows no projection of the mouth, has a certain rigidity about that feature not altogether pleasant.

We now pass over an interval of more than ten years, during which time it appears that Washington was relieved from the long and tedious sittings which the pencil of the artist demanded. A life-size portrait of him, however, was painted in 1795 by Adolph A. Wertmüller, a Swede, who died some years after at Claymont, Del. This picture is too dark in color, and has a foreign air, but the features have strong points of resemblance with those found in Trumbull's portrait, as may be seen on comparing engravings from the two. G. W. P. Custis almost ignores this production, stating that he literally knew nothing about it, and yet he was not absent during that year from the Presidential mansion in Philadelphia a single day. "If," he continues, "the Wertmüller was



painted about 1795, where is the distinguishing feature in the physiognomy of the Chief of that period—the projection of the under lip?" One objection to the minor details of this production is the lace shirt frill, whereas the President always wore his linen ruffles plain. This is an error also perpetrated by Mlle. Coignets, as seen in her small engraving published at Paris about 1829 in Rignoux's *Iconographie Instructive*.

In September, 1795, three sittings, from 7 till 10 in the morning, were accorded to the several members of the Peale family, each of whom finished a portrait of the President, while at the same time a pencil sketch was executed by a relative of the family. The painting achieved by Charles Wilson Peale, the father, is now ' in the Bryan Collection, New York, but what has become of the one resulting from the pencil of his eldest son, Raphaëlle, I cannot say. It was reserved, however, for the youngest, Rembrandt, to work out and complete subsequently a picture which, in the minds of many, is acknowledged to be the best likeness of Washington ever taken. The painting now adorns the hall of the United States Senate. Of the original, Mr. Peale previous to his death ' had made ten copies, and an excellent engraving has been executed by H. B. Hall.

To Gilbert Stuart, an American and pupil of West, Washington gave sittings upon the same days as he had to Peale, but the artist, not pleased with the result of his work, destroyed or rubbed it out, as he himself states. At the earnest solicitation of Mrs. Bingham, he was reluctantly granted another sitting on the 10th of April, 1796. The painting now completed was the full-length portrait of Washington, standing erect, the right hand extended, the other resting upon the hilt of his sword. It was presented to the Marquis of Lansdowne, and at the sale of his effects in 1805 was purchased by Samuel Williams, banker, of London, and subsequently it was owned by a son of John D. Lewis, an American gentleman, who died some few years since in that city. The first copy made by Stuart, and executed at the same time as the original, was for Mr. William Constable, who had been an aide to General Washington; it passed afterwards into the possession of his nephew, Henry E. Pierrepont, Esq., of Brooklyn Heights, L. I. An excellent engraving has been made from this head, as also from the Stuart, which was in 1849 owned by T. B. Barclay, Esq., of Liverpool.\*

On condition that when finished the portrait should come into the possession of Mrs. Washington, a third sitting was subsequently accorded to Mr. Stuart during the year 1796, but the artist was so well pleased with his painting that he never completed it, and thus retained it for his own use. In the Boston Atheneum it still remains in its unfinished state, the well-known "standard head" of Washington as President.

## THE WALTONS OF NEW YORK

The Waltons were foremost among the merchant princes of the colonial days, a period in which successful trade was the stepping stone not only to wealth and social distinction, but to political honor and preferment.

The family is of English origin, and is believed to have come from the county of Norfolk. Two of the name appear in New York and in Richmond County, Staten Island, in the seventeenth century, in the latter part of which William Walton, the first who acquired eminence, was born. He was admitted a Freeman of the City of New York in 1698, and in the same year is said to have married Mary Santford. He must be looked upon as the founder of the New York family of this name. The origin of his fortune was the preference in trade given to him early in the sixteenth century by the Spaniards of St. Augustine and the West India Islands. This preference was so exclusive as to amount to a monopoly, and engaged several vessels, which he not only built, but sailed himself on profitable trading voyages to the Antilles and the Spanish Main, where he established factors to superintend and extend his commercial relations. His shipyards were the most extensive in the city, covering several lots on the river front of Water street. His residence was in Hanover Square. He died in 1747; his wife survived him till 1768, when her death is recorded as in the 90th year of her age.

Captain Walton, by his wife Mary Santford, left two sons, Jacob and William, both of whom were brought up to commerce, and continued in partnership to enjoy the exclusive privileges granted by the Spanish authorities at St. Augustine, and of Cuba and South America. William followed his father's example, and at times took personal command of their vessels. As was quite common in their day, they still further united their interests by matrimonial alliances with the same family. In 1726 Jacob married Maria, daughter of Gerard Beekman and Magdalen Abeel, and William, Cornelia, daughter of Dr. William Beekman and Catharine Peter de la Noy. Cornelia was the niece of the lady married to the elder brother.

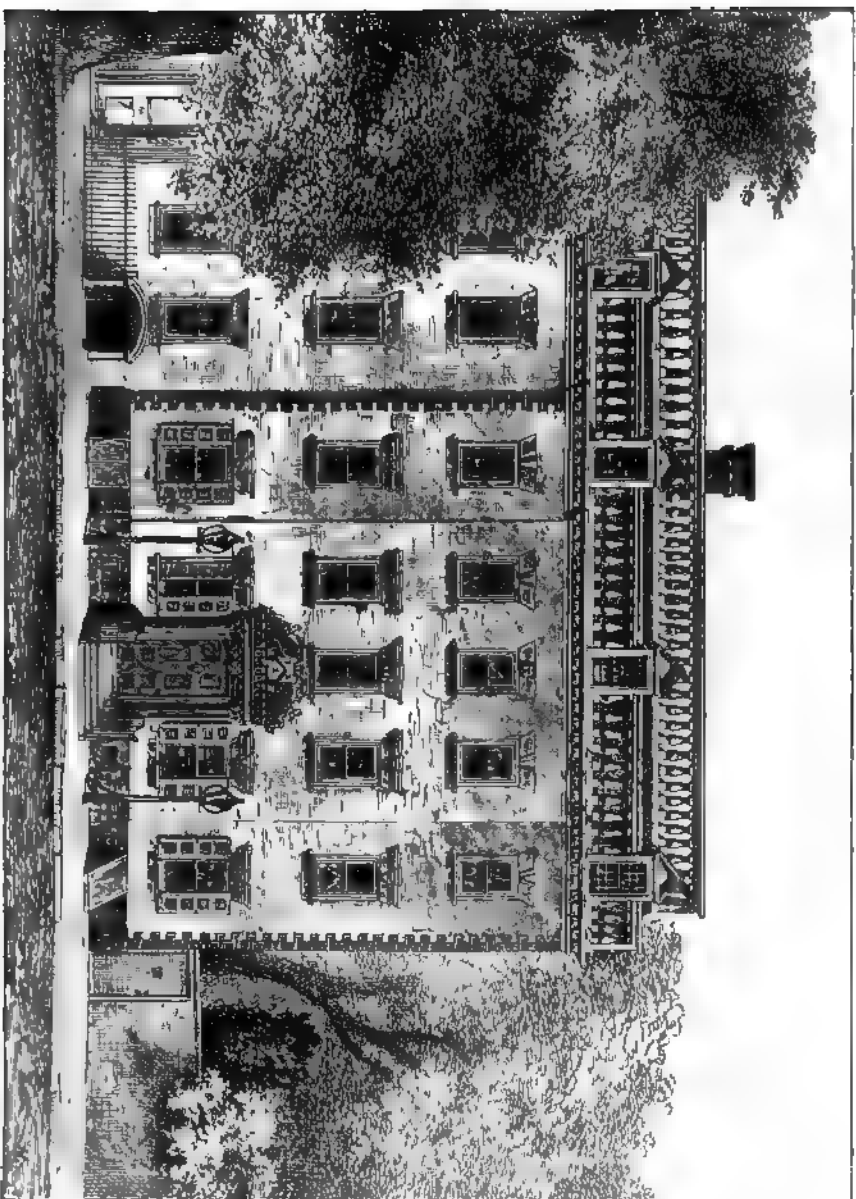
Their partnership was broken by the death of Jacob, the elder, in 1749, who left his fortune and his family to the care of William, who had no children of his own. The business of the family was continued

by the surviving brother, who admitted some of his nephews into the firm, the name of which was changed to William Walton & Co. The line of trade which they had inherited was one of certain profit, and besides its natural advantages gave them peculiar facilities for the privateering ventures which were a favorite occupation during the period of the French wars. Representing large family interests and universally esteemed for his probity and discretion, Mr. William Walton was soon looked upon as fitted for political honors, and in 1751 was unanimously elected to serve in the place of David Clarkson, deceased, in the General Assembly for the City and County of New York, a post to which he was again reelected in 1752, and which he continued to fill till 1759. In the Assembly he attached himself to the Court party, as it was called, the party of Lieutenant Governor James DeLancey, and secured for it also the interest of his cousin William Walton, who sat for Richmond County. In 1756 he was recommended by Governor Hardy to the Board of Trade as a suitable person to take a seat in his Majesty's Council, and the next year received his appointment. He was a constant attendant at the Council Board until his death in 1768.

About the time of his entrance upon his political career, Mr. Walton began the construction of the extensive mansion which is so famous in the annals of the city and still remains one of its old landmarks. This was about the year 1752, as there is incidental mention of it in 1753. It is now known as 326 Pearl street, and is occupied as a tenement-house. Its history is a history of New York movement. It was the first of a series of efforts made by property owners of the east side of the city to turn the line of fashionable residence in that direction. For a time it was successful, and even after 1835 there were hopes that in spite of the attractions of bright Broadway, with its shops and bustle, it might be made the "Court end" of the town, but such hopes are forever vanished. St. George's Square, as the triangle which faced the building was originally called, has been taken possession of by the Harpers, and even its name has been changed to Franklin Square in honor of the great master of the art which these enterprising publishers so happily direct for the benefit of mankind. What a commentary upon the progress of the century. The old aristocratic "mansion," where fashion and power gathered in their pomp and pride, is now dilapidated and decayed, and none to do it honor, while enterprise and diligence have reared in its very face a colossal building, whence instruction and intelligence radiate by a thousand channels over the length and breadth of the land.







THE WALTON HOUSE—FRANKLIN SQUARE



The glories of the old house have been too often related to need recital here. Needless again to tell of the grand illumination which lighted up its many windows when the gladsome news came that the Stamp Act was repealed, nor of the festivities when the British officers returned laurel-crowned from the conquest of Canada. To New Yorkers these are household tales, and every antiquarian is familiar with them, through the pages of Watson and the sketches of Pintard. Enough if the reader be informed that the picture of the old house, which accompanies these pages, represents the building as it was in its days of pristine glory.

The mansion house passed with the rest of the property of its builder and owner to his favorite nephew, namesake and heir, William Walton, who had in the summer of 1757 married Mary, the daughter of Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey. After the death of his uncle, William Walton continued the business of the family, associating with him his brother Jacob, under the name of William and Jacob Walton & Company. Jacob had also connected himself with one of the most wealthy and distinguished families of the colony by a marriage with Polly, daughter of Henry Cruger, a successful merchant, a representative of New York to the General Assembly, and later a member of the King's Council.

William, whose portrait prefaces this sketch, does not appear to have been disposed to public life. He was, however, a leading spirit among the merchants, was one of the founders of the Chamber of Commerce, and became its sixth President in the due line of succession. His sympathies were warmly with his class, and he took active part in the measures of resistance to the encroachments of the Crown which brought on the struggle for independence. When the day of trial came, however, he found himself in a difficult situation. His sympathies seem to have been with the popular cause, but his family connections were divided. The De Lanceys were royalists, the Beekmans patriots. At the outbreak of hostilities he retired to his country residence in New Jersey. Neutrality, however, was not in good odor. He was forced to return to the city on the British occupation, and his Jersey estates were confiscated. It is gratefully remembered of him that he was untiring in his efforts and unsparing of his fortune in the relief of the distressed American prisoners confined in the city. Mr. William Walton died in this city in 1796, leaving three sons, who in turn inherited his estates: William; James De Lancey; and Jacob, who entered the British navy and rose to the rank of Rear Admiral; Ann, a daughter, was married to Daniel Crommelin Verplanck.



Of the other sons of Jacob Walton and Maria Beekman, Abraham was a successful brewer, carrying on the Rutgers Brewery ; he married Grace Williams ; Gerard was a successful merchant and an inveterate sportsman ; he made disposition by will of his favorite guns and fishing tackle. Thomas was also a merchant. Of the daughters, Mary was married to Lewis Morris, Magdalene to David Johnson, and Catherine to James Thompson.

The alliances, even immediate, of this old New York family are too numerous for mention in a sketch of this nature, the object of which has been simply to trace the origin of this historic family, whose name will ever remain identified with our metropolis.

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS

## DIARY OF JOSHUA PELL, JUNIOR

AN OFFICER OF THE BRITISH ARMY  
IN AMERICA 1776-1777

From the original in the possession of  
James L. Onderdonk, Esq.

Embarke'd for America at Cove, and April, 1776, made the River St. Lawrence 17th May, came to Anchor before Quebec 29th. Quebec is a large, populous Town, the original Inhabitants French, and still retain the Language, customs and manners of the Mother Country.

Their religion is Romish, and after the reduction of Canada by the brave General Wolfe in the year 1759, by an Article of the Capitulation they were to enjoy the free exercise of their religion which they still do. The buildings are after the manner of the Europeans, and the walls of the Gentlemen and Merchants Houses are stone, roofed with wood, and the houses of the Peasant and poor Mechanic are all entirely wood, which makes a mean appearance being seldom built higher than one story. The Town has two divisions, the one called the upper, and the other the lower Town, the lower Town forms a half circle round the foot of the hill upon which the upper Town stands, having the River St. Charles and the Island of Orleans on the N. E. and the River St. Lawrence on the S. W.; you ascend the upper Town by a very steep ascent towards the Bishop's Palace, which is an old Gothic Building situate near the Cathedral; of the Cathedral there is nothing remarkable to relate, except some few excellent paintings of Saints, &c., which decorate the altar.

Opposite the Governor's House stands the College, having several grants of

Lands for its support, and had three hundred students, but on being besieged by the Rebels in the year 1775 they left it, and by an order of the Governor it was converted into a Barrack for the reception of soldiers. There is several Convents and Monastries as is usual in all Roman Countrys, but not worthy of notice.

The fortifications are in a runious condition which shows the neglect of the late Governors; when the Rebellious Americans made their appearance before it in November 1775 there was but 6 pieces of Cannon mounted on the works, and those honycomb'd and useless, and not one Gunner to work them; had the Rebels had a skillful command'r and the discipline of the British Troops, they might have taken the place with 500 men.

1st June we disembark'd at Quebec and march'd immediately in quest of the Rebels; on the 8th in the morning we received an order from Lieut. Col. Fraser Immediately to proceed to Trois Riviere, we arrived about 10 o'clock on the other side the River; we were there informed that the Rebels had advanced that morning about 8 o'clock within a quarter of a mile of the Town, and that Colonel Frazer had disembark'd the Troops (from the ships that had sailed up the River) in number about 1200, and after a smart fire for about an hour he drove them into the midst of a swamp in the Woods where many of them were smother'd. The Generals, Captain Strangway's, Captain Ferguson's and Light Infantry Companys of the 24th Regiment with two Companys of the 34th Regiment was order'd to keep the pass of the River, and it happen'd we had no share of the engagement.

The Rebels had about 100 kill'd and wounded, with about 450 made prisoners; we had 1 Searjeant of the 31st Regiment and 3 Rank and File of the 20th kill'd and 8 of the 62d wounded; the Rebels consisted chiefly of Irish redemptioners and Convicts, the most audacious rascals existing; their Generals that commanded were Thompson and O'Sullivan, Thompson, Colonel Irwin (another Irish Man) with about twelve officers of lesser note were amongst the prisoners. Lieut. Colonel Fraser commanded the British troops in the above action and behaved with the greatest Intrepidity and valour.

The Number of the Rebels 1700 engaged'd, Total No. 2500.

13th June; On the arrival of our Troops at Sorrell, the Rebels quit it, they demolish'd the works, and left two pieces of Cannon behind them.

20th June our Brigade cross'd the River to Longuil, a village within view of Montreal.

23rd June I paid a visit to Montreal. Montreal is a large populous Town about 200 miles to the west of Quebec, it chiefly consists of two streets running from east to west about one mile long, the buildings are mostly like those of Quebec, with this difference only, they are more regular, which adds greatly to the appearance of the Town. Three-fourths of the Inhabitants are French, the other fourth consists of old soldiers (settled there since it was conquer'd by the English) Irish and Scotch, Emigrants. Everything is very dear, owing to the Rebels plundering the inhabitants when they left the Town; (which they did on the approach of our Troops). Linen cloth which is 1s. 4d. per yard in Ireland

is 2s. 6d. in Montreal, and every other European Commodity is equally dear in proportion. Religion here the same as in Quebec, and the other parts of Canada. The Fortifications are in bad repair and very defenceless. There is a college here well endowed, and has about one hundred and fifty students.

25th June, we march'd to Chamble, (a Fort on the River Sorrell about forty-five miles above the Fort of that name) which the rebels utterly destroy'd, and abandon'd on our approach.

26th June we march'd to Fort St. John which is twelve miles above Chamble, leading towards Lake Champlain. Fort St. John is situated on the west side of the River Sorrell, leading to Lake Champlain, and was considered by the French, when in their possession, the great Barrier between Canada and the British Colonies of Massachusetts Bay, New York and Pensilvania after the reduction of Tyconderoga and Crown Point.

The Fort consists of two Redoubts—at a distance of about two hundred yards from each other, and join'd by a Pallisade towards the land; the lower Redoubt was called the Lower Fort and the other leading to the Lake was called the Upper Fort. The walls of the Fort was Earth, with Embrasures for about twenty Guns, but how many was mounted when taken by the Rebels in Nov. '75, I cannot determine, tho' it made a good defence, considering the numbers to defend it, which was three Companys of the 7th Regiment, and did not exceed one hundred and ten Men, and the force of the Rebels against it was five thousand, with a good Train of Artillery; the

Rebels entirely destroyed this Fort likewise, but Government has ordered it to be rebuilt, on a fresh Construction, and will certainly be a strong place; two hundred and fifty Artificers are employ'd in building Arm'd Vessels, Batteaux &c. After the Sun has began his retreat from the Tropic of Cancer there is terrible Thunder and Lightning, with heavy Rain here, and continues frequent till near the Autumnal Equinox.

24th July a party consisting a two Subaltern officers, twelve Men of the Light Infantry with a few Indians, and Canadian Militia, proceeded up the River toward the Lake; the 25th they fell in with a detach'd party of the Rebels on the Lake, about fifty Miles from Crown point, after firing about six rounds the Rebels surrender'd. Their party consisted of one Captain, one Lieutenant, and thirty Men; we had an Indian kill'd and one man wounded who is since dead; the Rebels had one Man kill'd and one wounded, who is since dead. The Captain who commanded the above party of Rebels was an Irishman, his Name Wilson. On the 16th July a party of the Rebels consisting of one Lieutenant, and three privates, under the direction of a Canadian, came from Crown Point on an enterprise; it is supposed that they came thro' our Camp in disguise, for on the 25th July as General Gordon was returning from our Camp (where he had been on a visit) to Laprairie, he was fired at and wounded by a Man from a Tree, who prov'd to be the Lieutenant of the above party; as we are since informed by one of the party, whom we have taken prisoner. General Gordon died of his wounds, 30th July.

10th August we left the Camp at St. Johns, and proceeded up the River about fifteen Miles to the Isle aux Noix.

This Isle was well fortified by the French last war, and had a Boom across the River in order to stop our entrance into Canada, after the reduction of Tyconderoga and Crown Point. I could not but notice the Inscription on a Tombstone in this Island, which is as follows;

"Beneath this humble sod

Lie

Captain Adams

Lieutenant Culberson

&

Two privates of the 6th Pensylvania

Reg't.

Not Hirelings

But Patriots

They fell not in battle, but unarmed, They were basely murdered, and inhumanly scalp'd by the barbarous emissaries of the once just, but now abandon'd Kingdom of Britain.

#### *Epitaph*

Sons of America rest in quiet here  
Britania blush, Burgoyne let fall a tear  
And tremble Europe sons with savage ease [*sic*]  
Death and Revenge awaits you with disgrace."

The above Provincials were scalped by an advanc'd party of our Indians on the 20th June after they left St. Johns, about three Miles from this place.

3rd September sixteen arm'd vessels and four hundred Batteaux, fill'd with Rebels appear'd off Point au Fer, the entrance into Lake Champlain from the Northward.

15th Sept'r in the Evening Lieut. Scott of the Light Infantry of the 24th Reg't went up the River to reconoitre the Rebels, with six Indians only: the 16th at daybreak, they saw a party of the Rebels consisting of 18 Men disembarked from a Batteau; they surprized them as they were cutting Wood, kill'd 15 on the spot, the other three escap'd into the Woods; notwithstanding the Rebels fired from their arm'd Vessels, they escap'd unhurt.

26th Sept'r we remov'd to the River Lacole, seven Miles from the Isle aux Noix.

5th October our Squadron sail'd from the River La Cole, same day arrived the Inflexible, a 20 Gun ship, the largest then ever known on the Lakes.

6th Oct'r our Corps remov'd to Point au Fer, twelve miles above La Cole.

10th Oct'r our little squadron sail'd from Point au Fer toward the upper or great Lake; about 12 o'clock on the 11th one of our arm'd boats espied their Fleet at Anchor in the Bay of Belcour. Our arm'd Boats immediately rush'd in amongst them and engag'd them without waiting for orders; the Carlton went to their assistance, and kept a continual firing until dark, during which time we destroy'd a schooner called the Royal Savage, and greatly damaged another; unluckily for us, the wind chang'd and hindered the other part of our Squadron from giving the Carlton any assistance; had it not thus happen'd, in all probability, the Rebels whole fleet would have been destroy'd. Our loss consist in two Arm'd Boats been sunk; about ten men kill'd and sixteen wounded. The loss of the Rebels is not positively known.

I do justice to Capt'n Dacres, he behave'd like a true British Tar; he was engaged by five of them together, and when order'd to join his squadron he would not, till the General's own Boat came on Board with positive Orders to dissist.

The Rebels fleet consisted of sixteen sail of schooners, sloops and Row Galleys. The Rebels Anchor'd close under the Land, and our Indians did them considerable damage with their small arms from the shore.

13th October—On the appearance of our Squadron before Crown point, the Rebels destroy'd the works, and quit it with precipitation. General Carlton was on board the Maria during the whole action, and the whole behav'd with the greatest perseverance and magnanimity.

14th Oct'r Embarked on board our Batteaux at Point au Fer.

17th Oct. arriv'd at Chimney Point opposite to Crown Point—Lake Champlain is 92 miles long from Point au Fer in the North to Crown Point in the South, and is interspers'd with numerous Islands, some of a large and others of a small extent. There is no settlement on the Lake except one till you come within twenty Miles of Crown Point and then not numerous. Crown point is a peninsula having three points or Capes, the westernmost point points directly down the Lake, and was fortified with a large redoubt, having four Curtains one on each Angle, the walls are Earth, rais'd to a great height, which entirely covers the buildings within; time has almost destroy'd the works, and I believe was never repair'd since taken from the French. A Barrack was building when it fell into

the hands of the Rebels, which they defac'd as much as their hurry would permit, when they evacuated it.

The second point is almost three hundred yards to the east of the former, and was fortified with a small redoubt which time has render'd useless: the third point which is about the same distance from the second as the second is from the first, was fortified by the Rebels in a circular manner having various Curtains and Angles with a Battery of five Guns in the middle rais'd so high as to command the whole plain before it; they had Huts built within the works for their officers, but they destroy'd both them and works when they left it.

The Commander in Chief having so order'd it that we should winter in Canada, we accordingly left Crown Point the 2nd Nov'r.

5th November arriv'd at Point au Fer.

22nd November our Regiment arriv'd at Winters quarters being canton'd along the south side of the River St. Lawrence, from Boucherville 8 miles along its Banks to the Eastward.

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#### A NEW POLAND IN AMERICA

Although the Prince Mostowski, Palatine and General of the Duchy of Mazowie, Chief and Proprietor of the Noble Polish Guard, Cavalry, Lieutenant General of the Arms of the Crown of Poland and Knight of the Order of the White Eagle, &c., is not yet absolutely sure of the enterprise which he is resolved to carry into execution for the glory and liberty of the very illustrious Colonies and although such assurance still depend upon the train of events, nevertheless he pays no

regard to these reflections; A Citizen of a Free Republic and a Senator of the first rank (which is more in Poland than Duke and Peer in France,) he glories that the very illustrious Colonies in various other Countries should deliver themselves from the despotism which crushes them, and he hopes to see them enjoy the sweets of a liberty similar to that which reigns in his Country (according to the system of an ancient Great English Republican, the famous Algernon Sidney).

The Prince careless of the uncertainty to which he exposes himself is resolved to take the risk, led only by zeal and attachment in his intention of giving evident proofs of his sincere devotion to the very illustrious Colonies who are fighting so gloriously to recover their liberty.

The Prince is disposed to aid them in this heroic war, supplying them with that which they will find most useful and advantageous in their present circumstances. This is a Balm with which the wounded soldiers can radically cure themselves at once in the course of six or seven days; without the aid of surgery and in this short space of time be ready to take up arms and return to the combat.

The Prince who is Lieutenant General of the armies of the Republic of Poland, where he has his regiments, has had the good fortune to find a Physician who possesses the admirable secret of making this Balm so precious for all wounded and particularly for soldiers in war time: By reason of the interest the Prince takes in the welfare of the very illustrious Colonies he has determined to purchase from

the aforesaid Physician to the amount of 50,000 lbs. of this Balm and he offers to send it to the honorable Congress.

But he nevertheless hopes that in acknowledgement of the useful and important service which he desires to render to Congress in its present need, the honorable Congress will grant him in Florida, Carolina, or Virginia a Principality and a County under the name of Mostow with a seaport in one or the other and that this concession shall belong to him and his successors in full ownership.

And as the Prince proposes to send to and establish there certain of his fellow citizens of Poland he desires that the possessions which the honorable Congress may concede to him, in one of the three Countries above named may bear the name of New Poland, a name which will encourage the emigration thither of the Poles.

As the Prince is by his charge the Governor of the Duchy of Mazovia, he hopes that the honorable Congress will make him Governor also or Stadtholder of this New Poland, and that it will give him the rights which other Princes such as that of Monaco enjoy; and that he and his successors or those who may hold their place may have their voice in the Congress, in the same manner as the citizens of the other Colonies.

*Explanation and Reasons* of certain Articles and Conditions which the Prince Mostowski Palatine of the Duchy of Mazovia, &c., asks for with a grant in the Colonies.

Article 2. The same rights which other Princes enjoy, &c. As the Prince proposes to send a number of Poles to this Grant, it is certain that if he has all

rights and privileges his fellow citizens will be encouraged to settle there, for they can trust no one more fully than the Prince, their fellow citizen and Senator. It is for this reason that the Prince desires that the country should be known by name of New Poland.

*He demands to be the Governor, &c.* Because he is already the Governor of the Duchy of Mazovia.

Article 3. *To have his Embassadors to Congress, &c.* In order to sustain his interests and to make report to Congress.

Article 4. *That he be only subject to the General Congress, &c.*

It will cost an enormous deal of trouble and money to settle this Country, and if different jurisdictions must be appealed to its citizens will be ruined; which will cause them to leave the Country, and thereby the Population will greatly suffer. On the other the jurisdiction of the Country itself, having in view the sufferings of the inhabitants will spare them in its own interest.

In France the Dukes and Peers as well as the Lawyers and Attorneys of Parliament have the right of *Commitimus* and are only responsible to Parliament. In this manner the Prince created by the Congress wishes to be responsible only to it.

Article 11. *In his Arms the letters L. C. libertas Coloniarum.*

In honor of the gratitude he and his successors will owe to Congress and because he will be a Member of the free Colonies.

In the same manner as the Republic, when it gives titles of Nobility to any person gives him arms also in honor of it.

The Republic of the Colonies will be thus sure to have in the north of Poland

the family of the Prince, those who are allied to him and others always devoted to its interests and to its liberty and independence.

Article 13. *The right of Coinage, &c.*

In a country which is becoming settled a great deal of Money is necessary and if the Prince does not have his own mint he may find himself compelled to take the money of his neighbors and give them an advantage to his own loss.

The Prince of Monaco has also this right.

Article 16. *To Standing Armies.*

An Army is of indispensable necessity. Moreover it will stimulate population; since the infinite number of young men in Europe who have a desire to be Soldiers would be drawn there.

*Title of Grant.* Whereas the Prince Mostowski Palatine of the Duchy of Marzovia, &c., has given to our Colonies an evident proof of his attachment and devotion to us at a considerable expense of his own monies to aid us in the present war.

Therefore to testify our gratitude to him, We &c., &c., &c.

*Note.* These curious papers are in the possession of the New York Historical Society; none of them bear any date. They are endorsed "To M. Rusch, under the name of Berginas, the Balm has been sent by M. Savaror, Merchant."

EDITOR.

## SETTLEMENT OF ACADIA

*Translated for the Magazine*

We have already reported that the Hollanders continued their voyages in the West Indies and the English in Virginia. As to the French voyagers in New France the Sieur des Monts ob-

tained from the King in this year (1608) a new confirmation of his privilege for the traffic in Beaver skins in New France, in order to enable him better to establish his colonies for the future, and in the month of March he sent three ships, carrying good workmen and their families, to establish Republics there. It will not be out of place to relate when he began his voyage thither.

In the year 1603, the Sieur des Monts having proposed to the King that a settlement should be begun in New France, and that he should not be satisfied with a simple reconnoissance of the country, obtained from his Majesty permission to go thither with the title of Vice-Admiral and with prohibition to all, except those associated with him in the enterprise, to fit out any vessels for the trade in furs or other merchandize for the period of the ten years his privilege, that is from the Cap de Raze up to the fortieth degree, including the entire coast of Cadie-land and Cap Breton, the Bays of St. Cler, Chaleur, Isle-percée, Gachepé, Chichedec, Mesamechi, Lesquemin, Tadousac and Canada river.

The seventh of March, in the year 1604, the Sieur des Monts set sail with two ships from Havre de Grace, to begin the aforesaid settlement there and to pass a winter. Arrived after several storms at sea, he established his first settlement in the river of Canada, in the island of St. Croix, where he built a fort, which he armed with cannon and supplied with several wooden houses; others constructed huts for themselves, after the manner of the Savages. In short they cleared the island, and divided some land in the neighborhood, where they



sowed grain and put everything in the best order possible to pass the winter. However, the Sieur de Poitrincourt, who had accompanied him on this voyage, returned to France with two ships, which carried several bales of Beaver skins and other kinds of fur.

The winter, which is very severe in this country, arriving, these new settlers suffered great inconvenience, first for want of wood and next for fresh water, having only a single boat in which to pass the great river in search of these things, their boat not being repaired; then it was pitiful; the frosts and snows were so severe that the cider froze in the casks; and wine was only served out certain days in the week; many who drank snow water fell suddenly ill of diseases unknown in Europe, similar to those which those had who accompanied Jacques Quartier in former times: First their legs swelled, their muscles became shrunken and black, then the disease crept up the hips, thighs and shoulders to the arms and neck; their mouths were covered with a rotten flesh which spread all over and grew afresh between night and morning when they thought to remove it, so that in a short time thirty-six died of it. There were about forty men who were cured when spring returned.

The winter over, the Sieur des Monts refitted the bark to explore other land where settlement might be more healthy than at Saint Croix; he coasted along several countries until he reached Malebarre, but not finding a suitable place he returned to his first settlement, awaiting the arrival of some vessel in which to return to France. While he was in this state the Sieur de Pont Grave

arrived from Honfleur with a company of some forty men to succor him; their coming decided them to establish themselves at a part at which the Sieur de Poitrincourt had asked permission of the said Sr. des Monts to settle on his return; which he had called Port Royal and which is in the Bay Française.

This determined upon each one takes down his lodging; all were transported to the new settlement, which was picked out upon an Island opposite to the mouth of the river de l'Esquille; all set to work, some upon the dwellings and others to put the ship in a condition to return to France and to carry such peltries as they had collected. The Sieur des Monts embarked upon his return and left Du-Pont as his Lieutenant with Champdore and Champlain, who labored with such diligence upon their new habitation that when the winter arrived their dwellings were completed.

Winter arriving, the savages of the country assembled together from various places and came to the Port Royal to barter Beaver, Otter and Elk skins and fresh meat. The settlement was a little better situated than that at Island St. Croix, although there were six who died of the same disease as those the year previous.

The sea becoming navigable the Sieur du Pont fitted up the bark to explore new lands, but upon his voyage the wind drove it upon the rocks where it was lost; those on board were saved; this is the reason why no discovery was made this Summer and that all that the French could do was to build another bark and a gig to look for some French vessels on the cod fisheries by which to return to

France in case the *Sieur des Monts* should not send any vessel to their relief.

The month of June, 1606, passing and the *Sieur du Pont* finding that no one arrived from France to replace him, loaded his boat and his sloop with all the peltry he had, left only two Frenchmen in the Port Royal and set sail in search of some Newfoundlanders on the fishing banks (they rarely came nearer to Port Royal than one hundred and fifty leagues) in order to return to France; but he learned on the way that the *Sieur de Poitrincourt* had been seen in a vessel bound to Port Royal; this advice caused his return; it is impossible to express the joy felt by both at their meeting.

*Du Pont* had built the lodgings at Port Royal, and *Poitrincourt* as soon as he arrived made the first sowings of grain, hemp, flax, turnip, horseradish, cabbages and other crops; *Du Pont* remaining until the twenty-fifth of August, saw them come out of the ground, then set sail to carry the news to France, with the intention, should he fall in with it on his way, of attacking a Normand vessel which did not belong to their Company, and was trading for skins with the Savages against the prohibition.

As for the *Sieur de Poitrincourt* he busied himself with the bark, during the remainder of the Summer and Fall, in the exploration of harbors and of what the land yielded between the fortieth and forty-sixth degree. He first visited the Island of St. Croix; thence he returned towards Malebarre and the country of the *Armouchiquois*, to look up a more convenient place for the settlement than Port Royal; in which voyage he passed ten months and a half before re-

turning to the fort, where he passed the winter and with him all his People, with less diseases than the years preceding, because of his management and good order; notwithstanding four died. He built the first water mill in that country; and the spring arriving he gave orders for the preparation of two barks.

The Company of the *Sieur des Monts* not being as profitable to his companions as they had hoped, they dissolved it; so that he was forced to send for the *Sieur de Poitrincourt*, who was sorry to have to return to France and abandon entirely the fort of Port Royal to the Savage *Membertouts* without leaving a single Frenchman behind him. Before leaving he awaited the ripening of all the grains and fruit he had sowed and carried some of them to France, where he arrived toward the end of September, leaving no Frenchman behind him to winter in this country.

There were many causes for the breaking up of the Company of the *Sieur des Monts*: among others a Captain *La Jeunesse* had joined with some Hollanders and carried away all the Beaver skins from the great Canada river, which was greatly to the detriment of the Company; they made enemies also because of the vessels they took; nevertheless this year the King having confirmed the *Sieur des Monts* anew in his privileges with the same prohibitions, he sent three ships more and a Colony under the command of *Champdore* and *Champlain*; *Champdore* re-peopled Port Royal and *Champlain* made a new settlement at *Kebec*; so the pilots of the vessels which carried them over reported on their return.—*Le Mercure François*, 1608.

## NOTES

INDIAN AND FRENCH HISTORY IN WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA. NO. II.—In my previous article, I find I was in error in stating that the original French route from Lake Erie to the Allegheny river was by the (then so called) Leboeuf river. More thorough examination would have prevented the mistake, but I hardly regret it, as in now rectifying it, I will have an opportunity to point out passages in popular histories, on which my statement was founded, tending to mislead, and which, if scrutinized, seem in a measure to be deductions from facts not sufficiently established.

With regard to the route of Capt. Celeron in 1749, and the lead plates buried by him along the Ohio river, we find in *Pioneer History*, by S. P. Hildreth, published in 1848, by the Historical Society of Cincinnati, at page 19 this statement: "The route of Capt. Celeron must have been from Presque Isle over on to the heads of Leboeuf (French Creek) and thence down the Allegheny." "We have proof of this fact in the dates of the leaden plates since found in several places." The dates leading to this conclusion I shall notice hereafter.

In the *History of Western Pennsylvania*, by a Gentleman of the Bar, published in 1847, at page 35 is given a copy both in French and English of the inscription on the plate deposited by Capt. Celeron found at Venango; and purporting to have been placed at the confluence of the Toradakoin and the Ohio rivers on the 29th day of July, 1749.

In *Annals of the West*, by James R. Albach, published in 1856, we have a repetition of the story of this plate at

page 100 as having been found at Venango, and having been buried by Capt. Celeron at the confluence of the Toradakoin and Ohio rivers.

In addition to the various renderings of the name for this locality such as Wenengo, Weningo, Venango, we find in *Western Annals*, at page 103, an Indian name, for it is said to have been Ganagahhare.

The two routes the French took in passing from Canada to the Ohio river have some topographical features common to both. Thus each had one point on Lake Erie, then a portage of about fifteen miles to a lake, and then a passage way for boats over the waters flowing out of the smaller lakes respectively to the Allegheny river. If history connected with these routes was purely traditional, there would be easy opportunity for misapprehension; fortunately as to the French operations on the southern shore of Lake Erie in 1753, we have the testimony of an eye witness in the narrative of Mr. Stephen Coffen, who was captured by the French in 1747, and worked for them as a prisoner for several years afterwards. (See *Western Annals*, page 101). According to his statement the Fort Le Presque Isle was commenced in the Spring of 1753, and as soon as it was finished a wagon road was cut to the river Aux Boeufs where another Fort was then established.

I may remark in passing, that the other Fort built at that time, viz: Le Boeuf, stood on the north bank of the inlet to Le Boeuf lake, just east of the Susquehanna and Waterford turnpike. Some rods south-west of it, within sight of the road, was the small lake or pond (Leboeuf)

where the French collected their canoes and bateaux, which, with a favorable stage of the water, were run down the outlet into the river Aux Bœufs (French Creek) and thence to the Allegheny river at Venango (now Franklin). Forty years ago, when all traces of the Fort had disappeared except some earth works, the writer of this gathered clippings of copper and pieces of iron, where apparently had stood a blacksmith's forge within the fort. There is a sketch of this fort on an old map in the Land office at Harrisburg, Pa., of lands surveyed for the Pennsylvania Population Company, towards the close of the last century (1792-3) showing its position.

Returning to Mr. Coffen's narrative, we find that in the Spring of 1753 Monsieur Morang suspended some incipient operations to make a Fort at Chadakoin, because the river Chadakoin was too shallow to carry any boat with provisions, &c., to the Ohio. And that he directed Monsieur Mercie, acting as Commissary and Engineer, to search for a better location, which he did; and three days afterwards reported a more satisfactory one at a place fifteen leagues south west of Chadakoin. As this latter place was Presque Isle (now Erie), we get about the location of the place on Lake Erie named Chadakoin; so called I suppose from being the entrepot for goods to be transported over the Chautauque Lake route.

We also learn that after the road from Presque Isle to Le Bœuf had been completed, Monsieur Peon with two hundred men in four days time in the month of October (1753) cut a wagon road over the carrying place from Lake Erie to

Lake Chadakoin. This would indicate that Chautauque Lake as well as its outlet had the name Chadakoin applied to it at that time.

Four years anterior to this the Marquis Gallisoniere, the French Commander in Canada, directed Captain Louis Celeron to place at the mouths of its tributary streams along the Ohio river, lead plates on which should be inscribed the claim of France to the possession of the Ohio river and all lands watered by its several branches.

I have collated these fragments of French American History from the several sources named, in order to point out what would seem to be errors from the misplacement of the Celeron plates. We are not left to the common sense inference that these plates would not be buried promiscuously at the mouths of streams without regard to the names inscribed upon them, for the text expressly declares that they were buried at the confluence of the streams respectively named on them with the Ohio river. The one found at Venango (now Franklin) is said to have been carried by the Indians who unearthed it, to Governor Clinton of New York (see Pioneer History by Hildreth, page 19) and is probably still in existence; if so, it can be referred to to settle one point of probable error.

It was from the name Toradakoin on this plate that I inferred such to be the original Indian name for French Creek.

From Mr. Marshall I learn that in reality the name on the above plate was Tchadakoin, a word that could easily get trasmutated into Toradakoin from the corroding of the plates by time. Now Tchadakoin is only one of the various

ways of spelling Chatakoin, the Indian name, as we have shown, of the outlet of Chautauque Lake (now Conewango Creek), and the plate in question would seem clearly intended to be placed where that stream debouches into the Allegheny river at now Warren. I may note here that the inference in Pioneer History at p. 19, that Celeron, from the date of his letters and those on the plates, *must have passed over the French Creek route*, hardly seems tenable. The plate at Venango (Franklin) is dated July 29, 1749. His letter to the Governor of Pennsylvania of the 6th of August, giving notice of the French claims, is dated from Camp sur le Belle Riviere, at an ancient village of the Chouans Indians, which the author of Pioneer History says may have been at Venango; and on the 16th of August he (Celeron) was at the mouth of the Muskingum. I do not see anything in all this that shows clearly whether Celeron found his way to Franklin over the Chautauque and Allegheny route or over the French Creek route.

Did Captain Celeron misplace his lead plates? There can be little doubt of it, if the facts as to the discovery of two of them at the stated localities are correct.

Of the finding of the plate at the mouth of the Muskingum we have a more detailed account than of the other. It was discovered by some boys while bathing in the year 1798, and after passing through several hands was sent by Governor De Witt Clinton to the Antiquarian Society of Massachusetts, in whose possession it is still supposed to be. Badly mutilated by the finders of it, the plate retains clearly the names of the streams at the confluence of which

it was intended to be placed; and these are the rivière YENANGUE and the OYO (Ohio). (For copy of the remnant of this plate and the inscription upon it see Pioneer History at page 20.)

It will be remembered there was no standard authority in those days for the spelling of Indian names, and the substitution of a Y for a V as the initial letter in Venango, is not a wider departure from the modern way of spelling this name than OYO would be in spelling Ohio.

In Pioneer History, at page 22, Yenangue is given as the Indian name of the Muskingum, but probably this is an inference from the name on the plate, which, as suggested, may have been misplaced. It seems a doubt existed at the writing of that history (1848) about where this plate should have been placed, but the fact that it was found at the mouth of the Muskingum appears to be accepted as fully established.

In Heckewelder's Indian Nations, Memoirs of Hist. Soc. of Pa., page 387, the author says, "in the Delaware language there are no such consonants as the German W or the English V." "Before a vowel W was pronounced as in English; before a consonant it was expressed by an indescribable whistling sound." This, however, throws no light upon the various forms in which this name (Venango) appears in print, and I still adhere to the view taken in my first article, that Venango (which we meet with after French occupation) is but a French rendition of Weningo.

Having pointed out the interest awakened as to the actual route of Captain Celeron in 1749, and as to the deposit of

the lead plates by him, I conclude by saying I learn with pleasure that Mr. Marshall, the President of the Buffalo Hist. Soc., has had the good fortune to find in Paris the original manuscript journal of Captain Celeron, with a journal and map of the route by one of his travelling companions, and has been permitted to make extracts from them. Mr. Marshall is one of the few, if not the only person in the country, possessed of knowledge from authentic sources to set all doubt upon this portion of French-American history at rest. I sincerely trust he will furnish one of his interesting articles for the Magazine of American History, and give its readers the benefit of the light he possesses on the subject referred to.

NOTE.—The word rendered in my first article *unnundak* should be *unnungua*.

A. HUIDEKOPER.

*Meadville, Pa.*

BENEDICT ARNOLD'S REWARD.—*Parliament-street, 30th Jan. 1781.* Sir: I have received the honour of your different letters, inclosing bills of exchange upon Harley and Drummond (bankers to the court) to the amount of 5000*l.* sterling, of the receipt of which I regularly gave you notice. On the day they were paid, I placed the sum in the funds in compliance with your intimation; and as the time was extremely favourable, I flatter myself with the pleasure of meeting your approbation, and that you will be pleased with the manner in which I have disposed of it.

As it is proposed that some orders may arrive from you directing the disposal of your money in some different way from

that in which I have employed it, I thought it best not to shut it up entirely, as a long time might elapse before I received from you the necessary powers for transferring the capital, in case I had purchased the stock in your name; meanwhile the dividends could not have been received for your use. The method I have adopted is commonly practised in similar cases, and I can immediately alter it in whatever manner you think proper, as soon as you will do me the honour to give me notice of your sentiments by a letter. The account is as follows.

Bought by Messrs. Samuel and William Scholey, Stock Brokers, for Major General Arnold, 7,000*l.* sterling in the new annuities; at 72½ per cent., in the manner following:

	£	s.	d.
Under the name of Major General Benedict Arnold 100 <i>l.</i> sterling stock at 74 per cent. in the new consolidated annuities, at 4 per cent. and 6,900 <i>l.</i> sterling in the same fund, under the name of James Meyrick, Esq. ....	4,987	10	0
Commission to the Brokers. ....	8	15	0
Letter of attorney for receiving the dividends. ....	0	1	6
	<hr/>		
	£4,996	6	6

There then remains of the 5,000*l.* three pounds thirteen shilling and six pence.

Thus by this method, if I receive any instructions from you for employing your money in a different manner, I can sell out the 6,900*l.* and dispose of your money agreeable to your directions before this letter reaches you; and if it is your wish that it should remain in the funds, it can be placed under your name, by my transferring the 6,900*l.* and joining it to your 100*l.* The reason of my

purchasing the latter sum in your name, was that you might have an account open.

The letter of attorney, here enclosed, enables me also to receive the dividends for the whole 7000*l.* after I have transferred, if it is your wish that I should do it. I hope that I have now explained everything sufficiently, and I can assure you I have acted with greater care in this transaction than if it had been for myself.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,  
To Gen. Arnold. James Meyrick.

*Political Magazine* II. 647. W. K.

MARRIAGE IN HIGH LIFE.—At Honolulu, Sandwich Islands, 12 May last (1839), by the Rev. J. Diell, Missionary, Mr. Benjamin Franklin Church to Maoki, Princess of Molokai. This marriage in high life must be interesting to some of the ladies of St. Andrews, who must feel proud of the preference given by their former beau, late of the Chamcork paper mill, to the copper colored charms of his royal squaw over the blue noses and white skins of New Brunswick. There is no disputing about taste.—*St. Andrews Standard*. S.

A FISH STORY.—The following paragraph appeared in the *Columbian Centinel* for July, 1804. It is very fishy; I doubt if even a New England haddock would take Continental money. "Capt. Snow Stetson informs us, that while on a fishing party, off Cohasset rocks, he caught a Haddock; and upon opening it for the purpose of cookery, he found in the stomach, Three Hundred and Forty-four dollars—in old Continental money,

new emission. The paper was formed into a roll; and was but little injured."

PETERSFIELD.

BONES OF COLUMBUS.—*Washington, Nov. 1.* The United States consul at San Domingo has transmitted to the Department of State an account of the recent discovery of the bones of Columbus in the Cathedral in that city. Dying in Spain in 1506, the remains of Columbus were first deposited in the Convent of St. Francis. In 1513 they were transferred to the Caithusian Convent of Los Cuevas, from whence they were shipped to San Domingo in 1536, and deposited in the Cathedral in that city. In 1796 these remains, as it was then and up to the present discovery believed, were conveyed in great pomp to the Cathedral of Havana, where they were supposed to have reposed ever since. The consul at San Domingo says that while some workmen were digging up the floor around the pulpit in the Cathedral, to make some repairs, they exposed to view a walled orifice containing a leaden case two feet long, by eight inches deep and eight inches wide, the inscription on which bore uncontested evidence that the contents were the bones of Christopher Columbus. Immediately upon this discovery being made the remains were restored to their original resting-place and the receptacle walled up. On the 10th of September, in the presence of the Governor and other government officials and the various consuls, amid the sound of martial music and the booming of cannon, the remains were again exhumed, the box, bones, and inscription examined and the facts recorded and attested to by

all the officials and consuls present. The lead box containing the remains was then enclosed in another box, carefully sealed with the seals of the consuls, to be opened only in their presence, and placed in the custody of Padre Ballinie, in the Church of Regina Anglorum, to be held by him subject to investigation by any foreign commissions desirous of satisfying themselves of the facts and until a suitable amount can be raised to erect a fitting monument over the remains. It being suggested that other countries might like to contribute to the erection of this monument, the various consuls were requested to bring the subject to the attention of their respective governments in order to give them a chance to do so. The ancient records of the Cathedral in San Domingo having been long ago destroyed by vandals, no facts concerning the supposed removal of these remains to Havana can be ascertained in San Domingo; but it is conjectured that the monks palmed off on the Spaniards the remains of somebody else, retaining to themselves and their Cathedral the venerated bones of the great navigator.—*The Press, Phil., Nov. 2, 1877.*

THE WRECK OF THE SAGUNTO.—The records of the Isles of Shoals contain the following entry: "Ship Sagunto Stranded on Smotinose Ile, Jan'y 14, 1813; Jan'y 15 one man foun; 16th, 6 mend found, 21—7 the Number of men yet found belonging to said ship twelve." It will be seen that the author of this paragraph was poor at addition, but it is reasonable to suppose that he knew the name of the ship which was lost, being a resident of an island adjoining Smutty

Nose. The author of "Nooks and Corners of the New England Coast," p. 184, states that this was *not* the Sagunto, and that the ship actually lost was "unknown," while at that time the "Sagunto" was lying, after a terrible buffeting, within a safe harbor."

The proof offered in support of these statements is found in the *Boston Columbian Sentinel*, of Jan. 16, 1813, that the "Sagunto, [of] Carrera, seventy-three days from Cadiz for New York, arrived at Newport [R. I.] Monday, January 11th."

The *Centinel* of Jan. 20th has a notice of the wreck of an unknown ship on Smutty Nose, and says that it was probably the one spoken by the "Gold-Coiner, on the Banks." We may add in passing that the same paper reports in its issue of Jan. 13th, that the Gold-Coiner "spoke nothing." The *Boston Gazette*, however, Jan. 18th, reports a ship lost on Smutty Nose. On the 21st more particulars are given, and a letter found proved that the ship was from Cadiz; Jan. 28th, still fuller particulars are given, and the name of the ship is the "Segunto, commanded by Captain Dou or Don, from Cadiz bound to New York." This might be considered sufficient, but the records of New York show that no ship Segunto arrived at that port, while the *New York Commercial Advertiser* of Jan. 20th, mentioned the wreck at the Shoals, and on the 28th copies the *Gazette's* account, declaring that the ship was the "Segunto." The master, if correctly reported as "for New York," either changed his destination on account of the blockade, or was driven by the gale to the Shoals. This case shows how writers may be mistaken. REVIEW.



## QUERIES

THE STRAITS OF MAGELLAN.—Who discovered the Straits of Magellan? Pigafetti, the Scribe of Magellan, says that navigator knew from a chart in the Treasury of the King of Portugal, that the entrance to the western sea would be through a narrow concealed passage. Schoner's globe (1520) of South America, which, like the map of Hieronimo Verazana (1529), gives the entire west coast of South America conjecturally (?) shows such a passage. Now, therefore, where did Schoner get his idea. Was it from Behaim; or is the reported date of Schoner's globe a false one? D.

WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS 1778.—Where was Fredericksburg, Washington's Headquarters, in the Autumn of 1778? I would like to have the exact locality, as I have had a dispute about the position of the place, and I cannot find it in any of my Gazetteers. I. C.

YALE COLLEGE.—Is not Yale the College referred to in the following inscription on a tombstone now in the old burying ground at Sagg, near Bridgehampton, Long Island?

"Here lies ye  
Body of Mr.  
Henry White,  
Student of  
the College,  
who died May  
4th, 1748, in his  
23d Year."

T. H. M.

INVERTED INTERROGATION POINT.—I have a copy of Sterne's Sentimental Journey, printed by Isaiah Thomas at Worcester, Mass., in 1793, in which many

of the interrogative sentences are preceded by an inverted interrogation point; thus, "—¿You have been in France?"—"¿And what then?" As I have never before observed this use of the interrogation point I would be pleased to have it explained. I. C.

REWARD FOR INDIAN SCALPS.—"The scalping mode of warfare having been recently represented as peculiar to the red savages of the wilderness, the following Pittsburgh publication will demonstrate that their enlightened, Christian white neighboring brethren have long since adopted their reprobated example:

## INDIAN SCALPS!

*Pittsburgh, May 17, 1791.*

"We the subscribers, encouraged by a large subscription, do promise to pay One Hundred Dollars for every hostile Indian's Scalp, with both ears to it, taken between this date and the 15th day of June next, by any inhabitant of Allegany County.

George Wallis,  
Robert Elliot,  
William Amberson,  
Adamson Tannehill,  
William Wilkins, Jr.,  
John Irwin.

"The preceeding six worthies, it is said, are the principals of an association of the most civilized, humane and pious inhabitants of Pittsburgh."

The above statement appeared in the Providence Gazette and was copied into the Boston Gazette of June 28, 1813. It is not a very satisfactory result of Penn's policy.

Are there any later instances of rewards being offered for scalps? W. K.

REPLIES

**ERKURIES BEATTY.**—(I. 372, 452.) Although Gen. Stryker made extraordinary exertions to get the names of the officers and men from New Jersey in the Revolutionary war, contained in the official Register of New Jersey, he never claimed he got all. The fact asserted in the Beatty Family Record that Erkuries Beatty served in the New Jersey troops before he was promoted Ensign in the Pennsylvania Line is proved by the original letter on file in the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth at Harrisburg, from Samuel Erwin to John Bayard, a member of the Council of Safety, dated Feb. 17, 1777, on which is endorsed "Petition and Recommendation of Erkuries Beatty appointed." The letter is as follows :

Sir: There is one of Mr. Beatty's sons who was put Apprentice to a Gentleman in Elizebeth Town; who is now with me, his Master having quit business on account of the Enemy being in that Neighbourhood. The young man hath been Six Months in the Service of his country with the Jersey troops, and is still inclined to try his fortune in the Army, and more so as Captain Bradford hath given him encouragement to expect an office in some of the New Batalions now raising in this State. I can Recommend him to you for his Honesty and Soberiety and I think he will be Faithful in the Discharge of any trust committed to him according to the best of his Knowledge. As I Expect he will Deliver this into your Hand you will therefore have an opportunity of seeing and talking with him, and if you should thinke him a fit person for an offiser I hope you

will assist him with your Interest in the Council of Safety, but if you thinke otherwise advise him not to put in his petition. If I did not Know that you had a great regard for Mr. Beatty I would blame my self for intruding upon you so much as I have don in respect of his Family, and I have no other Excuse to make to you or my self for so doing and freely submit the above request to your Judgment and am Sr your

Friend & Humb. Svt.

Samuel Erwin.

February 17, 1777.

P. S. The young man being on his way to see his Sisters you will have an opportunity to send their money.

To Coll. John Byard att Philadelphia  
*Harrisburg, Pa.* JOHN B. LINN.

**AUTHOR OF PLAIN TRUTH.**—(I. 633 693). I suppose W. K. attributes Plain Truth to Rev. Charles Inglis on the authority of the "State of the Anglo-American Church," in which Inglis says "In February last I wrote an answer to a pamphlet entitled Common Sense . . . one of the most virulent, artful and pernicious pamphlets I ever met with.' This answer, Inglis says, was published in Philadelphia and reached a second edition. I have a pamphlet that is evidently the one meant. It is entitled "The True Interest of America impartially stated, in certain strictures on a pamphlet entitled Common Sense. By an American. 2nd Edition, Philadelphia 1776. The preface is dated February 16th and begins "The following pages contains an answer to one of the most artful, insidious, and pernicious pamphlets I have ever met with."

In a pamphlet entitled "Additions to Plain Truth," written by the author of "Plain Truth," is the following unclerical sentence: "We hope the candid reader will be gratified with the following extracts on that subject by that universal genius Voltaire and by the almost inspired Montesquieu."

Furthermore, Candidus knows too much and feels too strongly about Pennsylvania affairs for a New Yorker. He is also "possessed of property" and "silvered with age, a friend of John Dickinson and acquainted with almost all the members of Congress."

In the Congress of 1774 Galloway spoke: "I am as much a friend of liberty as exists, and no man shall go further in point of fortune or in point of blood than the man who now addresses you." In the same unclerical vein Candidus writes: "Passionately devoted to true liberty, I glow with the purest flame of patriotism . . . if I know myself my humble sword shall not be wanting to my country."

F. BURDGE.

FOREIGN GRAPES IN AMERICA.—(I. 633, 694.) The Bermuda Company of London, Feb. 15, 1615-6, advised Capt. Daniel Tucker, Governor of the Somer Islands, that "Wee have sent you vynes and vyne cuttings, to be put into the grounds, lett them be fenced from cattle and conies and kept cleane from weeds and multiplie them by puttinge all yor vyne cuttings everye yeare into the ground, that you may have many acres in several places planted with them, 8 or 10 foote asunder, you may lead them alonge or upright upon poles or lett them runne from tree to tree at your pleasure."

W. K.

WILLIAM S. CARDELL (I. 633) was a teacher in the city of New York in 1825-6, and perhaps longer; about that time he passed out of my notice. I think he was not principal but assistant in a school. Besides "Jack Halyard the Sailor Boy," he was the author of an "Essay on Language," New York, 1825, and "Elements of English Language," New York, 1826. Much reading of Tooke's "Diversions of Purley" started him as a language reformer after the manner of many others before and since. A few copies of his books are all that is left of his reform.

E. C. B.

PRONUNCIATION OF THE WORD IROQUOIS.—(I. 692.) Schoolcraft (Vol. VI. p. 188) says of the Aquinoshioni or Iroquois, "the French, agreeably to their system, gave them the name of *Iroquois*, a term founded on two Indian radicals, with the Gallic terminal, *ois*, supplied." In the French language this terminal has but one pronunciation, which is as if it was spelled "*wa*." Spiers & Surenné's Dictionary gives the pronunciation of *Iroquois* as *I-ro-koa*. Poetic license surely is not stretched very far in making the name rhyme with "law" and "shore;" and "me judici," neither the *Herald* nor the *Press* are correct in condemning this use of the name in poetry.

H. E. H.

#### DECEMBER PROCEEDINGS OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The regular monthly meeting was held in the Hall of the Society on the evening of Tuesday, December 4, 1877, the

President, Frederic de Peyster, LL.D., in the chair. The nominating committee submitted a list of officers recommended to the Society for election for the coming year.

Among the gifts of books to the Library was one of great value from Mr. Paul S. Forbes (the French Voyages of Du Petit Thouairs around the World, Dumont d'Urville to the South Pole, and Baron de Bougainville Around the Globe, in twenty-five elegant volumes, printed under the direction of the French Government. This set was presented to Mr. Forbes while Consul of the United States at Canton, in recognition of the disinterested services rendered by him to French sailors in the China seas during the years 1847-1848-1849-1850. On motion of the Librarian, Mr. Forbes received the thanks of the Society by resolution.

The paper of the evening was then read by Rev. B. F. de Costa. The subject was "The Globe of Euphrosynus Ulpus 1542, and its Relation to the Map of Verrazano 1529." The announcement of this paper attracted to the Hall a large audience, including many gentlemen interested in the investigation of the early discoveries and the history of the coast line of America. The Globe was shown upon the platform. Its history is interesting. It was made at Florence but found a few years since in Madrid by the late Buckingham Smith, and secured for the Library by the liberality of the late John David Wolfe.

There were two brothers who bore the name of Verrazano, Giovanni and Hieronimo. Giovanni was the leader in the Voyage made to America in the name of Francis I., during 1524, and Hieronimo the author of the Map illustrating

the voyage, which forms the foundation of the history of this country. These two brothers, through the Voyage and Map, became living factors in American History. The Map of Hieronimo was a geographical curiosity. In addition to an isthmus at Darien, it showed one in the latitude of New York, behind which isthmus was spread out the great Pacific. The navigator, like the people of his age, believed in the existence of a great sea supposed to cover a large portion of the present area of the United States.

The influence of the Verrazano map was shown to have been very extensive. Geographers have not appreciated this, for the reason that they had no sufficient knowledge of the map, which has been grossly misrepresented. Another curious feature of the Verrazano Map, was its nomenclature. A copy of this map was presented to Henry VIII., and though it is now lost, we know that on that map the American coast was covered with Italian names. The names at the outset appear curious, but, upon close examination, many proved to be the names of well known places in France, lying chiefly on the road between Dieppe and La Rochelle, a route that may have been travelled often by Hieronimo. Mr. de Costa declared that the Globe of Ulpus was a valuable relic of antiquity, and an authentic memorial of the Voyage of Verrazano, in 1524.

On the conclusion of the paper, Mr. de Costa received the thanks of the Society. We are happy to announce to our readers that he has kindly consented to place his investigations at the service of the readers of the Magazine at an early day.

National Sovereignty. We find of course a review of the various charters under which the old colonies held their claims. The purpose of the paper is to prove that in Maryland arose the original idea that the western country should be "parcelled out by Congress into convenient and independent governments," and her influence in securing its triumph is clearly established. With regard to the proprietary right in the lands, there was not so much dispute as concerning the right of jurisdiction over them which the States proposed to reserve. Fortunately the experiment of a confederation had so worn out the patience of the people that an overwhelming pressure of public opinion brought the most obstinate to reason, and secured the firm establishment of an indissoluble union and a National Government.

Mr. Adams' paper is an admirable contribution to the history of this interesting period. We rejoice to see such strong assertions of the true foundation of national sovereignty as we find in these pages. Not in the social contract, but in necessity and the public good, Mr. Adams finds this true foundation; not in compact or written constitution, but in the united interests of a people must we look for the origin of the States, and more than all in that community of material interests which arises from the *permanent* relation of a people to some fixed territory.

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SECOND REPORT OF THE RECORD  
COMMISSIONERS OF THE CITY OF BOSTON,  
1871. 8vo, pp. 229.

In this volume, which will be found invaluable to historians and genealogists, a beginning is made towards the printing of the ten volumes of Records of the Acts of the town of Boston from 1634 to 1822. The present volume comprises the records in the first volume, 1634-1661, and the transcript of a volume entitled "The Book of Possessions." A thorough index of names completes this carefully edited volume.

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THE FIRST COURTS AND EARLY  
JUDGES OF NEW BRUNSWICK. A Paper read  
before the New Brunswick Historical Society,  
by J. W. LAWRENCE, Esq., President, Novem-  
ber 25, 1874. 8vo, pp. 31. J. & A. McMIL-  
LAN, Printers, St. John, N. B. 1875.

We are glad of an opportunity to call attention to this monograph, in which historical students will find a great deal of information concerning the loyalists and refugees from Massachusetts and New York who made a part of the government of this province in its original foundation in 1784, among them the Uphams, Putnams, Winslows,

and Blisses from Massachusetts, "Giants of the Law," and the Ludlows from New York. The sketches give some account of each of the first twelve judges.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE  
OF CHARITIES, HELD IN CONNECTION WITH  
THE GENERAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN  
SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION, DETROIT, MAY,  
1875. 8vo, pp. 107. Printed for the Confer-  
ence. TOLMAN & WHITE. Boston, 1875.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE  
OF CHARITIES, HELD IN CONNECTION WITH  
THE GENERAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN  
SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION, AT SARATOGA,  
SEPTEMBER, 1877. Published for the Confer-  
ence by A. WILLIAMS & Co., Boston, 1877.

These reports are well worth perusal. We particularly notice the able article of Mr. Hamilton Andrews Hill of Boston on Immigration in the first, and Professor W. Wayland's treatise on the Tramp question in the last report.

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BIOGRAPHIES OF FRANCIS LEWIS AND  
MORGAN LEWIS, by their grand daughter  
JULIA DELAFIELD. Vol. II, 12mo, pp. 244. A.  
D. F. RANDOLPH & Co., New York. 1877.

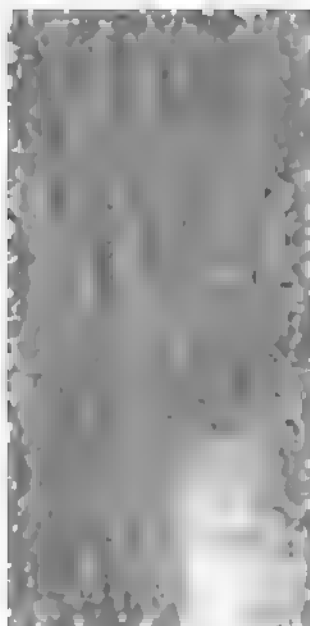
We have already invited the attention of our readers to the first volume of these pleasant reminiscences, which was devoted to Francis Lewis. This, the second, is a pleasing biography, full of personal detail of Morgan Lewis. Those curious in genealogy will find a careful account of the Delafield family and its alliances. The library of every New York family should contain a copy of these chatty volumes.

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MONEY AND LEGAL TENDER OF THE  
UNITED STATES, by H. R. LINDERMAN, Di-  
rector of the Mint. 12mo, pp. 173. G. P.  
PUTNAM'S SONS, New York. 1877.

The object of this publication is to provide certain valuable information concerning laws relating to coinage, legal tender and the money standard in a brief and convenient form. It is a most welcome and timely book, and all the more desirable from the authority of its author. In it the student may find all that he needs to an understanding of this subject which, simple in itself, is obscured by the ignorant arguments of political sciolists.





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# MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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## THE LETTER OF VERRAZANO

**G**IOVANNI da Verrazano was born at Val di Greve, a little village near Florence, about the year 1485, being the son of Piero Andrea di Bernardo da Verrazano and Fiametta Capella. The portrait of the Italian Navigator which accompanies this discussion is reproduced from the representation found in "Uomini Illustri Toscani," which was copied from a painting in the Royal Gallery at Florence. A search recently instituted failed to bring the original portrait to light. An attempt to find a copy of the medal that was struck in his honor met with no better success. The last member of the family in Florence was Cavaliere Andrea da Verrazano, who died in 1819. There is nothing either to prove or to disprove the authenticity of the portrait, and the presumption is in favor of its authenticity. It is now faithfully reproduced for the first time, though on a diminished scale.

In his mature years, after some experience upon the Mediterranean, Verrazano entered the service of Francis I. of France, and became famous as a privateer or corsair, a profession sufficiently respectable at that period, having been followed by Columbus and his family. In 1523 Verrazano captured several ships bringing to Spain the Treasures of Montezuma. This act in particular excited the enmity of the Spaniards, who constantly sought for an opportunity to get him into their power. In 1524 he made his voyage to America. In 1527, it has been maintained, he was captured by the Spaniards and hung at Colmenar, near Toledo; though Ramusio states that, in a second voyage to America, he was captured by the savages, roasted and eaten. In the year 1870 the present writer accepted and published the story of his execution, as told in certain Spanish documents since published.

Amongst these documents is the affidavit of the officer who professed to have put Verrazano to death. It was nevertheless noticed that the language of the officer appeared needlessly positive. Of late, evidence has come to light which may yet be accepted as disproving the state-



ments of the Spanish official, who possibly deceived himself in supposing that Verrazano had been captured ; or, what is still more likely, deceived others, and, while professing to have executed the Florentine, accepted the bribe which he declares was refused, and thus let him go. This subject, however, is one that must be left for future investigation.

Another member of the same Florentine family, a brother of Giovanni, was named Hieronimo. This person was the author of the Map which relates to Giovanni's Voyage.

The subject of Verrazano's Voyage being reserved for a separate chapter, let us at once proceed to the Letter which describes the Voyage.

The first known Post-Columbian description of the North Atlantic Coast is given by Verrazano in a Letter to Francis I., which has exercised a marked influence for more than three hundred years. Nevertheless the authenticity of this Letter has recently been questioned. The objection based upon an alleged absence of contemporaneous reference to the voyage might be dismissed with the simple observation, that the charge is unfounded. Still something will be said on this point. In this connection, it has been urged by the late Buckingham Smith, the first of the two writers who have criticised the letter adversely, that neither the Letter nor the Voyage is mentioned by Admiral Chabot in his letters of 1525. This, however, is not remarkable, since the voyage of Verrazano was undertaken before he entered upon his office, which was in 1526, while afterwards an expedition was sent out under his own administration, the expedition being led by Cartier, 1534. The latter was the expedition that he would naturally recognize, though there is no proof that he did *not* recognize that of Verrazano, with whom he was associated in a projected voyage to the Indies in 1526 or later.

Mr. Smith has asked, respecting the voyage, "u there were any fame of the sort, why should France choose to settle her population so far to the North, preferring the cold regions her fishermen were conceded to have found, to the milder climate, fertile vales, and inviting bays and water courses of New England and New York?" We have only to ask in reply, Why Spain proposed the colonization and fortification of the Straits of Magellan? The French supposed that the route to Cathay led through Canada. Frobisher advocated the same policy on the part of the English.

In this connection it should, however, be remembered that the archives of France, much less those of other countries, have not been searched faithfully, and, also, that the beginning of the sixteenth century

was an inopportune time for the publication of the results of maritime enterprise. The records of Dieppe suffered much in the bombardment of 1694, while the archives of La Rochelle were completely destroyed by fire. The sixteenth century opened gloomily with the confirmation of the claim of Spain to the entire North American Continent by Alexander VI., and the first quarter of the century was hardly completed when Francis I. found himself languishing in prison, whence he emerged only to find society in a state of confusion. Heylin, writing in 1669, well observes respecting the inattention to the voyage, that the people, "too much in love with the pleasures of France, or entangled in civil wars amongst themselves, looked no farther after it."

At the time Verrazano undertook his voyage, every movement connected with the French Marine was watched with a jealous eye. He was obliged to leave stealthily, and excuse his action by the statement that he had discovered a country never before seen by Europeans.

Only two Italian versions of the Letter of Verrazano are known to exist, one of these having been published by Ramusio, at Venice, in 1556, and the Carli version first mentioned in 1767, and published by the New York Historical Society in 1841. Ramusio does not say where he found his copy, but observes that it was the only one of Verrazano's letters to the King of France that he could procure, "because the others were destroyed during the sack of the poor city of Florence." The Carli version, which had been referred to in 1667, was found in the Magliabechian Library at Florence. It was introduced to the public in 1837 by Professor Greene, and printed in full in the year 1841. In his article in the North American Review, Professor Greene observed that he was struck by the difference of language in the two versions, though "in substance," the differences were not important. Nevertheless, finding that the Carli version contained more matter than that of Ramusio, he expressed the opinion, in passing, that the Italian Editor worked the piece over anew before placing it in his collection of Voyages; though he could not explain why Ramusio omitted the cosmographical part, if he knew of its existence. The suggestion that Ramusio worked the Letter over appears to have been made without due consideration. It has never been supported by any proof. Nevertheless the statements of Professor Greene have been seized upon to work out a theory in opposition to the authenticity of the Letter. If it were conceded that the Carli version furnished the text of Ramusio's, no discredit would be thrown upon the authenticity of the original. This was not intended by Professor Greene, who accepted the Letter, as describing a genuine voyage. But the objector improves

upon the supposition, by attempting to show that the Letter was a forgery, the weak points of which Ramusio was endeavoring to conceal. The charge against Ramusio, the Hakluyt of Italy, becomes a serious one, and demands notice here, both to vindicate his text, and to defend his memory. It is perfectly true that the two versions are not wholly alike. It is of no consequence whether they are alike or not. Still the existing differences may be explained readily when we remember that we are not dealing with originals. When they are referred to an original version, the difficulties, if any exist, at once vanish.

An illustration of this is found in connection with Allefonsce. Hakluyt, when translating Allefonsce, makes him say that figs grow in Canada, while another translation represents him as saying that Canada extends to the land of Figuier. Without the original to refer to, one might say that the latter was worked over from the former to conceal the ignorance of Allefonsce. Again, in the printed version of Allefonsce of 1559, it is said that certain people in New England, at Norumbega, are "small and blackish," while a recent translation declares that they are "large and handsome." Was the author of the latter version still "working over" the narrative of Allefonsce to conceal his ignorance, as Ramusio is alleged to have done with Verrazano's? Fortunately the original is now known, and the explanation is easy, though in the time of Lescarbot (1609) such was not the case, and Allefonsce was discredited. At the end of more than two centuries and a half, we find that the strictures of the witty Mark Lescarbot were undeserved, and possibly Verrazano and his Italian Editor may both be obliged to wait an equally long period for a full explanation. The prospect, however, need deter no one from attempting justice now.

The Letter of Carli, which accompanies the Magliabechian version, deserves independent consideration, as it contains internal evidence proving that it was written at the time and under the circumstances alleged. An attempt has indeed been made to treat it with ridicule; but, if it were the forgery of a late period, as the theory of the objector supposes, it must still be explained how the forger came to know the fact that Francis I. was daily expected at Lyons, upon the Fourth of August 1524. Moncado, with whom Carli served, knew of the movements of Francis (*Doc. Ineditos* XXIV. p. 403) and, curiously, Carli refers to Moncado in his letter. Since, therefore, these two persons were not in communication, it would appear that both obtained the information at the time.

In approaching the two versions of the Letter of Verrazano, the critic must bear in mind the fact that neither version proposes to be more than

a translation of a copy of a copy, the original not being found. The origin of the Carli version is explained by the letter referred to, written August 4th, 1524, at Lyons, by Fernando Carli, who says that, with his own, addressed to his father at Florence, he sends a copy of Verrazano's, describing the voyage, then just finished.

An attempt has also been made to prove that upon August 4th Carli could not have obtained a copy of a letter addressed to Francis I. in the beginning of July; but there is nothing in it. On the other hand, the notion that Ramusio created his version from Carli's is not supported by any argument. It is, in fact, an assumption that might be dismissed, for the reason that it is an assumption. But what is worse, it is opposed and refuted by all the literary testimony that is brought to bear upon this distinctly literary question. To this point, therefore, let us give our attention. The style of Ramusio's version is less rude than the Carli version, but mere improvement in style could not have been an object in this case. If it were true that Ramusio knew of the existence of the Carli version, with its cosmographical appendix and accompanying letter, he would have been guilty of falsehood in speaking of his copy alone as "this little that has reached us."

Some of the differences in the two versions have been noticed, and have been referred to as unimportant, which in a sense is true. Those that are to be pointed out for the first time are likewise unimportant in themselves. They become of consequence only when studied in connection with the assumption that the version of Ramusio was drawn from Carli's.

Amongst the variations already noted are the following: Ramusio's version, describing the natives, in latitude 34° N., says that they were "brownish and not much unlike Saracens," while Carli's version says, "black and not much different from Ethiopians." Again, with reference to the grapes referred to by Verrazano, Ramusio's version reads, "having often seen the fruit thereof dried, which was sweet and pleasant," the Carli version saying, "we have often seen the grapes which they produce, very sweet and pleasant," or, as another translation of the same version reads, "tasting the fruit many times, we perceived it was sweet and pleasant." Again the Ramusio version says, with reference to the northern extension of the voyage, "We approached the land that in times past was discovered by the Bretons, which is in fifty degrees," while the Carli version says that they reached the fiftieth degree, and that "beyond this point the Portuguese had already sailed as far north as the Arctic circle." That there is anything in the Carli version demand

ing change, is simply imagination ; while a careful consideration of the Ramusio version shows that the ideas expressed are not essentially different from the former. There is, therefore, nothing here to indicate that Ramusio ever saw the Carli version. The color of the American Indians was well known ; the term employed in the Carli version for tasting the grapes (*beendo*, sucking) was the one to be employed in tasting dried fruits ; while, with respect to the extent of the Portuguese and French voyages, Carli says that the former *began* at 50° N., and Ramusio teaches, in substance, that the French reached that latitude. Let us, therefore, consider certain variations that are more to the point.

In the Ramusio version the reader will notice that the personal address to the King is used oftener than in that of Carli, and that the former is also different. Ramusio generally says, "your Majesty" (*Vostra Maesta*) and Carli, "your most serene and most Christian Majesty" (*Vostra serenissima et cristianissima Maesta*). In two cases the former's version varies from "your Majesty," by adding *Christianissima Re*, in parenthesis, or simply *Christianissimo*. In Ramusio the address occurs eleven times, and in the Carli version seven times ; and since no reason can be assigned for such variations on the part of Ramusio, they cannot be attributed to him. The Venetian Secretary was a man with a purpose. Besides, these examples of the excessive use of terms occur in the early portion of the Letter, while farther on, where literary taste or courtesy might suggest the interpolation of "your Majesty," the address is *wanting*. This is something that Ramusio would have noticed, since, according to the objector, he even changed the version of Carli from *Vostra clarissima genetrice* to *vostra Serenissima Madre*. Here, however, if Ramusio had been engaged in revising the text, we might reasonably expect the courtly Venetian Secretary, trained as he was in the careful use of forms, to have said your *Majesty's* illustrious mother.

This was so clear to Dr. Coggsell, that in translating he supplied the term omitted by both of the clumsy versions, and he writes "your Majesty's illustrious mother." (N. Y. Hist. Coll. Vol. I. p. 46, C. 19.) In another place he reduces the verbiage of "your most serene and Christian Majesty," to "your Majesty." But in these cases he is *translating*, not revising, and he gives the original for comparison. In translating from Ramusio, Hakluyt, by mistake, once introduces "your Majesty" where it does not belong. The variations in the two texts under consideration are, therefore, the works either of Verrazano himself or his translators and copyists.

Again Carli's version says, "we set sail from a desert rock," while Ramusio reads, "by the grace of God we set sail." The former says that there was a certain depth of water "without flux or reflux," (*Senza flusso e refluxo*) which is good enough Tuscan, while the latter says, "without flux" (*senza flusso*). These variations are trifling in themselves, but they are of a character which forbids us to refer them to the Venetian. Likewise, Carli says that the woods in America are not like "the rough wilds of Scythia," while Ramusio says, "the wild deserts of Tartary." Again, in speaking of the resemblance of a part of the American coast to the shores of the Adriatic, the Carli version reads, "the Adriatic gulf near Illyria and Dalmatia," while the Ramusio version says "Sclavonia and Dalmatia." 'Scythia was included in Tartary, and Illyria was inhabited by Sclavonians, who were widely distributed. The terms employed are such as might properly be used by two translators, while those of Ramusio are manifestly not the terms that would have been substituted by a critic engaged in making improvements.

Carli says, referring to Verrazano's preliminary expedition, "we made a cruise in them [the ships] well armed along the coast of Spain, as your Majesty must have heard," while Ramusio reads, "we took our course along the coast of Spain, as your Majesty shall understand by the profit we received thereby."\* Sound criticism will not refer these changes to Ramusio.

It is also to be noticed that Carli's version says of the voyage, that the first twenty-five days Verrazano sailed in a westerly direction, making eight hundred leagues, while Ramusio says five hundred leagues. Then the former says a storm came February 24th, while the latter says the 20th. After the storm, Carli's version says that they ran four hundred leagues in twenty-four days, while Ramusio's says twenty-five. In speaking of the distance run upon the American coast, Carli's version reads, "seven hundred" leagues, while Ramusio's reads, "seven hundred or more." At the same time the courses given by the latter foot up only six hundred and sixty-five. Again, Carli's version, speaking of the wind during the first course sailed westward, the following language is used: "Sailing westward with a light and pleasant easterly breeze," (*per zeffiro spirando subsolano con dolce e soave levita*), while Ramusio's says: "Sailing westward with a fair easterly wind," (*per Ponente navigando con vento di Levante assai piacevole*.) All this is attributed to a scholar and critic improving the version!

But we have not done with these variations, for the Carli version after describing the natives seen at their first landing in latitude 34° N,

says, "We found not far from these people another whose mode of life we judge to be similar." The version of Ramusio adds to this, "as hereafter I will declare to your Majesty, showing now the situation and nature of the aforesaid land." If Ramusio worked over the Carli version to produce his own, he must have interpolated this sentence. And if so, why? If any changes were made, they were designed to render the sense clearer, or to remove objections. But this addition does neither. The latter limb of the sentence is superfluous, while at the same time, it refers to nothing found in either the Letter or Appendix, and on the whole, obscures the text. It might indeed be said that the phrase indicated an intention to write an additional Letter, but it is more reasonable, however, to understand him as intending to describe the "other people" in their proper place in the present communication. In that case, the explanation of the omission to do so is simple. At the end of the voyage Verrazano wrote to the King, *currente calamo*, depending in this general account more or less upon recollection. When he came to speak of the people first seen, by the law of association, they suggested a similar people not far distant; but, as the description of the country occupied by the former demanded the first place, he proceeded to his work in regular order, simply observing that hereafter he would describe the second people. In the end, however the subject was forgotten, or else he changed his mind. To say that the unkept promise was interpolated by Ramusio is idle. Here is found a mental action that could scarcely happen in the case of a forger constructing an imaginary narrative. It is one of those internal evidences that stamp the Letter as genuine; for it was written out of a mind overflowing with information. There is no halting or forced action, but a multitude of facts are pressing up for statement at the same time. A similar peculiarity is shown further on, by an example that occurs in *both* versions, where the writer, speaking of the temperature being colder than in Rome, says that it is accidental, "as I will hereafter declare to your Majesty," a promise also not kept. This double omission alone proves that the two versions must be referred to *a third*. We say again, therefore, that the peculiar action of the writer's mind indicates the authentic character of the composition; while a candid consideration of all the variations renders it impossible to suppose that the version of Ramusio was worked over from Carli's. This and the kindred assumption, that the Discourse of the Dieppe Captain was changed to agree with the Florentine's, fall together. The charge of dishonesty on the part of Ramusio has no foundation whatsoever in fact.

Where, then, it will be asked, did Ramusio obtain his version? This is a question with which we need not consider, yet as a matter of interest we may show that it was derived originally from the French. On this point we have the testimony of Pinello, who, writing in 1629, speaks of the Relation of Verrazano, detailing what he "discovered north of Florida." This Relation, it is distinctly said, was *in French*, and he supposes that it was translated by Ramusio into Italian.<sup>3</sup> It is also stated that a Spanish translation by one Taxandra existed.<sup>4</sup> Pinello was a Peruvian, who went to Spain expressly to pursue historical and bibliographical studies, in which he was eminently successful. In recognition of his services he was made honorary Judge of the Admiralty at Seville. He wrote more than two centuries and a half ago, and must be credited with a knowledge of the subject. It is apparent that he had information respecting Verrazano that is not accessible now, and when he says that the French version was the basis of that given by Ramusio the statement may be accepted. Alcedo, a Spanish author, vouched for by Mr. Smith as of "good repute," also refers to a French version of the Letter in his *MS. Biblioteca Americana*, now in the Carter-Brown Library at Providence, "escrita en Diepa en frances á 8 de julio, de 1524;" in connection with which Mr. Smith admits that if the original Letter was written in French, it would account for the marked difference in style and language of the two translations into Italian.

From the testimony of these writers, as well as from the very nature of the case, it follows that a version of Verrazano's Letter existed in French, independent of the abstracts given by French compilers. To deny the statement of Pinello, would be to assume a superior knowledge. Assumption, however, will not avail, and the testimony of this remote and unprejudiced writer will stand. The version referred to must have been obtained at an early period by the Spanish spies and agents who, as is well known, infested all the ports of France at the period when the voyage was made. This version probably exists to-day at Seville. The Spaniards kept themselves informed respecting Verrazano. Martyr calls attention to his piracies<sup>5</sup> and Gomera mentions his exploits in 1553.<sup>6</sup> A quarter of a century before Pinello's work appeared, Herrera made an abstract of the Voyage of Verrazano, evidently from the French version of the former.<sup>7</sup>

The Letter of Verrazano, after its publication in 1556, was not referred to in any printed work now known until 1563, when Hakluyt (*Divers Voyages* p. 91) translated Ribault's voyage to Florida, written the year before. Ribault possessed some account of Verrazano's Voyage, though



his statements differ slightly from Ramusio's. If any inference is made, it must be that Ribault possessed a French version, and not the Italian of Ramusio. Ribault was born at Dieppe, a rendezvous of Verrazano, who is described as "of Normandy" as well as "of Rochella." In his younger days he was doubtless familiar with the form of the well known Florentine Navigator, as he went and came amongst the sailors and citizens of this ancient town, and was acquainted with his exploits.

Next is Laudoniere, 1566, who, in speaking of the Navigator, contradicts both Ramusio and the Dieppe Captain of 1539; the former with respect to the latitude reached at the South, and the latter where he says that the Portuguese call the New World "La Francese," Laudoniere calling it "Terra Francisca." The latter variation is simply verbal, yet as slight as it may be it is the only indication at hand. Whatever it may be worth, it does *not* prove that he drew his account from the Italian. It has been said that Laudoniere makes the same mistake as the Dieppe Captain in associating Louise, the Regent, with the voyage. But in fact neither errs. The title of Regent is recognized as a title that belonged to her. There is nothing whatever to indicate that the title belonged to her in 1524, or that, *as Regent*, Louise had anything to do with the voyage. The reference to the Letter in Belleforest (1570 p. 75) and Lescorbot (1609) are consonant with the version of Ramusio. This, however, supports the statement of Pinello, that Ramusio translated from the French. Belleforest certainly did not get from Ramusio the statement made in 1570 that Verrazano died in 1524; or the fact that the Island called Claudia was properly "*Loise*." If it be said that the original French has disappeared, the same is true of the discourse of the Dieppe Captain, besides Ribault's Journal and many other documents.

But let us inquire if there appears to be any other testimony hitherto overlooked which indicates a French version of the Letter. Something of this kind possibly exists in the *Cosmographic* of Jehan Allefonsce, the Pilot of Roberval in 1542.

The treatise of Allefonsce was finished November 24th, 1545, or two years before the death of Frances I., to whom it was dedicated. Allefonsce himself died before it was completed, and the task was finished by his friend, Raulin Secalart, as was attested at the time. In this *Cosmographic*, so-called, there are certain indications showing the possible influence of Verrazano. Something of the kind might be expected, from the fact that Allefonsce followed the sea twenty years before, and as many after, the voyage of Verrazano. He probably knew all of the navigators

and privateersmen of France who were worth knowing. Besides, he shows the influence of the Verrazano Map in his own sketches, his Bay of the Isles being the same as the Florentine's Bay of Refuge, a fact to be pointed out in connection with the map illustrating Verrazano's Voyage. That Allefonsce knew Verrazano will hardly be denied, though instead of Verrazano, he once mentions Cartier, his work being simply sailing directions "by the aid of which pilots may find unknown countries." Indeed, Allefonsce does not even mention his *own* voyage to Canada as the Pilot of Roberval. In what way, then, does he indicate his acquaintance with Verrazano? This is accomplished, if at all, by what is possibly a plagiarism. Allefonsce was neither an original nor a skillful writer, and, therefore, finding some descriptions in the Letter of Verrazano that served his purpose, it is possible that he used them with such variations and additions as circumstances required. This was the case with Gosnold's scribes in 1602, though the fact exhibited by the present writer in the New England Historical Genealogical Register (January 1873) had never before been pointed out. Gosnold and his collaborators, however, had Hakluyt's English translation of Verrazano and wrote in English. On the other hand, the French version probably used by Allefonsce is wanting, and we are not able to place the French of the two writers side by side. Hence the *verbal* resemblances, so noticeable in Gosnold and other English plagiarists of the Florentine are lost. But the identity of ideas remain. In compiling his account of the new found world, Allefonsce desired to make the most of his subject, and at one point he turns from the north to take a general survey of the country. In doing this he defines the boundaries, saying that Hochelaga, included in the Patent of 1542, extended south-west as far as Figuier, thus including the entire region visited by Verrazano. Then he seems to turn to the Letter, and to use the general account of the country, seeking to combine in one glowing picture the attractions found from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico. Here he transposes the order observed by Verrazano in two or three instances. In the narrative of Allefonsce the forests are described *after* mentioning the situation of the country, while the subject of gold is put *before* it. Allefonsce makes an extravagant allusion to the gold of Cibola, because at the time he wrote the fabulous wealth of that region was exciting all minds.

After readjusting these two topics, the rest stand almost parallel with the order observed by Verrazano. Supposing this done, it may be noted, first, that the Florentine says that the "East" stretches around this country, while Allefonsce thinks that this is "the utmost bounds of Asia." The latter says that these countries "border on Tartary," while Verra-

zano, in Ramusio's version, speaks of "the wild deserts of Tartary," and both remark upon the productions of the East, the one speaking of "medicinal" and "aromatic drugs," and the other of the medicinal quality of the trees. Next they agree that the forests are both vast and various, and that the country is gold bearing, the Florentine putting the gold in or near latitude  $34^{\circ}$  N., and Allefonsce in  $35^{\circ}$  N., or the parallel of Cibola. Afterwards both writers mention quadrupeds and birds in *immediate connection*, closing up that topic in a similar way, Verrazano saying "many other similar [beasts] and with a great variety of birds for every kind of pleasant and delightful sport," Allefonsce adding to his account, "various other sorts of birds and beasts." The succeeding topic is the *water supply*, and this opens the way to speak of the *climate*, of which Allefonsce cannot give so good an account as Verrazano, being obliged to generalize in speaking of the North and South at the same time. Then follow the *winds* and the *rain* and the disposition made by nature of the general *humidity*. Verrazano says the prevalent winds of Summer are north-west, with a clear sky and "but little rain," while Allefonsce agrees that the west wind "brings no rain." Even in treating the topic which might perhaps appear the least promising of all, Allefonsce seems to be holding on to the thought of the Florentine, which here concerns the disposition that nature makes of the moisture in the atmosphere. On reaching this point he realizes that he is in a high northern region, and must come directly to the point, not discussing "all these regions." Therefore, instead of saying with Verrazano, who was speaking of summer skies, that the sun dissipated the moisture, he tells his reader in substance, that the moisture, which is so dense as to be styled rain, is frozen in the winter time, and falls to the earth in the form of snow. Here he reaches the end of his list of subjects; but still he has not finished, having failed to do justice to the *forests*, which Verrazano dwells upon with delight. Casting his eye over his manuscript, he seems to perceive a deficiency, and adds after his account of the snow, "there are also forests *as beautiful as ever you could possibly see any where in the world*;" which done he goes on with a description of the creatures that were found in the Canadian Sea, coloring his narrative by the aid of the second voyage of Cartier.

Let the reader study these two accounts side by side, and he will perhaps find that the coincidences are too striking to admit the suggestion that they are the result of accident. Verrazano, apparently, was known to Allefonsce. He used the order as a matter of convenience, endeavoring at the same time to warm the climate of Canada by associating it with the entire country from the South. For the convenience of

the reader the language of the two writers has been given in parallel columns, the chief points being italicised. An extract from Barlow's description of North Carolina in 1584 is also inserted, to show that he drew on Verrazano in a similar manner, though "Master Winter" gets the credit. A detached extract of Verrazano's Letter is added to throw light upon the remark of Allefonsce concerning La Rochelle, which appears to have been suggested by Verrazano's remark about the parallel of Rome.

## VERRAZANO

Ascending farther, we found several arms of the Sea which make through inlets, washing the shore on both sides as the coast runs. An outstretched country appears at a little distance rising somewhat above the sandy shore in beautiful fields and broad plains, *covered with immense forests of trees* more or less dense, too *various* in colors and too delightful and charming in appearance to be described. I do not believe that these are like the *Hercynian* forest or the rough wilds of *Scythia* [Tartary] *and the northern regions* full of vines and common trees, but adorned with palms, laurels, cypresses and other *varieties unknown in Europe*, that send fourth sweetest fragrance to a great distance, but which we could not examine more closely for the reason before given, and not on account of any difficulty in traversing the woods, which, in this country are easily penetrated.

*As the "East" stretches around this country*, I think it cannot be void of the same *medicinal* and aromatic drugs and various riches of *gold and the like*, as denoted by the color of the ground. It abounds also in *animals*, as *deer, stags, hares* and many other similar, and with a great variety of *birds* for every kind of pleasant and delightful sport; It is plentifully supplied with *lakes and ponds* of running water; and being in *latitude*

## BARLOW

This island hath many goodly woods full of Deere, Conies, Hares, and Fowle, rove in the midst of summers in incredible abundance. The woods are not such as you find in *Bohemia*, *Moscovia*, or *Hercynia*, barren and fruitless, but the highest and reddest cedars in the world, far bettering the Cedars of the Azores, of the Indies or Lybanus, Pynes, Cypres, Sassaphras, the Lentisk, or tree that beareth the Masticke, the tree that beareth the rine of blacke Sinnamon, of which Master Winter brought from the streights of Magellan, and many others of excellent smell and qualitie. [Hak. III. p. 246.]

## ALLEFONSCE

It is said that the inhabitants of the country pretend that in a country called Cibola, in *latitude 35 N.*, all the houses are covered with *gold and Silver*, and they use nothing but *gold and Silver* vessels. *These countries border on Tartary*, and I think this is the utmost bounds of *Asia*, (according to the Sphericity of the globe, and therefore I think it would be well to have a small vessel of about seventy tons burden, with a view to explore the coast of Florida. I have myself been in a bay as high up as 42° between Norumbega and Florida without finding the bottom, and I do not know whether it extends any farther.) In all

34° the air is salubrious, pure and temperate, and free from extremes of both heat and cold. There are no violent winds in these regions, the most prevalent are the *north-west and west*. In the Summer, the season in which we were there, the sky is clear with *but little rain*. If *fogs and mists* are at any time driven in by the south winds, they are instantly *dissipated*, and at once it becomes bright again.

\* \* \* \*

This region is situated in the parallel of Rome, being in 41° 40' of north latitude, but much colder from accidental circumstances and not by nature.

these regions there are great *quantities of timber* of various kinds, such as oaks, ash, cedar, cypress, dwarf holly and arbor vita, which are of *Medicinal quality*. They have some timber almost as white as snow, and common pine, of which they make Ship's masts, aspen trees, birch resembling cherry tree, also very large cedars, hickory and small nut trees. There have also been found red plums resembling what are call Coubrejean. There are also large wild peas, as well as gooseberries and strawberries. Moreover you find many *wild animals* such as *deer, roe bucks*, porcupines, bustards, cranes, wild geese, owls, turtle doves, crows, ravens, and *various other sorts of birds and beasts*. (Small snakes are also found such as you may see in France. And the Savages say that unicorns are also found. Whatever is sown here requires but two or three days to spring up. So well does grain thrive here, that have myself counted twenty-six Kernels in a Single year of the same sort which Jacques Cartier has sown. So rich is the ground that if you sow in March your crop will be ripe in the middle of August. The *water* is much better here than in France, and my impression is that if the land were worked as as it should be and thickly settled, it would be quite as *warm as at La Rochelle*. The frequent *snows* that fall here, are owing to the fact that when it rains the rain is speedily *turned into snow*. *Rain* does not occur here except with the *East wind*; the west wind brings *no rain*. With the north wind there comes abundance of snow: From November to February it snows constantly and so hard that the snow is often six feet deep. There are also forests as beautiful as you could possibly see any where in the world.

Such is this curious piece of testimony from the *Cosmographic* of Allefonsce; the reader will judge of its worth. Beyond question it is worthy of consideration; for though the extracts given contain two or three sentences not strictly connected with the subject, the thread of thought is identical with that of the Florentine.\* It therefore appears reasonable to suppose that Verrazano's Letter existed in the French language in France twelve years before its publication by Ramusio; since it cannot be said that Verrazano plagiarised the narrative of Allefonsce, or that both made use of a third writer to us unknown.

By a curious coincidence, Hakluyt, in borrowing from Verrazano to illustrate his Discourse on "Western Planting," (Maine Coll. s. 2. vol. II., p. 22) uses substantially the same portions supposed to have been used by Allefonsce for the same purpose. Many instances of similarity in description could be given, since in describing the productions and characteristic of a country, writers are inclined to follow the order of topics often pursued in connection with natural history, yet such a reference of this example would not prove satisfactory. Buckingham Smith in his Inquiry (p. 7) summarises the passages supposed to have been used by Allefonsce; while so striking are the descriptions that in the Mercator of Hondius (Amsterdam 1611) we find them taken at second hand from Barlow, whose plagiarism has already been quoted. The work in question says (p. 371) "*Maiselles ne sont comme in Boheme, Moscovie, ny Hyrcanie chauves et steriles,*" &c. There is, therefore, something in the Letter of Verrazano that various writers have very naturally laid hold upon, which may have been the case with Allefonsce. Whatever view the reader may take of this part of the discussion, the main argument remains; for it is demonstrated, apart from the constructive argument concerning Allefonsce, that the two known versions of Verrazano must be referred to an earlier version as their common source, and that the Letter was known in France at the time of Francis I. That Cartier should be mentioned by Allefonsce may appear to be opposed to the argument; yet the most painstaking examination will not afford any proof of that Cartier furnished his description.

The probability that the Letter of Verrazano was known to Allefonsce is strengthened by the fact that another French writer of that period makes a distinct reference to the voyage of the Florentine. This is the author of what is called, "the Discourse of a great Sea-Captain, a Frenchman of the town Dieppe," written in 1539, and published by Ramusio in 1556, in the same work that contains the Letter of Verrazano. This Discourse gives a general description of the North American Continent, and

says, "following beyond the Cape of Brettons there is a land contiguous to the said cape, the coast whereof extends west by south-west as far as the land of Florida, and it runs full 500 leagues, which coast was discovered fifteen years ago, by Messer Giovanni du Verrazzano in the name of King Francis and Madame the Regent, and this land is called by many *la Francese*." This Discourse was written by some one in the Expedition of Parmentier to Sumatra, 1529, and its authenticity has never been questioned. The original, like that of the Verrazano Letter, has disappeared, and though possibly traces of it may yet be found in Spain, where the French copy of Verrazano's Letter existed, probably having been drawn from France during the life time of Francis I. To repeat the charge that the reference to the Letter of Verrazano in the Discourse of the Dieppe Captain was interpolated by Ramusio can not be tolerated, since the whole theory of interpolation has been destroyed, by the demonstration of the fact that the version of the Verrazano Letter given by Ramusio was not and could not have been worked over from the version of Carli. There being no evidence therefore to the contrary, the recognition of Verrazano by the Dieppe Captain in 1539 must stand.

In a subsequent chapter it will be demonstrated that the Map of Hieronimo da Verrazano, made in 1529, is alone capable of proving that the Letter of Giovanni existed prior to that date, and that the Map was based upon the descriptions of the Letter. It will thus appear that the theory that this Letter was the forgery of a later period, or about the year 1540, and intended to flatter the civic pride of Florence, will not hold. It shuts up the mind to insuperable objections, and makes too great a claim upon our faith. It requires us to believe that the forgers undertook their work while Francis I. was still alive; that no precautions were taken to prevent its publication in 1556, when the seaports were full of men who could have denied the claim had it been false; it is to suppose that untravelled Florentines possessed exact knowledge of the condition of New England; it is to suppose that Ramusio, the learned Secretary of the Venetian Council, conspired, independently of the original movers, to aid the deception and flatter the pride of a rival city; and that the Florentines deliberately selected one for their hero who, according to the objecter's theory, perished infamously upon the gallows, or else that they adopted his name without investigating his history and ultimate fate. It is easier to believe in the authenticity of the Letter of Verrazano. Another article will discuss the Voyage.

B. F. DE COSTA

<sup>1</sup> The Sclavonians were spread far and wide, but the *true* country of Sclavonia formed a part of Hungary then as now. It is depicted on Verrazano's map, and is not represented as extending to the coast. Illyria was called Slavonia, only because occupied by a Slav population.

<sup>2</sup> It is remarkable that Hakluyt, in his first translation of Verrazano's letter (1582), accidentally omitted the clause that is omitted by Carli, "by the profit we received thereby," yet it is imagined that this could not possibly be an omission by Carli, but that it *must* be an interpolation of Ramusio's! That Ramusio interpolated the language "by the profit we receive thereby," with reference to the ships from Mexico, is indefensible, since it is absurd to suppose that at the late period of July 8, 1524, Verrazano would attempt to convey any obscure information respecting an event that was notorious in both France and Spain. In the cruise referred to he had only two ships, while in capturing the treasure ships he had six. The cruise on the coast of Spain was simply an episode in the voyage begun with four ships expressly to explore, and which was finally prosecuted with one.

<sup>3</sup> In the "Epitome de la Biblioteca Oriental i Occidental Nautica i Geografica," by Antonio de Leon Pinello, Madrid, 1627, p. 79, are the following entries:

"IVAN VERRAZANO. Relacion de lo que descubrio al Septemtrion de la Floride, en Fracès."

"IVAN BAPTISTA RAMUSIO la traduxo i la imprimio en tomo 3."

<sup>4</sup> "IVAN VERRAZANO. Descripcion del nuevo Orbe, segun Taxandra." "Epitome," p. 171. The edition of 1738, T. II. p. 620, states, in addition, that Lescarbot followed Ramusio, "esta resumida en Marco Lescarbot." In this edition the editor departs from the primitive orthography of the Florentine's name, which Pinello gives correctly. That the French and Spanish versions existed a considerable time prior to 1627 is evident from the fact that Herrera (Dec. III, L. VI. C. IX.) gave an abstract of Verrazano's Letter. That Herrera translated from Ramusio there is no proof. The Letter was evidently well known in Spain. Alcedo, in his unpublished *Biblioteca Americana*, which has a brief notice of the life of Verrazano, gives of his writings: "Relacion des descubrimiento que hizo al Septemtrion de la Florida en nouble de S. M. Cristianisima: Escrita en Diepa en Frances a 8 de Julio, de 1524. *Idem*—Traducida en Italiano en la Colecion de Ramusio." From the MS. (Carter-Brown Library,) Vol. II., p. 890.

<sup>5</sup> Epis. 774. Ed. 1530. Dated Nov. 10, 1522.

<sup>6</sup> "La Conquista" de 1553, fol. LXXXVII. See in these connections M. Brevoort's "Verrazano," &c.

<sup>7</sup> Dec. III., L. iii. C. IX.

<sup>8</sup> The General account of the country by Verrazano includes *eleven* points, *all* of which are used by Allefonsce, who amplified the most of them and reduces others, after expressing the same minute shades of thought. The identity of the two descriptions will appear the more clearly by changing the *gold* mentioned by Verrazano from the *fourth* to the *first* place, noting here that both writers place the gold in practically the *same parallel*. The order thus observed by each writer will be as here indicated; topics 2, 3, 4, and 9, 10, 11 being closely associated with another.

## VERRAZANO

1. Gold.
2. Forest (varied).
3. The "East" (Asia).
4. Medicinal qualities.
5. Animals (varied).
6. Birds (varied).
7. The water supply.
8. The temperature.
9. Winds.
10. Rains.
11. General humidity (moisture dissipated by the sun).

## ALLEFONSCE.

1. Gold.
2. Asia (the East).
3. Forest (varied).
4. Medicinal qualities.
5. Animals (varied).
6. Birds (varied).
7. The water supply.
8. The temperature.
9. Rains.
10. Winds.
11. General humidity (moisture changed to snow).



## OBSERVATIONS ON THE DIGHTON ROCK INSCRIPTION

In an article on the lately discovered Davenport tablets (published in Vol. II. of the Proceedings of the Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences), Dr. R. J. Farquharson enumerates the inscribed stones found in this country, including among them the celebrated Dighton Rock, near the mouth of Taunton River, in Massachusetts. This rock, as is well known, bears an Indian pictograph, which has been quite plausibly interpreted for Mr. Schoolcraft by Chingwauk, an intelligent Algonkin Indian. He threw out, however, several characters, stating that they had no significance; and some of these, in connection with others actually explained by him, have been thought to form a runic inscription denoting the arrival of the Northmen in the present State of Massachusetts several centuries before the Columbian discovery. The translation, as given by Professor Finn Magnusen, of Copenhagen, runs thus:

“151 Northmen under Thorfinn took possession of this land.”

Dr. Farquharson says in his article: “As this reading accords almost exactly with the long lost and recently found Saga of Thorfinn Karlsefn, and is accepted by the French runologists, it may be accepted as the true one.”

“The confidence inspired by this successful reading,” he continues, “induced the Royal Society of Antiquarians of Denmark to purchase this rock, and arrangements were very recently being made to remove it to Copenhagen. The excitement caused by this movement culminated lately in a public meeting at Boston, and other arrangements were there made by which this important monument of our early history is to be preserved and transported to that city. In consideration of this concession on the part of the Danish antiquaries, a granite monument is to be erected on the spot now occupied by the engraved rock, thus to commemorate the landing here in 1007 of Thorfinn, as narrated in the Saga, and in the inscription, as read by Magnusen.”

If such is really the case, the good citizens of Boston may rejoice in the prospect of two grand celebrations with the usual accompaniments of flag-waving, speeches and other proceedings characteristic of such occasions. But would it not be well for them to pause before they carry out their plan of placing a monument at the mouth of Taunton River, and to consider whether the Danish runologist's interpretation can stand the test of scrutiny? If not, they run the risk of commemorating something that probably never happened. It is not surprising that a people

to whom, owing to the short duration of its existence, the romantic element of an ancient history is denied, should evince an inclination to acquiesce in the acceptance of a vaguely intimated occurrence to which the character of a historical fact cannot be attributed. Yet such a tendency is totally at variance with the spirit of keen inquiry characterizing our time, and therefore should not be fostered, but should be made to yield to the dictates of sober judgment. I leave for a moment the Dighton Rock inscription, and its interpretation by Finn Magnusen, in order to make some statements concerning *another* attempt of the same gentleman at deciphering runes.

The venerable chronicler, Saxo Grammaticus, gives an account of a great battle fought in Sweden on Braavalle heath, close to the boundary of Oestergötland and Södermanland. The contest was between King Harold Hildetand of Denmark and the Swedish King Sigurd Ring, the first of whom was slain in the battle, which is supposed to have been fought about the year 700 of our era. A runic inscription relating to this battle was said to be engraved on a rock in the Swedish province of Bleking. The rock is called "Runamo" by the people of the neighborhood. The spot was visited at different periods by antiquaries, but none of them attempted to explain the marks supposed to be runes. In the year 1833, however, the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences concluded to send a committee of scientists to the spot, to investigate the subject thoroughly and report with regard to it. Professor Finn Magnusen was a member of the committee. As it would be foreign to my purpose to describe the operations of these gentlemen in detail, I come at once to the point by stating that in 1841 Professor Magnusen published an illustrated quarto work of 742 pages, under the title *Runamo og Runerne*, the principal feature of which is his translation of the marks on Runamo Rock. He made out the following inscription:

Hildekind occupied the empire  
Gard cut in (the runes)  
Ole gave oath (oath of allegiance)  
(May) Odin hallow the runes  
(May) Ring fall  
On this earth  
Alfs, lovegods  
(Hate) Ole  
Odin and Freja  
And Aser's descendants  
(May) destroy our enemies  
Grant Harold  
A great victory

As will be seen, the purport of the inscription is an invocation against the enemies of Hildetand, whose name, however, is read "Hildekind." The runes, Professor Magnusen states, are of an intricate character, and must be read from right to left. But now comes the reverse of the medal.

In the year 1842, and afterward in 1844, the Runamo Rock was visited for the purpose of examination by the distinguished Danish archæologist, J. J. A. Worsaae—the second time in the company of an artist, who took different views of the locality. Again, I cannot enlarge on Mr. Worsaae's most thorough investigations, but must confine myself to a statement of the final result he obtained, namely, *that there is no runic inscription whatever on Runamo Rock, and that the marks considered as runes by Finn Magnusen are simply the natural cracks on the decayed surface of a trap dike filling up a rent in a granitic formation.*

The arguments brought forward by Mr. Worsaae are to me absolutely convincing, and cannot fail to produce the same effect on every unbiased reader who peruses his amply illustrated work on the subject. It appeared in 1844 at Copenhagen under the title *Runamo og Braavalle-slaget. Et Bidrag til archæologisk Kritik*, or "Runamo and the Braavalle Battle. A Contribution to Archæological Criticism." The work was translated into the German language under the author's supervision, and published in 1847 at Leipzig as the second part of a highly illustrated quarto volume, entitled *Zur Alterthumskunde des Nordens*. A copy of this translation (perhaps the only one in the United States) is in my possession, and may be inspected by any one particularly interested in the subject.

I should not omit to state that Mr. Worsaae speaks throughout the work in terms of the highest consideration of his colleague, Professor Finn Magnusen; yet his personal regard could not prevent him from exposing the grave error of this meritorious scholar, who allowed himself to be led astray by a too lively imagination.<sup>1</sup>

In view of the foregoing it may be pertinently inquired: What confidence can be placed in Magnusen's interpretation of the Dighton Rock inscription? Any one who will take the trouble to examine in the published drawings that part of the Dighton Rock inscription supposed to be of Scandinavian origin, must perceive at once on what a shadowy basis the presumption rests. Even Schoolcraft, who professes to believe that the Northmen sculptured runes on Dighton Rock, could not conceal his scruples as to the correctness of the translation furnished by Professor Magnusen. I may revert to this subject in another article.

The evidences brought forward to prove in a tangible way the presence of the Vikings of the North in the so-called Vinland have certainly thus far been very unsatisfactory. The "Skeleton in Armor" disinterred near Fall River was doubtless that of an Indian, buried, perhaps at a comparatively late period, with some weapons and ornaments made of sheet brass—a material with which the New England settlers are known to have supplied the natives. The "Round Tower" at Newport, Rhode Island, is now considered as the substructure of a windmill, erected during colonial times. For details, I refer to a curious little pamphlet, entitled "The Controversy touching the Old Stone Mill in the Town of Newport, Rhode Island" (Newport, 1851). What will be thought of the supposed Scandinavian inscription on Dighton Rock at some future time, when pardonable credulity will have yielded to severer methods of investigation?

All this, however, does not invalidate my belief that the Northmen were the pre-Columbian discoverers of America.

CHARLES RAU

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Worsaae is far from claiming the priority in the discovery that the marks on Runamo Rock are not the work of man. According to his express statement, their true character had been recognized by several antiquaries of the last century. In the present it was no lesser authority than the celebrated Swedish chemist, Baron Berzelius, who, after inspecting the locality, pronounced the marks on the rock to be due entirely to natural causes—an opinion in which he was supported by Professor Sven Nilsson, the veteran archæologist of Sweden.

## PARKMAN'S FRENCH COLONIZATION AND EMPIRE IN NORTH AMERICA


Mr. Parkman has appropriated to himself alike in purpose and in most faithful and successful dealing with it, an historical theme of the broadest and most profound interest in the whole range of subjects which connect European and American enterprise and annals on this continent. Before he had reached the age of manhood, a strong inborn prompting and proclivity had indicated to him a direction for reading, which led on to study and research, and which was happily accompanied by tastes and qualities, intellectual and physical, fitting him for arduous tasks severer than any of those of the study, but of prime necessity for the accomplishment of his aim. The theme which engaged his thought and his literary ambition was the History of French enterprise in exploration and colonization in North America. His first purpose was to deal with the tragic contest—called by us the Old French War—in which French dominion here was closed by the triumph of British arms. An after thought most naturally suggesting itself to him, as to all historians, in the embarrassment for finding a beginning, a starting point, at which to take up an episode or a conclusion in any extended series of incidents vitally connected in continuous story, compelled Mr. Parkman to contemplate a much broader and comprehensive theme. It was for him to trace the origin, the struggles, the heroic, the romantic and vacillating fortunes of that arduous enterprise for planting French dominion on this continent, whose disastrous overthrow had only engaged his first purpose. He had to work backwards on his rich and intensely interesting theme, and we have yet to wait in his next promised volume for his dealing with the culmination of the tragedy in "Montcalm and the Fall of New France." A gap will then be left to be filled between the matter of that volume and the one now in our hands.

The world is well acquainted with the series of volumes which for a quarter of a century have been appearing from Mr. Parkman's pen, and which in their steadily multiplying editions prove that they have secured what is best in popularity among general readers, while they have won for their author, at home and abroad, the grateful repute and tribute of having no superior among recent historical writers in genius and aptitude for his special work, or in the fidelity, the skill, the consummate ability and the noble impartiality with which he has treated subjects involving diverse convictions and ardent feelings.

This last published volume stands as the fifth in the series of historical narratives under which he has treated parts of his full subject. The previous volumes have borne the titles of "Pioneers of France in the New World," "The Jesuits in North America," "The Discovery of the Great West," and "The Old Regime in Canada." "The History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac," though dealing with a later stage of the same long tragedy of conflict, had appeared in print before the volumes just named. Readers who have all the works in their hands for the enjoyment of a first perusal may follow the order of time through them.

There is still one other volume of the author's containing a narrative of personal adventure and experience in his early manhood, which may be regarded as explaining to us his self training for the composition of his historical works, so far as they required of him a knowledge of wood-craft, of familiarity with the forest and the wilderness, the scenes and incidents of life in wide roamings over the native woods, over mountains and streams not yet reached by civilized man, and a familiar converse with savage tribes in their own haunts, in their journeyings, their revelries and their filthy lodges. This volume, under the title of the "Oregon Trail," has many vivid and picturesque descriptions, with fresh and charming and exciting relations of the author's pluck and endurance for the sake of gratifying a keen craving to see and know what was to be found only by seeking it at its prime sources.

The documentary materials which alone could furnish Mr. Parkman with full and authentic information for his whole series of volumes, were known to be abundant and rich, while it was reasonable to expect that patient and thorough research would bring to light many valuable additions to what was gathered in archives or easily accessible in print. Still the labor and cost involved in investigations, in securing original papers, charts, maps, &c., and in obtaining copies of manuscripts, tracts and rare journals, with the necessity of comparing discordant narratives, of distinguishing the elements of fact and fiction, and of interpreting writings uncouth or well-nigh illegible, made a heavy exertion on the patience, the purse, and the keen mental vigor of the author. Suffering and enfeebled as he has been through his whole literary career, by maladies which intensified his impulses to exertion and mental application, while they limited the hours he could wisely give to reading or writing, he has had to depend largely upon the helping pen or voice of others. He has made repeated visits to France for the examination of the manuscript collections of the French government, in the national archives, the national library, and the archives of the Marine and the Colonies, with



other public and many private places of deposit for valuable documents, and has sought out in the interior of the realm and in its ancient seaports every trace and relic of those of whom he has to make record in his pages. The journals, official relations and private letters of the Jesuit Fathers, of the military and civil functionaries in Canada, and the correspondence of Governors, Intendants and ecclesiastical dignitaries with the King and the Ministry, have been brought into his service. The reducing and digesting and verification of the bewildering mass of information found in large parcels or in fragments in these papers was a task requiring patience, skill and an acute discrimination. Other sources of information there are in Canadian repositories, civil and ecclesiastical. French, English and Dutch documents, which have been copied from foreign archives at the expense of the governments of New York and Massachusetts, existing still in manuscript or printed, with more or less careful editing, have been faithfully and discreetly used by Mr. Parkman for subsidiary information and illustration. Each page of his finished composition, while the elaboration of its matter has in no wise impaired the vigor or grace of its style, attests the skillful condensation and digestion of material gathered from various sources.

The most critical and difficult element of Mr. Parkman's task, in the use of his abundant material, lay in the stress of his obligation to write with fair appreciation of the zeal and efforts of profoundly earnest, devout and heroic men whose self sacrifices and sufferings were spent in labors in which he himself can engage no personal sympathy, while he must regard them as futile and wasted, glorified only by the fervors of their sincerity. Of course the difference is wide and complete between the ideal and estimate of their work by the Jesuit Fathers, as they themselves present it in their *Relations*, and the exposition and comment upon it by the historians, with whom the severest tests of reason take the place of miracle and credulity. But he allows them to tell their own story, to plead their own cause, to exhibit themselves, their aims, their zeal, their all-enthraling devotion, their absolute self-renunciation, and their calm heroic constancy, under the torturing agonies of their endurance, in their own words.


Besides, what is especially applicable in these remarks to Mr. Parkman's method of dealing with the spirit and the work of the Jesuit missionaries, his volumes throughout contain many damaging and humiliating exposures of the folly, the mismanagement, the jealousies, the tricks and artifices of even the highest officials of France in the New World, and bring to light intrigues and corruptions which amuse while they

shock the reader, at the expense of those on whom they leave a stain. Of such revelations as lay in the line of his duty to divulge, Mr. Parkman wrote as follows in the Preface to his "Old Regime in Canada."

"Some of the results here reached are of a character which I regret, since they cannot be agreeable to persons for whom I have a very cordial regard. The conclusions drawn from the facts may be matter of opinion; but it will be remembered that the facts themselves can be overthrown only by overthrowing the evidence on which they rest, or bringing forward counter-evidence of equal or greater strength; and neither task will be found an easy one."

The criticism thus challenged, and which Mr. Parkman invites also for his last volume, as well as for all the others in his series, has thus far altered itself only in the qualification of the high and generous appreciation of his works by Jesuit and Canadian reviewers, through the expression of a sincere regret that a writer who has so loved and honored his great task should not be himself in the fold of the faithful. There has been no denial of the facts that the authorities on which he relies have been gathered with an exhaustive diligence, that they have been from the first sources, authentic and unusually illustrative, and that whatever is damaging in their exposures is chargeable upon the parties whose deeds they record and whose pens wrote them.

But all the discipline and furnishing which library and archives could secure to one who had chosen for his historical labor such subjects as those spread over Mr. Parkman's pages, would never have given them the charm and the absorbing interest which they have for the reader, had he not brought to them quite other qualifications. These he either had in himself in genius and natural aptitude, or acquired by the purchase price of severe application, effort and training. Our author proves himself well-read in the period of French history, with all the intrigues, jealousies and rivalries through which it is to be traced, in personal, social and clerical schemes and plottings. He has also sagaciously studied the workings of human nature in its morbid or exalted exercises, its heats and enthrallments of enthusiasm and credulity of stern self-sacrifice and abject subjection to authority, by which we are to interpret and explain the fervid soul-heroism of the Jesuits in their sublime zeal and constancy. But after all, the scenes and surroundings of the actors and events which supply the material for Mr. Parkman's pages, present the most exacting strain on the resources and skill of the historian, demanding of him that he be also poet, painter and naturalist. The readers of this series of volumes have learned from them how to appreciate the charm and spell of their power in the description of the





wild scenes of nature, the aspects and phenomena of the wilderness, of the depths of primeval forests, the foliage, the mosses, the tangled thicket, the oozy morass, the tranquil or tossing lake, the winding stream, the cataract, the perils of bewilderment and starvation, and the methods of guidance, subsistence and safety for those who venture as strangers, and those who are at home amid these features of the once New World. Whether Mr. Parkman affords in himself an example of reversion to the original state of savagery and wildness, or had a native quality in his make and fibre, his eye and mind, manifesting itself in his appreciation of and power of dealing with this woodcraft, and with the habits and aspects of life for the roamers in the forests, the reader will decide for himself. For ourselves only we must say that in no other pages have we read such descriptions in the grandest or the most minute features of the original American forests, in their rugged or their glorious and fascinating aspects, in the terrors which warn off from them, or in the charms which lure into them. Nor have we in all the piled-up volumes of our literature in prose and poetry, in romance, narrative or laborious returns of explorers and statisticians commissioned by government patronage, any equally discriminating conceptions and delineations of the nature and habits of the Red men, which we can read with such assurance of their adequacy and fidelity as we yield to the treatment of the subject by Mr. Parkman.


The period of time covered by the matter in his last volume is from 1672 to the close of the century. The central-figure in it is that of the true and noble Count Frontenac. Most grandly is he presented in these graphic pages as the hero in will, purpose and endurance, clouded with a tinge of melancholy and some human weaknesses, yet firmly constant to the trust committed to him by his Monarch, and devoted through all the collisions with rivals in a divided power, and all the rough discipline of his surroundings, to the planting of the sway of France widely and permanently on this continent. It is but little to say that the Monarchs of England, while they held their old Colonies here, never had a representative officer, Governor or General, who could be named in ability and efficiency with Frontenac, the foremost of the Lieutenants of France. It was under his grand and energetic administration that France settled upon its purpose for a secure occupancy, if not a monopoly of this continent, and in so doing opened its disastrous struggle with England. Frontenac aimed to carry out the earnest instructions of the King and his Ministers, directing him to civilize the Indians by teaching them the French language, with arts and habits of industry. Faithfully did the

Governor make the effort. But the Jesuits and fur and brandy traders, secretly at first, and then in open defiance, thwarted him in all his measures. The story is a disgraceful one, as it impugns any practically religious or humane motives of the missionaries, but their condemnation rests upon evidence furnished by themselves, and Mr. Parkman is merely the interpreter of it from their own pens.

Frontenac was the King's Lieutenant in New France for the ten years from 1672 to 1682, when he was recalled that La Barre might fill the place. He was restored in 1689, when he was seventy years old, and died in office, in Quebec, November 28, 1698. Our author takes up this future hero of the wilderness in the gilded Court of Louis XIV. and traces his career from boyhood as a brave and ambitious soldier, unfitly yoked to an ungenial and trifling wife, who had no heart to accompany him hither, when at the age of fifty-two, in the glory of his manhood, and nerved to the rivalries and endurance which he was to face, he came up the St. Lawrence to Quebec as the King's Lieutenant. As Mr. Parkman writes:

"A man of courts and camps, born and bred in the focus of a most gorgeous civilization, he was banished to the ends of the earth, among savage hordes and half reclaimed forests, to exchange the splendors of St. Germain and the dazzling glories of Versailles for a stern grey rock, haunted by sombre priests, rugged merchants and traders, blanketed Indians, and wild bush-rangers. But Frontenac was a man of action. He wasted no time in vain regrets, and set himself to his work with the elastic vigor of youth. His first impressions had been very favorable. When, as he sailed up the St. Lawrence, the basin of Quebec opened before him, his imagination kindled with the grandeur of the scene. 'I never,' he wrote, 'saw anything more superb than the position of this town. It could not be better situated as the future capital of a great empire.'"

With this flush of satisfaction Frontenac began to examine and explore the scenes of his wild vice-royalty under its semi-civilized aspects, first realizing the cramp upon his dignity, as he "crouched on a sheet of bark, at the bottom of a birch canoe, scarcely daring to move his head to the right or left, least he should disturb the balance of the fragile vessel." His aim in planting his own power was to establish the old regime of three estates of clergy, nobles and commons, himself the central figure. He convoked what material he had for these in the Jesuits' Church, and eloquently harangued them. Next he set up a municipal government in Quebec. But from the first, Talon, who under the title of Intendant, and with the office of King's agent, held a division of executive power, which is alike confusing to our apprehensions as it was distracting for its



parties on the scene of action, embarrassed and withstood the measures of the Governor. Both of these officers were in correspondence with the King and his Minister, and mischief and discord followed. Frontenac also found that the claim of the Jesuits to supremacy "in spiritual matters" covered their own conception of what might properly come under that definition. The Canadian Bishop, Laval, then in France, contrived to acquaint himself with the contents of the Governor's letters to the Minister, Colbert, and to act as spy and traitor. Frontenac found a friend and hearty sympathiser in the young and noble La Salle, then in Quebec, who cooperated with him in his purpose of carrying out the project of his predecessor, Courcelle, of building a fort near the outlet of Lake Ontario for controlling the fur-trade, and for keeping in check the wily and ever deadly foes of the French, the Iroquois. In this project Frontenac came into sharp and angry collision with the independent traders, who were backed by the interest and influence of Perrot, Governor of Montreal, and a relative by marriage of the Intendant, Talon. The King had strictly charged his Lieutenant to arrest and suppress all that wild and mischievous class of men known as bush-rangers, or *coureurs de bois*, whose far wanderings and lone residences and reckless habits among the savages were sadly demoralizing. With these scourges of the forest also, Perrot connived. The Governor temporarily triumphed in his conflict with all these opposers, not without the imputation from enemies that he turned the profit of trade from others to himself. Fenelon, a Sulpician priest at Montreal, half brother of the author of *Télémaque*, was among the intriguers against Frontenac. The King and Colbert attempted conciliation, by rebuking opponents and advising the Governor to gentleness.

Duchesneau replaced Talon as Intendant, with more direct powers and instructions from the King, and the Bishop Laval came back to have his full share in the distractions. The brandy traffic among the Indians became the chief matter of strife, Duchesneau and the clergy being the party against the Governor. A year was necessary for the interchange of correspondence with the home government, and those first ocean mails bore voluminous documents between Governor, Intendant, priests, intriguers, and the confounded and bewildered officials near the throne, in vain seeking to adjust matters. Frontenac ascribed all his annoyances to the ambition of the clergy for supreme sway. He was not aware how much of them came from his own imperiousness of temper; for with all his nobleness he had faults and foibles. The patience of the King being exhausted, Frontenac was recalled in 1682.

The new Governor, La Barre, and a new Intendant, Meules, reached Quebec only to find the whole of the Lower Town in ashes by a disastrous fire, which consumed the larger part of the property accumulated in Canada. Under La Barre arose new complications in the ever-threatening relations between the French and their Indian allies with the pride and savagery of the Iroquois—the Dutch and English now coming in, in league with the latter as competitors in trade. The new governor while professing to the King that he kept his hands clear of traffic, was in fact a greedy speculator, and he was, of course, denounced by the Intendant, Meules. After a fruitless and humiliating campaign against the Iroquois, La Barre was recalled in disgrace by the King in 1685, by letters brought by Denonville, who superseded him—a brave and resolute soldier with the repute of piety. He in his turn engaged, in 1687, in a bootless and inglorious campaign against the Senecas. But the French had no longer to contend with their own red allies only against the deadly hostility of the tribes of northern and western New York. Governor Dongan of that Province received instructions from his sovereign to take up the feud; for he, as well as the French monarch, claimed the Iroquois as subjects. Artful and angry correspondence followed between the two Governors, loyal to their respective sovereigns, while negotiations were going on between the royal cabinets. The great aim of the French Governor was to help the Jesuits in the Iroquois towns as political agents and intriguers. In 1688 Andros superseded Dongan. The Intendant, Meules, had in his turn been recalled on the complaints of Denonville, and Champigny was sent in his place. Bands of Dutch and English, with their red allies took the war-path, and the wilderness with its savage tribes became the scene and actors in horrors aggravating the atrocities of native warfare. Canada was brought under the depths of humiliation, in exhaustion, poverty, famine and threatened extinction. The massacre of the French at La Chine, in 1689, seemed to be the final stroke of desolation. Denonville, a man of great qualities and petty foibles, valiant and devout, was recalled, leaving only the Jesuits to mourn or regret his departure. He had but failed where no one could hope for success.

And now, in 1689, Frontenac comes back to his former office with vigor un-reduced and spirit not quailing at the ventures of his task, though the veteran was in his seventieth year. He was wiser too in judgment and more yielding in his temper. He came with a bold design for mastering New York. Whatever might have been the result of the attempt, it was baffled by delay and complication. The red allies whom France had counted upon as firmest in their fealty, vacillated,


made terms with the Iroquois and the English, and then taunted their old friends. Frontenac, with an undaunted resolve which partook of recklessness, organized three simultaneous expeditions against the English and the Iroquois—aiming at the capture of Schenectady, of Pemaquid and Salmon Falls, and of Fort Loyal (Portland). By evidence furnished from their own pens, Mr. Parkman offers us abundant proof that the Jesuit priests were instigators and guides in the atrocities of savage warfare. A degree of success for an interval revived the prospects of Canada.

Our author gives us a fresh and graphic sketch of the inglorious appearance of Massachusetts in the fray, in its attempt to anticipate the event, yet to be deferred for three quarters of a century, of wresting from the French monarch his whole wild domain. The French had projected an attack on Boston. The redoubtable Phips, afterwards first Provincial Governor of Massachusetts, takes Acadia, but by poor management loses the fruits of his success. Frontenac rallies his Indian allies and takes part with them in a war-dance. He was an officer and a man after their own heart. He understood them, he flattered, indulged and yet swayed them. His influence over them was electric, and their admiration of him was full and complete. He put Quebec into a strong state for defence to meet the threatened enterprise of Phips against it, which failed by delay, ill-conception and feeble conduct, and resulted in discomfiture and disaster. Equally abortive was a land expedition of the English by Lake Champlain. The peace of Ryswick gave but a lull to the conflict now fairly opened, to be continued to its long-deferred close between the colonists of rival European sovereignties and their fickle and treacherous savage allies in the New World. When Frontenac, worn with the fatigues and anxieties, the distractions and the rigors of his never intermitting strifes, paid the debt of nature, he was mourned as a mighty man, high and noble in motive, if not always consistent or wise. Malice and jealousy, if not ingratitude, mingled in the rehearsal of his obsequies, but could not drown the eulogies of those who had appreciated him. Monsieur de Callières succeeded to his office to meet, with slightly varied incidents and conditions, the same perplexities woven into the web of French domination in the New World. Mr. Parkman will work out for us the further development as it leads on to a tragic close.

A reader who has followed the course of Mr. Parkman's narrations of French adventure, enterprise and missionary zeal, devoted to opening the Northern borders and the Western depths of this continent, as he

muses upon the information spread before him, can hardly fail to be profoundly impressed by a question that will rise in his mind, in the form of a wonder or regret as over a sad and unrighteous close of a story or a tragedy. He will ask why and how it came about that France has nothing of present power, dominion or territory to show on this broad continent, as the assured and permanent result and harvest of its outlay of effort, zeal and sacrifice? Certainly, it would seem as if all just disposals of labor and rewards had been most signally thwarted and even outraged here. England has grasped and holds as colonial territory the region which French prowess and heroism opened to European possession for an enriching traffic and the conversion of savage tribes, and people of British stock, with their affiliated races, have sway over all the sweep of mountains, rivers and prairies that stretch between the two oceans. It seems as if by the scale of either poetical or political justice it should not be so. France had won the right of a permanent heritage and dominion here. All the contrasted facts which cover the history of French and English enterprise and colonization on our continent accrue to the claims of the former, as against the success and triumph of the latter.

French monarchs and ministers, with the coin of the realm and the direct instigation, oversight and patronage of emigration, fostered the work of exploration and colonization. The zeal of French ecclesiastics was engaged in an enthralling self-renunciation to dot the villages of the native tribes, by lake and river, by cataract and cornfield, and fishing rendezvous, deep within the recesses of the north and west, and where the fresh and salt waters mingled, with rude mission chapels and altar symbols. Forts and trucking houses marked the advances of the daring adventurers at the forks of rivers and in the bays of inland seas. Frenchmen became Indians in habit, garb and wild ways of life, as if to favor a general adoption of the savage by the civilized race. Intrepid explorers, sometimes alone, or in sparse companies, paddled their canoes and crossed the portages, carrying with them neither salt, nor bread, nor any of the necessities of life, to penetrate the depths of an unknown wilderness, finding their food in the forest or stream, subsisting it might be on roots and buds, or a soup made of their own tattered robes and moccasins. Other parties dragged painfully through thickets and over mountains, the tools, the cordage, the iron implements, the forge, and the cannon for building and arming vessels for the lakes. Annually, for scores of years, deep laden ships with their convoys from French ports, made their way through fog-banks and ice-bergs up the St. Lawrence, with supplies of men, goods and munitions, crowded with colonists and



soldiers, priests, nuns and hospital servants, bearing government officials, and the written mandates of French monarchs and ministers. All this enterprise had anticipated the first humble and meagre effort for English occupancy here, while for a century following there never was anything in English enterprise which suggested a rivalry with Frenchmen in the actual work of exploration, beyond the fringing of the Atlantic sea-board. The French at one time boasted that they were cramping the English to the margin of the ocean, and were holding them in terror. France has nothing now to show for all this, save in those touching memorials, like the legends on the grave stones of a buried generation, found in the Gallic names and the saintly titles born by inland stream and bay, waterfall or portage, village site or storied field, with its legend of miracle, piety or massacre.

On the other hand, how different were all the antecedents and conditions in the history of English ventures upon the soil which is now the rich heritage of her race. The two Cabots, not native subjects, but in the employ of the British monarch, having seen and coasted along our northern shores, gave to the realm its title of ownership of them, though any occupancy was long deferred. The most thrifty and successful of her colonists here stole away in secrecy from their English homes, neither asking nor receiving patronage or protection from their King, and engaged from the first in a jealous self-dependence which repudiated all help or interference with them. They kept close to the sea-board of the Atlantic, and left the western and even the northern wilds to the obscurity in which they found them.

The relations of the English with the Indians were from the first critical, jealous and every way precarious, and soon became ruthlessly hostile, indicative of the extermination which closed them. There was, indeed, an attempt at what was called ~~their~~ evangelization. But Puritanism stands in points of no stronger contrast with the old church than in those exhibited by the spirit and method of the Protestant and Jesuit missionary. The French priest became the intimate companion and equal of the savage, the inmate of his smoky and noisome lodge, and the sharer of his disgusting diet, alike in famine and in the feast. He would spend long years of isolation at his distant post, while his black robe turned to tatters or was patched with deer or beaver skin, training his rough flock in his brief catechism and his scenic retreat. But even the saintly Eliot tells us that with his English phlegm and stomach he never could endure the filthy, vermin-infested wigwam, nor share the unsavory lunch of his catechumens. He always took with him his necessary and

frugal food, and if he could not reach his home for the night, had his own separate couch. The priest was satisfied if his converts, chanting a few staves, or repeating the Lord's Prayer, would kneel around him as, with the furnishings of the forest, he performed the office of the mass, and if a procession of naked Indian children would follow him with torches made of native waxberries as an escort for a lifted cross. The formula of baptism, administered in an emergency with a spittle-moistened finger, would save a soul from the dark doom of the endless hereafter. The creed of the church, without instruction in Christian ethics or sentiments, was enough to insure conversion and redemption. For all else the Indian was left to be an Indian, free of the woods, unhoused, unclothed, the hunter, the warrior still, without the decencies or the frets of domestication and industry. But Eliot rested not till he had turned the gutturals and the grunts of the tribes of the forest into a written language, with grammar and dictionary, and with "words which had been lengthening ever since the confusion of tongues at Babel," had set forth in print the whole Bible, Chronicles and Prophecies, Gospels and Epistles, Psalms and Apocalypse. Eliot felt the joy of a crowned success only when the choicest of his converts was telling his experience after the method of a Puritan Conventicle, by the aid of the Assembly's Catechism, a Body of Divinity and an approved tractate on casuistry. He insisted that the Indians should substitute English styles of houses for the wigwam, a settled for a wandering life, and a trade or handicraft for the alternations of sleeping and hunting. Neither of these things would the Indian do, nor would he conform in anything to the "state of civility" which Eliot regarded as all-essential. The English looked upon and treated the Red Men with antipathy and contempt. The French went more than half-way towards a cordial assimilation with them, believing that it would be as idle to attempt to change their nature as it would be to extract the game flavor from the deer or sea-fowl, and really yielding to a *penchant* for some of their free and primitive ways of life. Thus alike by prior occupancy and explorations of the wildernesses of the New World, and by consort and alliance with its human tribes, the French might claim possession and dominance where they no longer float the banners and symbols either of monarchy or republic.

The English colonists fringing the Atlantic seaboard began in time to find that the French were instigators and allies of the savages in raids and massacres upon their frontiers. Yet so resolute still were the purpose and spirit of self-defense among them that they tried first to meet



the direful conflict with their own resources. But when the arms and ships of England came in to aid the colonists, it was not so much to extend them protection in place of former neglect as in jealousy of the continental enemy nearer home. The English colonists made common cause with the mother country in reducing and extinguishing the dominion of France on this continent, and learned in doing so why and how, some dozen years afterwards, successfully to set up for themselves. And thus it came about that France has no heritage where she planted, toiled and watered with such prowess and heroism. We marvel at this disposal of national awards as fatuitous, and are ready to say that it indicates an inequity in the adjustments of fortune.

But the reader of Mr. Parkman's volumes, while prompted by their perusal to ask why such has been the tragic issue of events, will find under his guidance a full explanation of the causes and agencies which wrought the result. We happen to have in hand a publication of this current year, the author of which raises an issue with Mr. Parkman on this point. In a brief and spirited essay M. Charles De Bonnechose, while adding a wreath to the memorial of Montcalm, is led to put the question we have asked above, and to give to it his own answer, as he mourns the fate of the French General and of the cause in which he fell.<sup>1</sup> He asks: "What was the respective situation of the two colonies as they proceeded to contend in a deadly duel? The English plantations, with their 1,500,000 inhabitants, were at this period twenty times more populous than Canada, which numbered then only 80,000. At the same time their territory, more compact and infinitely less extended than that of New France, was more easy of defence, it was besides backed by the sea and in direct communication with the metropolis; while after the loss of Acadia Canada had no other avenue than the St. Lawrence. To these advantages of situation and number add another: The British colonies were more rich and flourishing. To what cause shall we ascribe their superiority to our colonies, which were older? 'To the fruitful sway of political and religious liberty'—replies from Berlin to Boston, a certain school, which, under the pretext of celebrating in the fall of the French dominion in America, the defeat of despotism by liberty, does but exalt the victory of the Germanic over the Latin race." To this text the author subjoins the following note: "This explanation which is sought to be imposed on the public by Mr. Bancroft and his disciples, among the number of which is Mr. Francis Parkman (!), author of the book entitled 'The Old Regime in Canada,' is under lively discussion at this moment among Franco-Canadian publicists. According to them, it

is to other causes, chiefly to the enormous numerical disproportion of the population, that we ought to ascribe the more rapid progress of the English colonization. That which was lacking to New France for the development of the elements of its wealth was the million and a half of people, like its neighboring plantations, instead of 80,000. From 1606 to 1700 the English colonies had received 100,000 English or German emigrants, Canada 5,500 and Acadia 500. The same proportion held in the following century. The Gallic race, which has such admirable qualities for colonization, is absolutely set against the expatriation which is its first condition. Under Louis XV. it was necessary to resort to violence to people Louisiana. In our days Algeria, almost in sight of our shores, is still a desert." The author concludes that the inferiority of Canada in industry and agriculture was of slight import. Its military ruin came from its inferiority in men. "Though Canada had enjoyed all the liberties in the world it would have nevertheless lost its own. Never was a struggle more unequal, and the numbers more decisive. Our colony was not vanquished, crushed, but swamped by invasion, and at the cry of '*Vive la France!*' it was engulfed in the waves with its standard."

The *explanation* which M. De Bonnechose here offers will be found itself to need the help of explanatory facts which precede and qualify it. These we think are found scattered abundantly over Mr. Parkman's volumes, and some of the principal of them are forcibly stated in the following extracts from the one before us. Speaking of a series of conflicts on this continent, which were but episodes in the momentous question whether France or England should be mistress of the west, Mr. Parkman says:

"There was a strange contrast in the attitude of the rival colonies towards this supreme prize: the one was inert, and seemingly indifferent; the other, intensely active. The reason is obvious enough. The English colonies were separate, jealous of the crown and of each other, and incapable as yet of acting in concert. Living by agriculture and trade, they could prosper within limited areas, and had no present need of spreading beyond the Alleghanies. Each of them was an aggregate of persons, busied with their own affairs, and giving little heed to matters which did not immediately concern them. Their rulers, whether chosen by themselves or appointed in England, could not compel them to become the instruments of enterprises in which the sacrifice was present, and the advantage remote. The neglect in which the English court left them, though wholesome in most respects, made them unfit for aggressive action; for they had neither troops, commanders, political union, military organization, nor military habits. In communities so busy, and governments so popular, much could not be done, in war, till the people were roused to the necessity of doing it; and that awakening was still far

distant. Even New York, the only exposed colony, except Massachusetts and New Hampshire, regarded the war merely as a nuisance to be held at arm's length.

"In Canada, all was different. Living by the fur trade, she needed free range and indefinite space. Her geographical position determined the nature of her pursuits; and her pursuits developed the roving and adventurous character of her people, who, living under a military rule, could be directed at will to such ends as their rulers saw fit. The grand French scheme of territorial extension was not born at court, but sprang from Canadian soil, and was developed by the chiefs of the colony, who, being on the ground, saw the possibilities and requirements of the situation, and generally had a personal interest in realizing them. The rival colonies had two different laws of growth. The one increased by slow extension, rooting firmly as it spread; the other shot offshoots, with few or no roots, far out into the wilderness. It was the nature of French colonization to seize upon detached strategic points, and hold them by the bayonet, forming no agricultural basis, but attracting the Indians by trade, and holding them by conversion. A musket, a rosary, and a pack of beaver skins may serve to represent it, and in fact it consisted of little else.

"Whence came the numerical weakness of New France, and the real though latent strength of her rivals? Because, it is answered, the French were not an emigrating people; but, at the end of the seventeenth century, this was only half true. The French people were divided into two parts, one eager to emigrate, and the other reluctant. The one consisted of the persecuted Huguenots, the other of the favored Catholics. The government chose to construct its colonies, not of those who wished to go, but of those who wished to stay at home. From the hour when the edict of Nantes was revoked, hundreds of thousands of Frenchmen would have hailed as a boon the permission to transport themselves, their families, and their property to the New World. The permission was fiercely refused, and the persecuted sect was denied even a refuge in the wilderness. Had it been granted them, the valleys of the west would have swarmed with a laborious and virtuous population, trained in adversity, and possessing the essential qualities of self-government. Another France would have grown beyond the Alleghanies, strong with the same kind of strength that made the future greatness of the British colonies. British America was an asylum for the oppressed and the suffering of all creeds and nations, and population poured into her by the force of a natural tendency. France, like England, might have been great in two hemispheres, if she had placed herself in accord with this tendency, instead of opposing it; but despotism was consistent with itself, and a mighty opportunity was for ever lost.

"As soon could the Ethiopian change his skin as the priest-ridden king change his fatal policy of exclusion. Canada must be bound to the papacy, even if it blasted her. The contest for the west must be waged by the means which Bourbon policy ordained."

GEORGE E. ELLIS

<sup>1</sup> Montcalm and Le Canada Francais. Par Charles De Bonnechose. Paris, 1877.

## CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON

When a youth Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the most celebrated of the Maryland signers of the Declaration of Independence, endeavored to trace his ancestry back to that Irish Carroll "who was chief of the name, and was defeated at the battle of Knoc-Lee by Gerald Earle of Kildare in the year 1516." Later in life he was content to begin at Daniel Carroll of Litterloma, Kings County, Ireland. A son of Daniel, Charles Carroll of the Middle Temple, Barrister, came to America in 1680, and settled at Annapolis, in the Province of Maryland. He became the agent of Lord Baltimore in 1689; and we may credit him with personal qualities of a high order, since he held the agency for over thirty years for the absent Proprietary with fearlessness, honesty and firmness—an agency, it must be remembered, of a Catholic noble, whose power had just been overthrown by a religious party of different faith, whose jurisdiction had been usurped by the English crown, and whose individual rights in the soil and the revenues were held by an uncertain and precarious tenure.

In 1700 Charles, Lord Baltimore, granted to this Charles Carroll ten thousand acres of diversified and stream-fed land in Anne Arundel County, the same running from a branch of the Patuxent river to Thomas Browne's plantation, and from thence to landmarks which would be found rather indefinite at the present time, being "four Indian Cabbains." However, at the period, as the manor was in free socage, and the token of fealty was "four Indian arrowes," delivered annually at Windsor Castle, the "Cabbains" may have been convenient. These broad acres, with the manor house, descended through four generations of only sons, the third of whom was Charles Carroll of Carrollton—the prefix "Carrollton" having been adopted long before the Revolution, from a tract of land in Frederick County. He was born at Annapolis on the 20th September, 1737. At eight years of age he was sent to Europe, and passed six years at the English Jesuit College of St. Omers, one year with the French Jesuits at Rheims, two years at the College of Louis le Grand, at Paris, one year at Bourges to be taught the civil law, and two years, a second time, at Paris. In 1757 he took apartments in the Middle Temple, London, but never entered for his degree. He was fast friends while there with Mr. Jennings, son of the Attorney General of Maryland, and Mr. Graves, afterwards a member of Parliament; and

was contemporary during the year 1763 at least with Joseph Reed of New Jersey, Secretary and aid to Washington. He returned to Maryland in 1764, and was at once active in all measures which were taken in opposition to the encroachments of Great Britain. In 1765 he writes to his friend Graves: "Nothing can overcome the aversion of the people to the Stamp Act, and their love of liberty, but an armed force. Twenty thousand men would find it difficult to enforce the law, or, more properly speaking, ram it down our throats." At Annapolis it was Charles Carroll who gave the advice to the trembling Stewart to burn his vessel with its cargo of obnoxious tea, and the brig was towed into the harbor, and burned in broad day, amid the applauding shouts of the spectators, to the water's edge. He bore the brunt of the impetuous onslaught of the fiery Daniel Dulany in defense of popular rights. To his exertions it is owing that Maryland gave her unqualified adhesion to the Declaration of Independence; and he cheerfully embarked his life and fortune in the dark struggle. Of the revolutionary war, his words written in 1773 to Mr. Graves were prophetic, and showed with what fine forecast he judged the people among whom he dwelt. "The British troops if sent here, will be masters but of the spot on which they encamp. They will find nought but enemies before and behind them. If we are beaten in the plains, we will retire to our mountains, and defy them. Necessity will force us to exertion, until tired of combatting in vain against a spirit which victory after victory cannot subdue, your armies will evacuate our soil, and your country retire an immense loser from the contest." The public life of Mr. Carroll continued until 1801. He was an ardent Federalist, with a cordial hatred of the party of Jefferson. He was during this period four times elected a Senator of Maryland; three times a delegate to Congress. In 1776 he was appointed one of three Commissioners—the other two being Franklin and Samuel Chase—to persuade the Canadian province to join fortunes with the American colonies. Throughout Mr. Carroll was respected and loved for his excellent judgment, his nice sense of personal honor and his unswerving steadiness of conviction that whatever was right should be done at all hazards.

He married in 1768 Miss Mary Darnall, daughter of Henry Darnall, a kinsman of Lord Baltimore. He had been engaged many years before. The wedding dress had been ordered from London; but before the ceremony the lady died. The wedding dress then sent over, more than a hundred years ago, was worn in 1876 at one of the Martha Washington parties then so popular—the fabric almost untarnished by

time. One of Mr. Carroll's daughters married Richard Caton, an Englishman resident in Maryland; the other married Robert Goodloe Harper, a lawyer of decided ability. Of the three daughters of Mr. Caton, the eldest became Marchioness of Wellesley, the second Lady Stafford, and the youngest Duchess of Leeds. All died childless.

He survived all the signers of the Declaration of Independence, dying in 1832. From an oration delivered in the same year by Charles Constantine Pease, Chaplain of the Senate of the United States, the following picture of his later life at Doughoregan, is taken. "I have seen him, and it is delightful for me to represent him to you, spending his summers under those trees which his father's hand had planted nearly a century and a half ago, and which love to twine their hospitable boughs over the venerable mansion of Doughoregan. The manner in which he there spent his time, resembled the *Mitis Sapientia Loeli*. He arose very early to enjoy the fresh breeze of the morning, plunged into a cold bath, mounted his horse, and rode a certain number of miles; spent some time in prayer, and if the chaplain of the manor was there, heard mass in the chapel; and varied the long days by reading and conversing, and indulging in those meditations which the scenes of his past life, and the circumstances of the present period, were calculated to awaken in his philosophic mind."

All the British ministers who were sent to the National Capitol, the attachés, and nearly every prominent Englishman who visited this country, were guests of Mr. Carroll at Doughoregan; and Washington, Lafayette, Decatur, Jackson, Taney, and other distinguished Americans were welcomed there.

He had a well selected, but old fashioned library. He had but little taste for modern works. Among the valued books referred to in his letters, we find the Bishop of Meaux's "Histoire de Variations," the "History of Ireland" of the Abbe McGeoghegan, "Les Erreurs de Voltaire" with Voltaire's answer, and many other works of the same type.

We give a picture of the closing scene of his life. It is from an eyewitness of it, who died but a year ago, Dr. Richard Stewart. It was toward sundown in the month of November, and very cold weather. In a large room in his town house on Lombard Street—his bedroom—a group of the inmates of his household was gathered before a large open fireplace. The venerable Charles Carroll was reclining in a soft, padded, arm chair. In the centre of the space before him was a table, with blessed candles, an antique silver bowl of holy water, and a crucifix. By his side the priest, Rev. John C. Chaunce, afterward Bishop of Natchez, in

his rich robes, prepared to administer the last rites of his Church. On each side of the chair knelt children and grand-children, with some friends, and just in the rear, three or four old negro servants were devoutly on their knees. Mr. Carroll had, for a long time, been suffering with weak eye-sight, and could not endure the proximity of the lights. He leaned back with half closed eyes. The solemn ceremony proceeded and ended; the old man was lifted back to his bed, but he had fasted to receive the Sacrament and was too weak to rally. His last words were, "Thank you, Doctor," on being lifted into an easier position, and he died quickly, mindful to the last of others—tranquilly—a christian gentleman.

When Maryland was a Province, many of its wealthier citizens followed the English custom of having a town residence and a country seat. In Annapolis, the winter's gayety centered in the Governor's house, and the liberal homes of the Carrolls, Pocas, and others. Gambling, gossip and flirtation, the arrival of a vessel from England, the prospects of the tobacco crop, adventurers fresh from Europe, and visitors from Virginia and the North, the shifting aspect of the quarrels of the Proprietary with the Crown, religious controversy, Royalist intrigue and Democratic assertions, furnished the town with amusement and excitement.

In the spring came the departure for the country. The social leaders packed themselves, and their more precious possessions, into the family coach. This was a vehicle curious to modern eyes. It was imported; color, probably a light yellow, with conspicuous facings. The body was of mahogany, leather topped, and with three venetian windows on each side, projecting lamps, and a high seat upon which coachman and footman were perched. Mr. Carroll's coach came by country roads to the Frederick Turnpike, while others radiated north or west, to "My Lady's Manor," "De La Brooke," "Kent Fort," "Bohemia," or "Bel Air."

Charles Carroll owned several manors, and they are all noted for picturesqueness of situation, their fine outlook over hill and valley, and their noble groups of trees. Doughoregan manor is now in Howard County, a county formed from part of Anne Arundel. It is six miles above Ellicott's Mills, a thriving manufacturing village through which the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad passes. The southern boundary of the estate is the Patuxent River. At the time the grant of the Manor was made there was a landing on the Patapsco at Elkridge, near Ellicott Mills, at which sloops loaded tobacco in huge hogsheads, stoutly hooped. These had been rolled over what is still known as "rolling" roads, singly, by means of a stout axle driven through the middle, to which long







traces were attached. Two mules and a negro, the mules hitched tandem, were necessary to the proper conduct of each hogshead. Mr. Carroll was a wealthy man for those days, and shipped largely; and imported whatever was required for the supply of the manor direct from England, even down to the clothes worn by the family. The slaves wore homespun, as did many of the poorer class, and as did Mr. Carroll also at one period of his life, when it was resolved by the colonies to wear nothing and consume nothing coming from Great Britain. An estimate of his property, made in 1764, is worth giving. It was made by his own hand.

40,000 acres of Land ; Two Country Seats, - - -	£40,000
20 Houses at Annapolis, - - - - -	4,000
285 Slaves, at an average of £30 each, - - -	8,550
Stock on Plantations, - - - - -	1,000
Household Plate, - - - - -	600
Debts Outstanding, - - - - -	24,230
	<hr/>
	£88,380

The manor house of Doughoregan is the best specimen in the State of the old style of building when Maryland was a province of the English crown. These ancient mansions, of which there are many still preserved in Maryland, are of imported brick. The walls are very thick, and are as solid to-day as when erected. The architecture is that of England at the time. The ground plan is long and narrow, one room deep only, with two wings connected by passages, a wide portico, small, deep sunken, mullioned windows, and a low upper story. The line of roof is always well broken, either by difference in height as at Doughoregan, or by a pointed gable in the centre. The length of the Doughoregan mansion is three hundred feet. The central building is the family dwelling. A wide hall, heavily panelled, separates the apartments to right and left. On the walls hang English hunting scenes and old prints. On one side is the library, wainscoted high up in oak. Here Mr. Carroll in his latter days passed most of his time with Cicero's "De Senectute," which he grew to love so much as to write to a friend: "After the Bible read Cicero;" also with Milner's "End of Controversy," valued as the means of his conversion from the errors of free-thinking, and with other silent companions, mostly those of his youth and early manhood. On the walls of this room hang portraits of Mr. Carroll, his son and his grandson. Across the hall is the dining-room, arched and recessed, and with its portraits,

ranging from gentlemen in the full wigs of Addison's day and by-gone dames in stomacher and ruff to figures of modern times, when uglier fashions lend less gracious aid to the painter's art. The north wing is formed by the oldest private chapel in the United States.

Mr. Carroll was a strict Catholic; but this chapel was built long before his day, and soon after the "Protestant Revolution" of 1704. At that date an act was passed at Annapolis establishing the Church of England in the Province of Maryland. It was made penal for a bishop or priest of the Catholic Church to exercise the functions of his office in public. Liberty of worship in private houses was not disturbed. Out of this privilege grew the private chapels under the same roof as the dwelling, like the one at Doughoregan. This is still used for religious purposes, and the country people around still gather where for more than a hundred and fifty years the same service has ascended.

On the north wall of the chapel, and to the right of the altar, there is an entablature by Bartholomew. A pen rests upon the Declaration of Independence, the thirteen stars of the original States above, and over all the Cross. This was intended for the tomb of Mr. Carroll.

Around the manor house are three hundred acres of park and lawn. The slaves' quarters, still in a good state of preservation, and dominated by the overseer's house, form a small village in themselves. The manor has never been divided until of late years. Now it is cut up into farms owned by members of the Carroll family. The library of Charles Carroll, the signer, has been sold by auction, and the present owner of Doughoregan—Mr. John Lee Carroll, Governor of Maryland, and a gentleman of respectable abilities—talked some time ago of putting a French roof on the antique manor house. It is to be hoped that no such grotesque fate will befall the plain, comfortable, noble old dwelling, with its splendid elms, its beautiful vistas of garden shrubbery, its magnificent knarled and knotted ancient forest trees, and its air of olden comfort and repose. It furnishes a quaint and imposing landmark of the past, whereby we may note how pleasantly they lived in those days, and how they builded, not for a day or a year, but for centuries of use and habitation.

JOHN C. CARPENTER

## DIARY OF JOSHUA PELL, JUNIOR

AN OFFICER OF THE BRITISH ARMY  
IN AMERICA 1776-1777

From the original in the possession of  
James L. Onderdonk, Esq.

## Part II

30th May [1777] the Advance Corps rendezvous'd at their several alarm posts.

3rd June, encamp'd on Hessians Farm opposite St. Johns.

5th June, left the camp at Hessians Farm; and arriv'd at Point au Fer early the morning of the 6th.

8th June, we left Point au Fer, arriv'd same Evening at the River Sable. This day arriv'd the Inflexible Capt'n Brown, and a new Ship call'd the Royal George of 26 guns, Capt'n Lutwidge Commander and Commodore of the Fleet employ'd on the Lake.

## A LIST OF THE ENGLISH FLEET ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN.

Commanders Names	Ships Names	No. of Guns	No. of Men
Capt. Lutwidge as Com.	Royal George	26	130
Capt. Brown	Inflexible	22	100
Lt. Starks	Maria	16	80
Lt. Loucroft	Carlton	14	70
Lt. Broughton	Washington	16	80
Lt. Falconer	Thunder	16	90
	Land Crab	7	30
Lt. Stowe	Lee	8	30
Lt. Harrison	Jersey	8	30
		133	640

11th June arriv'd at River Bouquett.

17th June, an advanc'd party of our Indians, defeated a party of Rebels, near Tyconderoga, they kill'd four and took four prisoners.

23rd June left the River Bouquett arriv'd at Chimney Point 25th.

2nd July Capt'n Frasers Corps of Indians and Volunteers, engag'd a strong party of the Rebels before Tyconderoga, defeated them and drove them into their lines; we had one Indian kill'd and five wounded, one Lieutenant and two Vol-

unteers wounded. The Rebels had a Lieut and seven kill'd and eleven wounded.

3rd July we invested Tyconderoga.

6th July, the Rebels abandon'd it, the whole Army took Possession the same day. Part of the Advanced Corps took the Route same day for Hubbertown as did the British Brigades for Skanesborough. 7th July, Part of the Advance Corps came up with the Rebels at Hubberton, about six in the morning, very strongly posted; the Rebels consisted of near two thousand, and form'd behind the inclosures, which in this Country are compos'd of large Trees, laid one upon the other and makes a strong breastwork: The advance Corps consisted of ten Company's of British Light Infantry, ten Comp'ys of British Grenadiers, and two Company's of the 24th Regiment, the whole amounted to no more than eight hundred men; our Men form'd briskly, ascended the Hill within thirty yards of the Rebels and immediately began a brisk fire, which lasted one hour and half, three Companys of the Germans arriv'd time enough, to have a share in the action, and behav'd exceedingly well, particularly the Company of Chasseurs; the Rebels was totally routed with great slaughter, they had one Colonel kill'd, a Francis who commanded; with sundry inferior Officers, and two hundred men, we took a Colonel Hale prisoner with many other Officers, and Men, amounting to more than three hundred, the Number of the enemy's wounded must be considerable, tho' not properly ascertain'd, as the later part of the engagement was in a Wood, and many

must have languish'd of their wounds, it being impossible to find them. On our part we had a Major Grant, one Capt., two Lieuts killed; and two Majors, Earl Belcarras & Ackland, four Captains, eight Lieutenants, wounded, two serjeants, twenty four Rank and File kill'd; ten serjeants, one hundred and nine Rank and File wounded: The Germans had two kill'd one Lieutenant & twenty two wounded. The Rebels hearing that our Army was advancing towards Skeansborough, quit it with precipitation, leaving the greatest part of their Bagage behind them. Colonel Hill with the ninth Regiment only, came up with them near Fort Anne on the 8th engag'd & defeated them, tho' they were six times his number; in consequence of these successes we are become Masters of all their Artillery, stores and baggage &c. and all the Country beyond Fort Anne; Capt'n Carter of the Artillery, with part of the Gun-boats took two of their arm'd Vessels, destroyed three and all their Batteaux.

22nd July left Skeneborough, arriv'd at Fort Anne 24th.

26th we left Fort Anne. 28th arriv'd at Kingsboro two Miles from Fort Edward.

27th July in the night, the Rebels abandoned Fort Edward.

30th July we remov'd to the height one mile on the other side Fort Edward, near the Road leading to Albany, the Rebels advanc'd post one mile in our front. Same evening the Indians, and Jessop's Corps of American Volunteers, attack'd their advanc'd post, and drove them on the other side of Hudson's River with the loss of one Man only.

Same Night the whole Rebel Army retreated; such is the natural bravery of our Indians, for they know nothing of the Art of War, they put their Arms into a Canoe, and swim over the River, pushing the Canoe before them, and many of them carried their Fuzees in their mouths, with their powder horns ty'd upon their Heads.

3rd August a party of Indians and American Volunteers, went on a Scout, they fell in with an advanc'd Guard of the Rebels, consisting of three hundred Men (under the command of a Major), at sunrise on the 4th the Rebels were defeated with the loss of four kill'd (amongst whom was the Major) and seven Prisoners; same Day another party of our Indians defeated a body of the Rebels and kill'd eleven of them.

13th August a party of about five hundred and fifty Men consisting of Fraser's Company of Volunteers, Phrestors Company of Provincials, Indians and Canadians, Chasseurs, General Redizel's Dragoons dismounted, mov'd toward Bennington.

14th Mov'd to Batten Kill.

15th Mov'd to Saratoga, the West Side Hudson's River.

16th The Rebels consisting of 4000 attack'd our party who had march'd the 13th near St. Coicks Mills, and totally defeated them, and took four pieces of Cannon, two three, and two six pounders: The Redizel Dragoons who consisted of 170 before the engagement, only five return'd; and of Fifty Chasseurs, one serjeant and fourteen return'd; and of one hundred and sixty Indians, thirty only return'd; this little army was commanded by Lieut. Colonel

Baume entirely at the desire of General Redizel, and everything was expected (that was designed) from this expedition.

18th August repass'd Hudson's River to Batten Kill.

14th Septr we passed Hudson River to Fish Kill, a small Rivulet, running from Lake Saratoga to Hudson's River near Schuyler's House.

15th Septr mov'd to Devogot.

17th Mov'd to Swords Farm.

18th A scout of the Rebels attacked a party of our men, who were unarm'd gathering Roots about one mile from Camp, they kill'd and carrid off several prisoners.

19th Septr Mov'd from Swords Farm; about one oclock the Piquetts of the Line fell in with the Advance Guard of the Rebels, consisting of three hundred Rifle Men under the command of a Captain they engag'd about half an hour, when they retreated the Captain with twelve men were made prisoners.

About two o'clock the 9th, 20th, 21st and 62nd Regiments were engaged by the Rebels near Freeman's Farm, they was strongly posted in a wood with a deep Ravine in their front, the fire was so hot upon the 20th, 21st and 62nd that they broke, but by the spirited behavior of their Officers were immediately rallied, and drove them from them. Major Agnew with the 24th Regt advanc'd into the wood, in order to flank them; on the first onset the Rebels retired in confusion, but the fire from the line having abated considerably at this time, and the Rebels finding their left Flank in danger, poured a strong force upon this Regt which caused them to retire

about one hundred yards behind an inclosure in a grass field; the Rebels fought bravely in the woods, but durst not advance one Inch toward the Open Field.

The 24th Battalion received orders to file off by the left, they took the wood, before them firing after them own manner from behind Trees, and twice repuls'd their repeated reinforcements without any assistance; The before mention'd Regiments and a Body of Germans arriv'd time enough with two pieces of Cannon to share in the defeat of the third attack. At half past 5 o'clock General Arnold with a detachment of 1500 men, advanc'd on our right, the Battalion of Grenadiers was very opportunely posted there, gave the Rebels two Volleys, which made them retreat in confusion. The firing totally ceas'd about half past six o'clock.

The Rebels were in general drunk, a piece of policy of their General in order to make them fight.

The Artillery under Captain Jones behav'd remarkably well as likewise the whole of the Army that was engag'd.

We had four Captains, nine subalterns, eleven sergeants, two hundred and nineteen Rank and file kill'd; Two Lieut Colos, two Majors, seven Captains, thirteen subalterns, six Sergeants, four hundred Rank and file wounded. The loss of the Rebels is not positively ascertain'd, for as their Detachments retreated, they carried off as many of their kill'd and wounded as they could, they left about three hundred dead in the Field. We lay on our Arms all Night as we had done the two preceeding ones; on the 20th in the afternoon we form'd

Battalia from Hudson's River on our left, to Freeman's Farm on our Right two Miles, we lay on our Arms this night likewise, and in the Morning of the 21st pitch'd our Tents; our Piquets and advanced guards were frequently skirmishing till the 7th Oct.

On the 7th Oct. detachments from the Army were order'd to parade at 10 o'clock consisting of Capt'n Frasers Co. of Marksmen.

Lt. Co.,—M.,—C.,—S.,—R. & f.

	1 — 2 — 50
	Lt. Co.,—M.,—C.,—S.,—R. & f.
	1 — 2 — 50
Canadian Volunteers and	
Provincial Do.	2 — 4 — 100
Grenadiers	1 — 5 — 10 — 250
Lt. Infantry	1 — 5 — 10 — 250
24th Regiment	1 — 4 — 9 — 200
Total Advance Corps	1 — 2 — 17 — 35 — 850
	Lt. Co.,—M.,—C.,—S.,—R. & f.
	1 — 4 — 8 — 100
Lieut. Col. Bremens Corps	
Detachments from the	
British Regiment of the	
Line	— — — 3 — 5 — 250
Regt of Hesse Hanau	— — — — — 300
Artillery	— — — — — 100
Total	2 — 2 — 24 — 48 — 1700

These detachments mov'd according to order, by the right in three Columns: Light Infantry and 24th Regiment with Bremens Corps form'd the Column of the Right with two six pounders, taking their route thro' the Wood on the Right of Freemans Farm.

The Grenadiers and Regiment of Hesse Hanau, form'd the Center Column with two twelve pounders, and two eight inch Howitzers marching thro' the open Field; The Detachments of the Line, with the Canadian Volunteers and Provincials form'd the Column of the left marching thro' the wood where the engagement on the 19th September was fought; about 3 o'clock a body of Reb-

els march'd out of their Lines (which assured us they had intelligence of our being in motion) toward our right, and another under cover of a Wood, mov'd toward our twelve pounders rather to their left we form'd as follows: The Light Infantry with their Right occupying a height, next the 24th Regiment, and Bremens Corps on their left which form'd the right face, one hundred yards distance from the twelve pounders; Then the Regiment of Hesse Hanau, next the Battalion of British Grenadiers, on their left the Detachments of the Line, Provincials Canadians and Frasers Marksmen which form'd the left face.

About four o'clock the Action became very hot upon the Regiment of Hesse Hanau and the British Grenadiers. The 24th Regt. was order'd to move to the left of the British Grenadiers; on seeing this reinforcement the Rebels retreated, the Body that march'd towards our Right, and was commanded by Major Genl. Arnold march'd thro' the Wood, on the right of the height occupied by the Light Infantry until he came in front of Bremens Lines, which he reconnoitred and finding them weakly man'd he immediately storm'd and carried them; on which we were ordered to retreat to our Lines. The Number of the Rebels engaged were six thousand, in two columns, as above mentioned, under the command of Lincoln and Arnold.

On our retreating the whole rush'd from their Lines and began a very spirited attack upon ours which was bravely defended by the British, and Night coming on, put an end to the Action. We lost the two twelve pounders and four six pounders; we had Brigadier Genl. Fra-

ser, Lieut. Colonel Bremen, two Captains, seven subalterns, five Sergeants, one hundred and sixty Rank and file killed: Majors Ackland and Williams, with two Captains, eight subalterns, sixteen serg'ts, seven Drumrs two hundred and thirty four Rank and file prisoners.

In the Night about one o'clock we struck Tents and retreated to the heights on our left, near Hudson's River; on the 8th about seven o'clock a large body of Rebels advanc'd towards us along the River side. A Cannonade immediately began in about half an hour, they retreated, leaving a party to cover two six-pounders which continued to play without doing any damage, except killing one Artillery man, and a horse; about Noon we dismounted one of their guns, on which they drew off the other, and retreated; at sunset they began a fresh cannonade, which ceas'd with the day, doing no damage. We retreated again this night, and arriv'd on the heights of Devogot about 8 o'clock on the morning of the 9th having intelligence that a body of Rebels was advancing to harass our Rear, we again began to retreat, and arriv'd at Fishkill about seven o'clock, which we immediately cross'd, and took post on the height of Saratoga.

On the 10th the Rebels advance party made their appearance the other side of Fish Kill, on a small hill near Schuyler's House; the 24th Battalion being posted close to the River, had a Captain and six Men wounded by their Riflemen, who fired from the tops of Trees of the other side.

A disposition was made for retreating this evening, but advice being receiv'd that the Rebels were in possession of the

heights of Fort Edward, which commanded the Ford of the River; the retreat was countermanded.

General Burgoyne was astonished when he heard the Rebels were in possession of the above mentioned heights; the manner they effected it was as follows:—

When the Militia of Massachusetts Bay receiv'd orders to join General Gates, those who had horses (to ease themselves of the fatigue of the journey) took them with them; on the 9th Genl. Gates gave orders for the assembling all the horses of that Army (Artillery horses excepted) a detachment of one thousand Men was order'd likewise to assemble at sunset the same evening, with two pieces of Cannon, he order'd two men to mount each horse, and one each of those that drew the cannon.

Brigadier Fellows commanded this detachment, and his orders was to march on the east side of the River, pass the British Army that night, and take possession of the heights of Fort Edward, before he stopt, which he effected early the morning of the 10th; the distance is about twenty-six miles.

On the 11th we saw Body's of the Rebels marching and taking possession of the heights opposite to us on the east side of the River Hudson.

On the 12th frequent cannonading and skirmishing; commanding officers of Regiments were sent for by General Burgoyne, to know what a face their Regiments bore. The answer of the British, they would fight to a Man. The German officers returned to their Regiments, to know the disposition of their Men; they answer'd, "nix the money, nix the rum, nix fighten."





The British Regiments being reduced in number to about nineteen hundred, and having no dependence on the Germans; General Burgoyne on the 13th October open'd a treaty with Major Genl. Gates.

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LETTER OF THOMAS PAINE TO  
CITIZEN DANTON.

Paris *May 6 (second year of the republic)*. Citoyen Danton: As you read English, I write this letter to you without passing it through the hands of a translator.

I am exceedingly distressed at the distractions, jealousies, discontents, and uneasiness that reign among us, and which if they continue, will bring ruin and disgrace on the republic. When I left America in the year 1787 it was my intention to return the year following, but the French revolution, and the prospect it afforded of extending the principles of liberty and fraternity through the greater part of Europe, have induced me to prolong my stay upwards of six years. I now despair of seeing the great object of European liberty accomplished, and my despair arises not from the combined foreign powers, not from the intrigues of aristocracy and priestcraft, but from the tumultuous misconduct with which the international affairs of the present revolution is conducted.

All that can now be hoped for is limited to France only, and I perfectly agree with your motion of not interfering in the government of any foreign country, nor permitting any foreign country to interfere in the government of France. This decree was necessary as a prelim-

inary towards terminating the war; but while those internal contentions continue, while the hope remains to the enemy of seeing the republic fall to pieces, while not only the representatives of departments but representation itself is publicly insulted, as it has lately been and now is, by the people of Paris, or at least by the tribunes, the enemy will be encouraged to hang about the frontiers and wait the the event of circumstances.

I observe that the confederated powers have not yet recognized Monsieur or d' Artois as regent, nor made any proclamation in favor of the Bourbons; but this negative conduct admits of two different conclusions. The one is that of abandoning the Bourbons and the war together; the other is that of changing the object of the war and substituting a partition scheme in the place of their first object, as they have done by Poland. If this should be their object the internal contentions that now rage will favor that object far more than it favored their former object. The danger every day increases of a rupture between Paris and the departments. The departments did not send their deputies to Paris to be insulted, and every insult shown to them is an insult to the department that elected and sent them. I see but one effectual plan to prevent this rupture taking place, and that is to fix the residence of the convention and of the future assemblies at a distance from Paris.

I saw, during the American Revolution, the exceeding inconveniences that arose by having the Government of Congress within the limits of any municipal jurisdiction. Congress first resided at Philadelphia, and, after a residence of

four years it found it necessary to leave it. It then adjourned to the state of Jersey; it afterwards removed to New York; it again removed from New York to Philadelphia, and, after experiencing in every one of these places the great inconvenience of a government within a government, it formed the project of building a town, not within the limits of any municipal jurisdiction, for the future residence of Congress. In every one of the places where Congress resided the municipal authority privately or openly opposed itself to the authority of Congress, and the people of each of these places expected more attention from Congress than their equal share with the other states amounted to. The same thing now takes place in Paris, but in a far greater excess.

I see also another embarrassing circumstance arising in Paris of which we have had full experience in America. I mean that of fixing the price of provisions. But if this measure is to be attempted, it ought to be done by the municipality. The convention has nothing to do with regulations of this kind, neither can they be carried into practice. The people of Paris may say they will not give more than a certain price for provisions, but they cannot compel the country-people to bring provisions to market, the consequence will be directly contrary to their expectations, and they will find dearness and famine instead of plenty and cheapness. They may force the price down upon the stock in hand, but after that the market will be empty. I will give you an example.

In Philadelphia we undertook among other regulations of this kind, to regu-

late the price of salt; the consequence was that no salt was brought to market, and the price rose to thirty-six shillings sterling per bushel. The price before the war was only one shilling and six pence per bushel; and we regulated the price of flour (farine) till there was none in the market and the people were glad to get it at any price.

There is also another circumstance to be taken into account which is not much attended to, the assignats are not of the same value they were a year ago, and as the quantity increases the value of them will diminish. This gives the appearance of things being dear when they are not so in fact, for in the same proportion that any kind of money falls in value, articles rise in price. If it were not for this the quantity of assignats would be too great to be circulated. Paper money in America fell so much in value from the excessive quantity of it, that in the year 1781 I gave three hundred paper dollars for one pair of worsted stockings. What I write you on this subject is experience not merely opinion.

I have no personal interest in any of those matters, nor in any party disputes; I attend only to general principles. As soon as a constitution shall be established, I shall return to America, and be the future prosperity of France ever so great, I shall enjoy no other part of it than the happiness of knowing it. In the meantime I am distressed to see matters so badly conducted, and so little attention paid to moral principles. It is these things that injure the character of the Revolution and discourage the progress of liberty all over the world.

When I began this letter I did not

intend making it so lengthy, but since I have gone thus far I will fill up the remainder of the sheet with such matters as shall occur to me.

There ought to be some regulation, with respect to the spirit of denunciation that now prevails. If every individual is to indulge his private malignancy or his private ambition, to denounce at random and without any kind of proof, all confidence will be undermined and all authority be destroyed. Calumny is a species of treachery that ought to be punished as well as any other kind of treachery. It is a private vice productive of a public evil, because it is possible to irritate men into disaffection by continual calumny, who never intended to be disaffected. It is, therefore, equally as necessary to guard against the evils of unfounded or malignant suspicion as against the evils of blind confidence. It is equally as necessary to protect the characters of public officers from calumny as it is to punish them for treachery or misconduct. For my own part I shall hold it a matter of doubt, until better evidence arise than is known at present, whether Dumourier has been a traitor from policy or resentment. There certainly was a time when he acted well, but it is not every man whose mind is strong enough to bear up against ingratitude, and I think he experienced a great deal of this before he revolted.

Calumny becomes harmless and defeats itself when it attempts to act upon too large a scale. Thus, the denunciations of the sections against the twenty-two deputies falls to the ground. The departments that elected them are better judges of their moral and political

characters than those who have denounced them. This denunciation will injure Paris in the opinion of the departments, because it has the appearance of dictating to them what sort of deputies they shall elect. Most of the acquaintance that I have in the convention are among those who are in that list, and I know there are not better men nor better patriots than what they are.

I have written a letter to Murat of the same date as this, but not on the same subject. He may show it to you if he chooses. *Votre ami.*

THOMAS PAINE. [L. S.]

*From the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1876.*

#### A REMARKABLE CHARACTER

*From the Portsmouth (N. H.) Journal.*

There is at the Almshouse in this town a very venerable and interesting old man, whose name is Donald MacDonald. He was born at Inverness, Scotland, in the reign of George I., Oct. 14, A. D. 1722. His birth place was at a little distance from the field where the celebrated battle of Culloden was afterwards fought. His grand parents belonged to Inverness; his grandfather lived to be 131 years of age and "crawled on all fours before he died." Donald's father, named John MacDonald, was a farmer of Inverness. He lived to be 107 years of age, and served in Queen Ann's wars; he had 14 children, of whom Donald was the youngest. His death was caused by some accident as late as the year 1779. The mother lived to the age of 98.

Donald himself was taught the Erse language as his mother-tongue and was

educated in the Roman Catholic faith, to which he is still attached, and he talks of the preaching of Father Foster, the minister of his childhood. When Donald was only nine years of age, he went to sea as a Captain's Boy. His first voyage was to Canton, and it lasted about three years and a half. He continued going to sea till he was 17 years of age, when he enlisted as a private in the English army, and was attached to the Black Highland Watch, a regiment so called from wearing a black dress, but which afterwards received the name of the 42d Royal Highlanders. In the year 1746 he went over to Flanders, served in the Campaign there, and received several sabre wounds in the head, one of which has left a large scar running from his forehead to the back part of his head. His regiment behaved so gallantly in that battle, that the French general said, if it had not been for the broad swords and blue caps, he would have destroyed the army. After this battle he went in 1748 to Hamburg, where he remained two years and three months; continuing in the 42d Royal Highlanders he came over with them under Gen. Brad-dock in 1752 to this country. He arrived at Alexandria and went to Pittsburgh, where the army had many skirmishes with the Indians, and was with Brad-dock at the time of his death. After peace was made with the Indians in 1755, MacDonald went to Philadelphia and then to Ticonderoga, where he was again engaged in a severe action; afterwards he went with his regiment to Albany, descended by water to New York, and embarked with three transports for Quebec. When off the plains of Abra-

ham, he among others were actively engaged in cutting into steps the precipitous and high bank of the river; he states the troops ascended them two by two, and were soon marshalled on the Plains. He was at this time a sergeant; he says Wolfe gave the word of command with a strong and noble voice and he saw him repeatedly on the field. He remained four months in Quebec and then went home to Scotland, and in 1760 was married to Mary MacDonald. Being discharged from the army he came out in 1761 with his wife and one child to New York and ever afterwards considered New York as his home. In 1776 he shipped at Baltimore to join Paul Jones, and states that he was captured by an English frigate off Long Island, and confined on board the Prison ship Jersey four years and upwards. On being released he joined the American army, but Gen. Washington sent him to New York to his wife and children, lest he should be severely treated, if again made a prisoner of war, and kindly furnished him a passport home. After the revolution he was often employed as a sailor in the merchant service. He served three years as a seaman on board an American frigate.

He has continued to go to sea till about 15 years since, when sailing from Eastport to Halifax, he was so much frozen as to lose entirely the use of his fingers, and his little fingers were amputated. His home is the Alms House at New York; his wife has been dead about 65 years; he has had five children, only two are now living, one is a daughter about 67 years of age, married and residing in Albany, the other is a son settled in St. Andrews, New Brunswick.

For little more than a year Mr. MacDonald has been living with a son at Buffalo, but the son dying the last autumn, the father proposed to go to St. Andrews to pass the remainder of his days with his other and only son. Much of the way from Buffalo Mr. MacDonald has traveled on foot, and states that he can and does walk about a dozen or fourteen miles a day with ease. Discouraged and disappointed in hearing nothing about his son at St. Andrews, he will extend his journey no further eastward than this place, but designs as soon as the state of the roads will permit to return to New York. Mr. MacDonald is five feet six inches in height, well built and still shows a brawny muscle. He has a strongly marked intelligent countenance expressive of great firmness and ardour. His complexion is fair and inclining to be florid, exhibiting few wrinkles and by no means extreme old age. His posture is but little inclined when he walks; and his step is firm and elastic and his movements light and easy. The top of his head is bald, but the sides and back present long and thick silvery locks. His eyesight is too much dimmed for reading, but in other respects he does not seem to experience any material inconvenience from it. He is a good deal deaf, but with his right ear hears distinctly a strong clear voice. All his upper teeth are gone, but the greater part of his lower teeth remain and are all double. His memory is perfectly good, and he converses with a strong voice and in very good language. He professes a sincere belief in religion and has been a communicant in the Roman Catholic Church. He is poor though happy, and

we hope that he will ever find friends throughout his journey of life.

The above is the account which he gives of himself. We vouch not for its truth, but a severe cross-examination does not allow us to doubt his narrative. Strange to tell he has not received any pension money from England or this country; and those who have any compassion for this poor scarred veteran soldier, now in the *one hundred and fifth* year of his age, may assist in paying a just claim on our country, may sweeten the last days of an unfortunate stranger; and experience some of the richest benedictions from the Almighty Almoner.—*Commercial Advertiser*, February 21, 1827.

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#### NOTES

COPLEY THE ARTIST.—The story of Copley's "Boy with a Squirrel," which, sent to London, obtained so much favor that he was advised to go to England, is well known. The picture represents his half-brother, Henry Pelham, seated at a table, on which is perched a squirrel cracking a nut. Owing to the non-arrival of the letter which should have accompanied it the artist's name was not known, and it was some time before his correct address was ascertained; even then he was at first styled William Copley, a fact which we learn from the Life of Sir Joshua Reynolds, as also that the picture was placed on exhibition in 1766. The London *Chronicle* of May 17, 1766, contains "A candid and impartial Review of the Paintings exhibited at the Great Room, Spring Garden, Charing Cross," by Candidus, St. James, Smyrna Coffee-house." Concerning No. 24 the

writer makes the following observation : "A boy with a flying squirrel, very clear. I am told that this is the performance of a young artist; if so, with proper application there is no doubt of his making a very good painter. The shadow of the flesh rather too dark."

This painting undoubtedly first drew attention to the artist's merits in the old country, but as Copley did not visit England until some eight years later, it can scarcely be supposed that it was the praises of this one production of his pencil which induced such a change on his part. In 1772 he finished the portrait of Mrs. Mary Devereux, wife of Capt. Humphrey Devereux of Marblehead. This lady, then at the age of 62 years, the daughter of Captain John Charnock of Boston, was by a former marriage the mother of John Greenwood, an American artist, prior to Copley, and then located in London. To this gentleman the picture was sent, and placed on exhibition. The writer has a pencil outline of the painting, beneath which is the following inscription :

"Portrait of my Grandmother. Copied from a picture painted by J. S. Copley at Boston in 1772.

"N. B. This picture was sent to England, and gained Copley so much credit as induced him to visit that country, where he has remained ever since."

The original is in the possession of Dr. John D. Greenwood of Motueka, New Zealand, and it is related in the family that so much did Reynolds admire the painting that on visiting the house of Mr. Greenwood, the artist, on Leicester Square, in London, he would mount a table the better to examine it,

exclaiming after a lapse of time, and with a shake of his head : "Ah ! Copley does not paint like that now !"

ISAAC J. GREENWOOD.

NEW ENGLAND FLAG.—In 1705 Prince George of Denmark, the Royal Consort and Lord High Admiral, by direction of Queen Anne prepared drawings of all the flags, ensigns and signals necessary for the use of the navy and vessels of commerce of the kingdom, to the number of seventy-six. They were engraved on one plate, adopted by Royal Proclamation, and published for circulation under the title, "A general view of the flags which most nations bear at sea." *Sea Laws*, 2d ed., p. 1. Among these flags was the "New England Ensign," which thus became established by law. It was a red flag—a red field with a St. George's cross, and in the upper canton of the St. George union, next to the staff, was a tree. The New England Ensign was the regular English Ensign, with the addition of the tree.

The following is a copy of the Royal Proclamation, copied from *Sea Laws*, 2d edition, page 684. It can also be found in the *Boston News Letter* of October 29, 1705.

"By the Queen—A Proclamation.  
"Anne R.

"Whereas, it has been Represented to us, That not only many Inconveniences have already happened, but that the like may hereafter attend the Trade of Our Subjects, not only in their Outward, but Homeward bound Voyages, for want of necessary Instructions and Signals to be observed by the Captains of Our Ships of War, which shall have Merchant

Ships and Vessels under their Convoy, as well as by the respective Masters of those Ships and Vessels.

"And Whereas, there has been prepared and laid before Us, by Our most Dear Consort, Prince George of Denmark, Our High Admiral of England, a Draught of such Instructions and Signals as may be proper on this Occasion : We therefore, out of Our Princely Care and Compassion of all our Loving Subjects Trading by Sea, and for their better Protection and Security, have thought fit, by and with the Advice of Our Privy Council, to issue out this Our Royal Proclamation, hereby strictly charging and requiring all Masters of Merchant Ships and Vessels belonging to Our Subjects, not only to furnish themselves from time to time with the said Instructions and Signals from the Commander-in-Chief of the Convoy they may be under, for which purpose the same shall be Printed and Transmitted to them, but also to take particular care to comply with every Part of the said Instructions, which are calculated on purpose for the Safety and Security of them and their Ships, and the Merchant's Effects on board them.

Given at Our Court at St. James's the Third Day of May, in the Fourth Year of Our Reign.

Ann. Dom. 1705.

God Save the Queen."

E. C. B.

ANECDOTE OF GENERAL WAYNE. —

*Bon repos* is the French cant for good night. Washington drank it for a signal to break up ; for the moment the company had swallowed the General's *bon*

*repos* it was take hats and retire. General Wayne, who, fortunately for America, understood fighting much better than French, had some how or other taken up a notion that this same *bon repos*, to whom Washington always gave his last bumper, must have been some great warrior of times of old. Having by some extraordinary luck gotten into his possession two or three dozen of good old wine, he invited a number of hearty fellow-officers to dine with him, and help him to break them to the health of America. As soon as the cloth was removed and the bottles on the table, the hero of Stony Point cried out : "Come, my brave comrades, fill your glasses—here's old *bon repos* forever !" The officers were struck with astonishment ; and having turned off their glasses, rose up, one and all, to go. "Hey-day! what's all this, gentlemen? What's all this?" Why, did you not drink *bon repos*, or good night." "What! is that the meaning of it?" "Yes"—"Well, then, a fig for *bon repos*, and take your seats again ; you shall not stir a peg, till we have started every drop of our drink!" — *The Weekly Visitor*, July 28th, 1804.

PETERSFIELD.

THE SPREAD EAGLE.—The following sublime toast was swallowed at Waterville, Maine, at a Democratic celebration on the 4th of July, 1815 :

"*The Eagle of the United States*—May she extend her wings from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean ; and fixing her talons on the Isthmus of Darien stretch with her beak to the Northern Pole."

To show that this remarkable bird still survives, I take the following extract

from the proceedings of Congress of November 7, 1877 :

*"House of Representatives, Washington.*

Mr. PRICE. I do not know anything about the elder Peel's opinion, and do not care much about his son. I live in the afternoon of the nineteenth century, and am legislating for the people who live in the afternoon of the nineteenth century. And while I have the lamp of experience to guide my feet in the path of the future I am pretty safe, so long as I keep in it. While values in England in that time may have gone down 60 per cent., values here have gone up, because gold has gone down from 280 to 103. Do not compare this country with any other. There is no country to compare it with. There is no place to make a country to compare it with. In England you may take a railroad car in the morning and start out in a straight line, and before the sun sets you will run over the edge. You cannot compare mole hills with mountains. You may contrast them, but you cannot compare them. Step out from yonder eastern limit and see the King of Day shaking the water from his wings. He takes his course westward not six hundred miles only—nor a thousand miles, nor two, nor three thousand miles only—but he has traversed nearly four thousand miles when he sinks to rest behind the golden waves of the Pacific ; or take your stand up at the frozen North, where the Ice King reigns, and follow down through all the degrees of latitude till you have reached the land of the orange and the pine, and there you have a country which, for diversity of clime and products, has no equal on the globe. And you cannot make such a coun-

try anywhere else, for there is no other place to make it. This is our country. It has one Constitution, one flag, and one destiny, and I purpose (so far as my ability extends) to keep it in the pathway of duty till it shall arrive at the goal, and the capstone shall be upon it in time."

"Mr. KELLEY. Big as the country is, the American eagle can flap his wings over every acre, and scream defiance to all creation. It is a great bird."

W. K.

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CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.—That the true policy of administration should be not so much to put new men, no matter how good, in office, but to retain those who are serviceable, is illustrated by the following incident. Early in the first term of Lincoln's administration a delegation from western Pennsylvania waited upon Mr. Chase, then Secretary of the Treasury, to demand the removal of an official in his department. The Secretary was for the moment engaged, but directed his clerk to bring out the papers upon which the appointment was made and the record of service. When at leisure he turned to the gentlemen, who had patiently waited, and asking again their several names, handed them the petition for appointment, and enquired of each in turn whether theirs' were not the signatures to the application. In some confusion they acknowledged their signatures, but remarked that there had been changes in the political situation since that period. Mr. Chase quietly observed, extending the second paper : "this is the record of service of the gentleman you recommended. He is an excellent officer and



shall be retained." We submit this as an admirable precedent for this and all administrations.

WITNESS.

VIRGINIA RIFLEMEN.—The Richmond Compiler of July, 1813, thus describes the rifle companies who had volunteered their services to defend that place: "They are fine, hardy-looking men, clad in the backwoods costume (the hunting shirt) and armed with their own rifles, with which from their youth up they have been familiarized to the occupation of deer hunting or the amusement of *scalping* squirrels and *decapitating* woodpeckers."

W. K.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS NOT A SAINT.—The Vatican has decided not to make Columbus a saint, because he never was one. That is the sense of the opinion expressed by the congregations. They base their refusal to beatify him on the grounds that his Christian virtues have not been exemplified by any great deed; that, apart from his discovery of America, his public and private life were open to grave reproach; that, until now, nobody ever thought of regarding him as a saint or invoking him as such; and, finally, that it is very doubtful whether he died a good Catholic. M. l'Abbe Cadonet has thus written his thick volume advocating the canonization of the great discoverer in vain.—*London Examiner*, Oct. 1877.

UNIFORMS OF THE CONTINENTAL ARMY.—Gen. John Armstrong stated, 1820, that "two silver stars, on gold straps, were the insignia of a Brigadier-General's epaulettes" in 1777. W.K.

RED HOT DEMOCRAT.—This term, so familiar to residents of New York at the present time, in connection with the editorial labors of Mark L. Pomeroy, was applied July 20, 1815, by Barnet Gardener, the pugnacious federalist, who published *The Examiner* at New York. It appeared in that periodical (iv., 278) heading some comments on the action of William Woods, of Baltimore.

PETERSFIELD.

GOWANS THE BOOKSELLER.—A reference to the late Mr. Gowan's in the article (by me) Keese-ana, in the December number of the *Magazine of American History*, erroneously credited him with an Irish nativity when, in fact, he really was of Scottish birth. Although I am confident that Mr. Gowans would have made an admirable Irishman, still I cannot rest until the correction be made and his name identified with the land of Robert Burns.

WILLIAM L. KEESE.

AMERICAN INDEPENDENCY.—*Extract of a letter from New York dated January 16, 1766.* "We seem ripe for a revolt, and to throw off all dependency on Great Britain. The party papers tell us we are able to subsist without trade to Great Britain." A.

AMERICAN CANNIBALISM.—Doctor Younglove, surgeon of Gen. Herkimer's brigade, who was taken prisoner at Fort Stanwix, made a statement at Albany in December, 1777, that the provost guard

who had charge of the prisoners received orders "not to use any violence in keeping the savages from the prisoners. In consequence of which the Indians actually came in large companies with their knives, entered the guard house for to feel of the prisoners to discover the fattest; they dragged one out of the house, massacred and eat him, as they and the Tories said."—*Connecticut Gazette*, March 27, 1778. W. K.

MASSACHUSETTS TOASTS JULY 4 1813.—*The memory of Washington*—Like Elijah, he has indeed ascended, but alas! his mantle has not fallen.

*The new State of Louisiana*—Though she is the illegitimate child of the Twelfth Congress, yet the United States must acknowledge her a sister-in-law.

*American Commerce*—It asks thousands for defense, and would give millions for revenue.

*War for conquest*—May those who like it pay the piper. W. K.

SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI.—The Rhode Island State Society has been re-organized with the following board of officers: *President*, Nathaniel Greene, Newport; *Vice President*, Simon Henry Greene, Riverpoint; *Secretary*, Dr. Henry E. Turner, Newport; *Assistant Secretary*, Prof. Asa Bird Gardner, West Point, N. Y.; *Treasurer*, Samuel C. Blodget, Providence; *Assistant Treasurer*, Dr. David King, Newport. EDITOR.

THE FIRST SUNDAY SCHOOL.—The credit of establishing the first Sabbath school has generally been ascribed to

Miss Walker and Robert Raikes. This is an error, and it is time it should be corrected. The credit properly belongs to Morgan Jones, whose pretended statement, which originally appeared in the *Gentlemen's Magazine* in 1740, is so often quoted to prove that Madoc discovered America in 1170. Mr. Jones established a Sabbath school at Newtown, Long Island, Feb. 28th, 1683, nearly a century before Mr. Raikes commenced his efforts in England.

*Alleghany, Pa.* ISAAC CRAIG.

COLONIAL RELIC.—Gen. R. W. Judson, of Ogdensburg, has among his historical relics a commission issued by Stephen Hopkins, while Governor of Rhode Island, dated July 6, 1767, which shows the same trembling hand that is so well known in the signature of this worthy old quaker while member of the First Continental Congress, and on the Declaration of Independence. V.

## QUERIES

LORD PERCY AT BRANDYWINE.—It has been reported many times in the last hundred years that Lord Percy, who commanded the British reinforcements sent to Lexington in April, 1775, took part in the battle of Brandywine and there perished. A friend who recently visited that battlefield tells me that Lord Percy's grave was there pointed out to him by a person who assumed to be acquainted with that site and the incidents of the battle.

I have followed the career of Lord Percy while in America with sufficient minuteness to find that he returned to

England in May, 1777, and never came back. The battle of Brandywine was fought in September, 1777.

May not the report of his having been in that action be traced to the story related of a gallant young Percy, of the great house of Percy, who was "a volunteer in the suite of one of the British Generals" in that celebrated battle, and was slain? This story may be found on pages 86 and 87 of the second volume of Watson's Annals of Philadelphia, and is new to me. The incidents savor more of romance than historic truth. Has this story any foundation?

Boston.

C. W. T.

OBELISK TO PITT.—"*Philadelphia, February 19, 1767.* A gentleman at the head of Chesapeake Bay intends to erect in the most conspicuous Part of his Garden an Obelisk, with the following inscription on it.

A Tribute, due to  
The Illustrious PITT,  
(Now Lord CHATHAM)  
And all those *Worthies*  
who so eminently distinguished  
themselves  
By reconciling the *Parent* and the  
*children,*  
In the Year M.DCC.LXVI."

Who was this patriotic gentlemen, his place of residence, and did he erect the monument?

PETERSFIELD.

CELERON OR CELORON?—Which is the correct mode of spelling the name of the French commandant who, in 1749, buried the leaden plates along the Ohio river? I observe that Mr. Huidekoper, in the January number, follows Irving

and others, and spells it Celeron; yet on the plates discovered it is clearly Celoron.

ISAAC CRAIG.

*Alleghany, Pa.*

MEMORIAL OF WOLFE.—Morse and Lynsen, auctioneers in New York city, sold July 21, 1767, the following interesting memorials of Wolfe: "A Compleat Camp Kitchen, formerly the Property of Major General Wolfe; a Parcel of Decanters and Wine-Glasses, China Bowls, and some Furniture."

Are any of these articles known to exist at the present time? W. K.

PLATO IN ENGLISH.—Can any one tell where William Box, of Virginia, whose letter of 1611 is quoted in Capt. John Smith's History found the following? "It was divinely spoken of the heathen Socrates, 'If God for man be careful, why should man be over-distrustful? for He hath so tempered the contrary qualities of the elements,  
That neither cold things want heat, nor moist things dry,  
Nor sad things spirit to quicken them thereby,  
Yet walk they musical content of contrariety,  
Which conquer'd, knits them in such links together,  
They do produce even all this whatsoever.'"  
Lowndes gives only one piece from Plato as printed in English prior to 1611, the "Axiochus," Edinburg, 1592. D.

## REPLIES

THE FAMOUS POST RIDER.—(I. 631.) We can assure the Public that Mr. Ebenezer Hurd, of Connecticut, who has rode Post for 40 years between this city and Saybrook, had made in his own Family,

this present year, by only his Wife and Children, no less than 500 yards of Linen and Woolen, the whole of the Wool and Flax of his own raising.—*New York Mercury*, Dec. 28, 1767. W. K.

RICHARD B. DAVIS.—(I. 762.) The Calliopean Society was the first purely literary institution established in the city of New York. One of the members of this society was Richard Bingham Davis, who was much admired for his poetical talents. In his appearance and manners he is said to have reminded his associates of Oliver Goldsmith. His person was clumsy, his manner awkward, his speech embarrassed, and his simplicity most remarkable in one who had been born and brought up in the midst of a crowd of his fellow creatures. He was born in New York August 21, 1771, was educated at Columbia College, modestly pursued the business of his father, in carving or sculpture in wood, but was induced in 1796 to undertake the editorial department of the *Diary*, a daily gazette published in New York, for which he wrote during a year. He was too sensitive, and his literary tastes, which lay in the direction of the belles lettres, were too delicate for this pursuit. He next engaged in mercantile affairs. In 1799 he fell a victim to the yellow fever, then prevailing in New York, carrying off the seed of the disease with him to New Brunswick, N. J., where he died in his 28th year. His poems were expressions of personal feeling and sentiment, and have a tinge of melancholy. They were collected by his friends of the Calliopean Society after his death, and published by Swords in

1807, with a well written prefatory memoir from the pen of John T. Irving. An "Ode to Imagination" shows his earnestness, as a clever "Elegy on an old Wig found in the Streets" does his humor. He was also a contributor to the Drone papers in the *New York Magazine*, where he drew a well written character of himself under the name of Marlet. — *Duyckinck's Cyclopædia of American Literature*. CRAYON.

FIRST FIRE ENGINES IN NEW YORK.—(I. 574, 635.) Whereas it has been the Custom for several years past for the Inhabitants of North America to import Fire Engines from foreign Parts; this is to inform the Publick, that they are made in the City of New York, as cheap and as good as any imported from England by Davis Hunt.—*New York Mercury*, April 20, 1767. W. K.

WILLIAM S. CARDELL.—(I. 633, II. 60.) A letter purporting to be from a foreigner in New York to a friend in England, containing severe reflections on American literary institutions, was written by W. S. Cardell, and published in the *Literary and Scientific Repository* for October, 1820.

WILLIAM S. CARDELL died in Lancaster, Pa., Aug. 10th, 1828. He had been teaching his system of English Grammar to a class and died after a brief illness. An obituary notice speaks of him as a highly talented and amiable young man. A second edition of his "Elements of English Grammar" was published by Uriah Hunt, Philadelphia, 1827.

West Chester, Pa.

J. S. F.

### JANUARY PROCEEDINGS OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Annual Meeting was held in the Hall of the Society, Wednesday evening, January 2d, 1878, the President, Frederic de Peyster, LL. D., in the Chair. After the usual formal business, the Annual Reports were presented.

The Treasurer's Report showed a balance to the credit of the Society in the Manhattan Company of \$11,425.17, and invested securities to the amount of \$46,900.00.

The report of the Executive Committee showed that the Society had held during the year nine stated and two special meetings. The papers read at regular meetings had been valuable and instructive. In addition, two special meetings had been held in commemoration of historical events, viz. : May 8th, at the Academy of Music, in honor of the 100th Anniversary of the Adoption of the Constitution of the State of New York, when Mr. Charles O'Connor delivered an address on "The Constitutions;" the second, June 4th, in the Hall of the Society, to celebrate the Centennial Anniversary of the adoption of the Flag of the United States, when Major-General Schuyler Hamilton delivered an address on "Our National Flag—its History in a Century." Both of these valuable papers have been printed. No anniversary meeting was this year held. The report closed with an urgent appeal to the members of the Society to make, the coming year, an effort to obtain a location for the Society, more commodious and accessible than the present building.

The Librarian reported the number of gifts to the Society during the year at 608 volumes, 891 pamphlets, 6 volumes of newspapers, besides several maps, engravings, broadsides and manuscripts. The museum had been increased by 395 objects of interest, of which the most valuable contribution was that of Messrs. E. Ellery and Edward H. Anderson of 392 articles, collected by their father, the late Dr. Henry J. Anderson. The art collection received a portrait of George Clinton, painted by Ezra Ames, the gift of George Clinton Tallmage, and a marble bust of the late Francis L. Hawks, D.D., by David Richard, presented by the Vestry of the Church of the Holy Saviour. In addition to these, the portrait of Col. Andrew Warner, for more than thirty years the Recording Secretary of the Society, ordered to be painted at the last annual meeting, and executed by George A. Baker, was announced as having been received.

A resolution of thanks to Benjamin H. Field, for his services as Treasurer of the Society, was unanimously adopted.

The Annual Election for officers for the ensuing year resulted in the choice of the following : President, Frederic de Peyster; First Vice-President, William Cullen Bryant; Second Vice-President, Benjamin H. Field; Foreign Corresponding Secretary, George H. Moore; Domestic Corresponding Secretary, Evert A. Duyckinck; Recording Secretary, Andrew Warner; Treasurer, Benjamin B. Sherman; Librarian, John Austin Stevens.

The business being concluded, the Society adjourned.

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

**PENNSYLVANIA ARCHIVES. SECOND SERIES.** Published under direction of MATTHEW S. QUAY, Secretary of the Commonwealth. Edited by JOHN B. LINN and WM. H. EGLE, M. D. Vol. V. 8vo, pp. 875. LANE & HART, State Printers. Harrisburg, 1877.

The present volume of this valuable series is exclusively devoted to "Papers relating to the Colonies on the Delaware," from 1614 to 1682. The greater part of these documents were transcribed from the New York Colonial Archives by an agent sent for the purpose by the Proprietary Government in the year 1740, and in order to make the series complete and continuous the gaps have been filled by reprint, from Mr. O'Callaghan's valuable "Collection of the Colonial Documents of New York," of the later missing papers.

These, together with the late additions to the volumes of New York documents recently noticed, constitute a large amount of interesting information concerning the period when the jurisdiction of the New Netherlands extended over the Delaware colonies.

The editors notice a want of chronological order in the arrangement of the papers at the end of the volume, but the index fortunately makes amends for their disarrangement.

**ARE THE INDIANS DYING OUT? PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS RELATING TO INDIAN CIVILIZATION AND EDUCATION.** 8vo, pp. 42. Washington, 1877.

This interesting report emanates from the Department of the Interior, and is a contribution towards the study of the difficult but important problem as to whether the Indian tribes increase or diminish under the pressure and influence of civilization. The estimates made of their number differ widely. Thus the Secretary of War gave the figures of 76,000 in 1789, exclusive of course of the Texas and Mexican tribes since annexed with the conquest of the territories. In 1854 Schoolcraft set down 388,229 as a probable estimate, the census of the United States in 1853 gave 313,712, and the Indian Bureau 291,882 in 1876. From these figures there seems to be reason for the hope that the Indian may yet be civilized and preserved. Certain it is that we owe it to ourselves, and to the Christianity we profess, to spare no effort to this result.

**GERRIT SMITH. A BIOGRAPHY.** BY OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM. 8vo, pp. 381. G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS. New York, 1878.

In taking up this volume no one familiar with the original character of Mr. Frothingham's mind will be surprised to find the subject treated in a novel manner. His purpose seems to have been a philosophical analysis of the moral and mental qualities of a nature remarkable for its strength, tenacity and fidelity to principle in all times, places and circumstances.

The titles of the ten chapters which make up the volume are the guide marks by which we are informed of the field examined in each. Thus the first two, genealogical and personal, are entitled Parentage and Health. Then follow Religion, Humanity, Temperance, Slavery, The War, The Peace, Philanthropy and The End, in which the closing scenes of his life and a summary of his character and labors supply a fitting close to this exhaustive and broad biography. The book is prefaced with a fine steel engraved portrait, in which every one familiar with the noble and benignant countenance of this philanthropist and gentleman will find an admirable delineation of those traits which, from their genial, cordial expression, attracted to him old and young, awakening their affection, while they disarmed the animosities of those whose antagonism the thorough radicalism of his opinions aroused.

Descended from a parentage in which the strong traits of the Dutch, Scotch and Irish races were blended, Gerrit Smith was born at Utica in 1797, two years before the Act of Emancipation, freeing all slaves born after the year 1799, was passed by the New York Legislature, an example which, if followed by the other States, might have saved a half century of discord and suffering. He had just reached manhood when the colonization schemes were first agitated. These greatly interested him, and were the gradual introduction to the Anti-Slavery Society, of which he later became one of the firm pillars and supports. It is not possible within our limits to even glance at the progress of the anti-slavery movement, nor at its consequences, immediate or remote; the end is not yet. Mr. Smith, while eminently practical both in the methods of his mind and his action in execution of them, seizing thoroughly hold of the present certain thing, was still something of an optimist in his views of the future. He had the good fortune to see the main desire of his life, the freedom of the slave, realized, and his death in the closing days of 1874 spared him the pain

which the hot contest of the last presidential election would have caused his warm and generous heart.

The reader will find that in the novel arrangement of this sketch, of a character which will stand in the annals of the United States as illustrious for its strength and integrity and general charitableness as that of Wilberforce in those of Great Britain, no drawback to its full understanding, while in every line he will find the classic style and easy gracefulness of one of the most fascinating and delightful of American authors

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**CHARLES SUMNER'S EXPLANATION**  
IN REPLY TO AN ASSAULT. A Speech prepared for the United States Senate, March, 1871. 8vo, pp. 16. LEE & SHEPARD, Boston, 1878.

This is the famous paper upon the personal relations of Mr. Sumner with the President and Secretary of State, the publication of which in the *Tribune*, in April 6, 1874, gave rise to a storm of angry controversy, since revived by allusions to it in some of the recent eulogies on Mr. Motley.

The paper itself was placed by Mr. Sumner in the hands of his friend, Mr. F. W. Bird, about the year 1871, and was not intended for the public until after his death. We have no intention of taking any side in this argument. It may, however, be properly said here that each of the four parties to the controversy—the President, the Secretary of State, Mr. Sumner and Mr. Motley—had strong personal characteristics, each was eminently "*vir tenax propositi*." Homer sung a similar song of the dissensions of the Grecian chiefs before the walls of Troy.

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**ANNALS OF THE TOWN OF WARREN,**  
IN KNOX COUNTY, MAINE, with the Early History of St. George's, Broad Bay and the Neighboring Settlements on the Waldo Patent. By CYRUS EATON, A. M. Second edition. 8vo, pp. 880. MASTERS & LIVERMORE, Hallowell, 1877.

This is a revision by Emily Eaton of the original work which, taken from the lips of her father, was published in 1857.

It carefully covers the period, to which the title refers, with abundant local detail of interest for historians, which an elaborate table of contents renders unusually accessible: and at the close there is a Genealogical Table of the Inhabitants of Warren, alphabetically arranged and compiled from town and county records, lists of mortality, monumental inscriptions and

other sources. The illustrations are by the heliotype process, but not of a high order.

Beginning with the discovery of the island of St. George by Weymouth in 1605, now known by its Indian name of Monhegan or Grand Island, the reader is carried methodically down to the close of the year 1876. Nothing seems to have been omitted which could interest or instruct the antiquarian or student.

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**THE HISTORY OF SHEFFORD, CIVIL,**  
ECCLESIASTICAL, BIOGRAPHICAL AND STATISTICAL. By C. THOMAS. 8vo, pp. 143. Lovell Printing and Publishing Company, Montreal, 1877.

The township of Shefford was erected by Letters Patent, dated February, 1801, and granted in part to Capt. John Savage and his associates from the Colonial Government. The mode of these grants is worth notice in its contrast to our own Land system. Any individual of responsibility, who had sustained losses from his loyalty or otherwise merited reward, could with others, under certain conditions, obtain a grant of five-sevenths of a township. The promoter of the plan was called "Leader or Agent." The remaining two-sevenths was reserved for the support of the Protestant clergy and the disposition of the town.

The local detail in this little volume is hardly of a nature to interest readers on this side of the border, but we are always happy to call attention to such works of this nature published in the Dominion as fall into our hand.

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**MEMOIR OF JAMES WILLIAM BEEK-**  
MAN. Prepared at the request of the Saint Nicholas Society of the City of New York by EDWARD F. DE LANCEY. 8vo, pp. 17. Published by the Society. New York, 1877.

Our readers will remember the sketch of this amiable and cultivated gentleman, from the pen of his life-long friend, Mr. Duyckinck, which appeared in the November number of the Magazine. In its exhaustive analysis of character Mr. Duyckinck left little for later hands to glean, but we find in the paper before us a careful account of the incidents which transpired in the Beekman House, a construction of 1763, and made it famous among our historic mansions.

The sketch is extremely graceful and a fitting tribute to a warm friend and active companion in many fields of social and public labor.

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**THE LAW OF TEXAS NOW IN FORCE**  
TOUCHING CONVEYANCING AND REGISTRATION, including the Statutes and Decisions of

the Supreme Court of that State as to the substance, form, authentication and registration of deeds and other written instruments, authorized by law to be recorded to have effect as constructive notice. Compiled and edited by WILLIAM ALEXANDER, formerly Attorney-General. 8vo, pp. 188. JOSEPH A. NAGLE. Austin, Texas, 1877.

The authority of Mr. Alexander on the subjects of which he treats is too well known to need a word of comment from us. Familiar for more than a quarter of a century with the laws of Texas and practice under it, and peculiarly qualified for a labor which demands judgment, precision and care, his work cannot fail to find its place on the shelves of those lawyers who have any concern in the Texas lands which the schemes now before Congress are bringing into notice.

Criticism of the work is not within our province or competence, but our intimate knowledge of the author, his learning, training, habits of thought and mode of labor warrant us in an unreserved commendation of whatever comes from his pen.

**WHY WE TRADE AND HOW WE TRADE, OR AN INQUIRY INTO THE EXTENT TO WHICH the existing commercial and fiscal policy of the United States restricts the material prosperity and development of the country.** By DAVID A. WELLS. Economic Monographs, No. 1. 8vo, pp. 67. G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS. New York, 1878.

**THE SILVER QUESTION—THE DOLLAR OF THE FATHERS VERSUS THE DOLLAR OF THE SONS** Also an extract from an article in the *North American Review*, November, 1877, on the Unconstitutionality of the Repeal of the Obligations of the Resumption Act. By DAVID A. WELLS. Economic Monographs, No. 2. 8vo, pp. 47. G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS. New York, 1878.

We shall do no more than call the attention of our readers to these valuable treatises, from our best economic authority, with which the intelligent and enterprising publishers begin their series. Mr. Wells is known both in this country and abroad as the best lance, if we except Mr. Ruggles, of whom, as was said of Jove, "to him there was no second" on the liberal and rational side of American political economy.

His treatises on our national resources during the civil war gained him a reputation for author-

ity, which he has easily maintained. Of course his arguments are in favor of taking off the restrictions that cripple the many for the benefit of the few, and of a manly maintenance of national honor and national obligations.

#### BARTOW GENEALOGY, CONTAINING

EVERY ONE OF THE NAME OF BARTOW descended from Doctor Thomas Bartow, who was living at Crediton, in England, A. D. 1672, with references to the books where any of the name is mentioned by F. B. 8vo, pp. 59. INNES & CO. Baltimore, 1875.

The review of this class of works belongs to genealogical registers rather than to historical reviews. The Bartow family derives from the Bertants of Bretagne, and more directly from the Barteaus of Paris, whose descendants appear in this country early in the last century. The first of eminence was the Reverend John Bartow, English born, a graduate of Christ College, Cambridge, in 1692. In 1792 he was sent to the New York Colony by the Propagation Society, and became the first Rector of St. Peter's Church, Westchester County. An account of his son, Theophilus Bartow, and of John Bartow, his son, make up the fourth and fifth chapters of this record, which we shall not pursue further. The pamphlet is handsomely printed and worthy of the attention of those interested in family history.

#### SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF WILLIAM

BLANCHARD TOWNE, A. M., founder of the Towne Memorial Fund of the New England Historic Genealogical Society. By JOHN WARD DEAN. 8vo, pp. 16. Published by the N. E. Historic Genealogical Society. Boston, 1878.

This is a sketch of the life of an efficient officer in the Society, of which Mr. Dean is a directing member, as well as the scholarly editor of the well-known *Historical and Genealogical Register*. Local as the interest of this sketch may be, an interest always local, unless the personage be of really national interest, there is to be found in it, as in all that comes from Mr. Dean's pen, opinions and views of character and life that repay the perusal.

#### MEMOIR OF COL. JONATHAN EDDY

OF EDDINGTON, MAINE, with some account of the Eddy Family, and of the Early Settlers on the Penobscot River. By JOSEPH W. PORTER, Burlington, Maine. 8vo, pp. 72. SPRAGUE, OWEN & NASH. Augusta, 1877.

We again call attention to another memoir.



This commences with a sketch of Jonathan Eddy, born in 1726, who in 1755 was an officer of Col. Winslow's regiment in Nova Scotia. His services in the war of the Revolution are recounted, and the sketch closes with the Eddy genealogy.

**THE DEMOCRATIC REVIEW, NOVEMBER, 1877.** Edited by WILLIS R. BIERLY, Esq. The Review Publishing Company, Williamsport, Pa.

This is the first number, and opens with a biographical sketch of General McClellan by the editor, who adopts the popular democratic view of his qualities and abilities. The election of Mr. Randall as Speaker of the House of Representatives is hailed as the people's dawn of hope. In another the editor bewails the fact that most of the Reviews have a strong Republican bias, and summons the Democracy, rank and file, to the rescue. The Review before us is certainly orthodox, while a few sketches and stories promise to enlist the sympathies of the women of the same faith.

**SOUTHERN HISTORICAL SOCIETY PAPERS.** Vol. IV., No. 6. December, 1877. Published by Rev. J. WILLIAM JONES, D. D. Richmond, Va.

The leader of this month is a review by General Early of the discussion concerning the causes of Lee's Repulse at Gettysburg, which have appeared in the pages of the Review. Early finds these causes to have been "the most extraordinary procrastination and delay in carrying out the orders for the attacks on the second and third days, upon which the whole battle hinged." We are rather surprised to see Gettysburg styled a "fortress," a term new to us in connection with that locality. A reply of Early to General Longstreet treats of the same subject, concerning which there seems to be much bad blood among the ex-Confederates. Next follows a sharp article upon the Peace Commissioners, in the form of a reply, by R. M. T. Hunter to the letter of Jefferson Davis. We agree with the editor that it is better that these things should be ventilated by living actors than left to the uncertainties of future discussion, though we doubt whether the majority of our Southern friends can be brought by any process of reasoning to understand that the reasons for the loss of the cause were inherent in the cause itself, and that neither generalship, of which it had abundance, and statesmanship, of which it had little, could have saved it. In this connection we note the frank admission of Mr.

Hunter that "none of us (the Confederate) leaders understand the true nature of the Crisis."

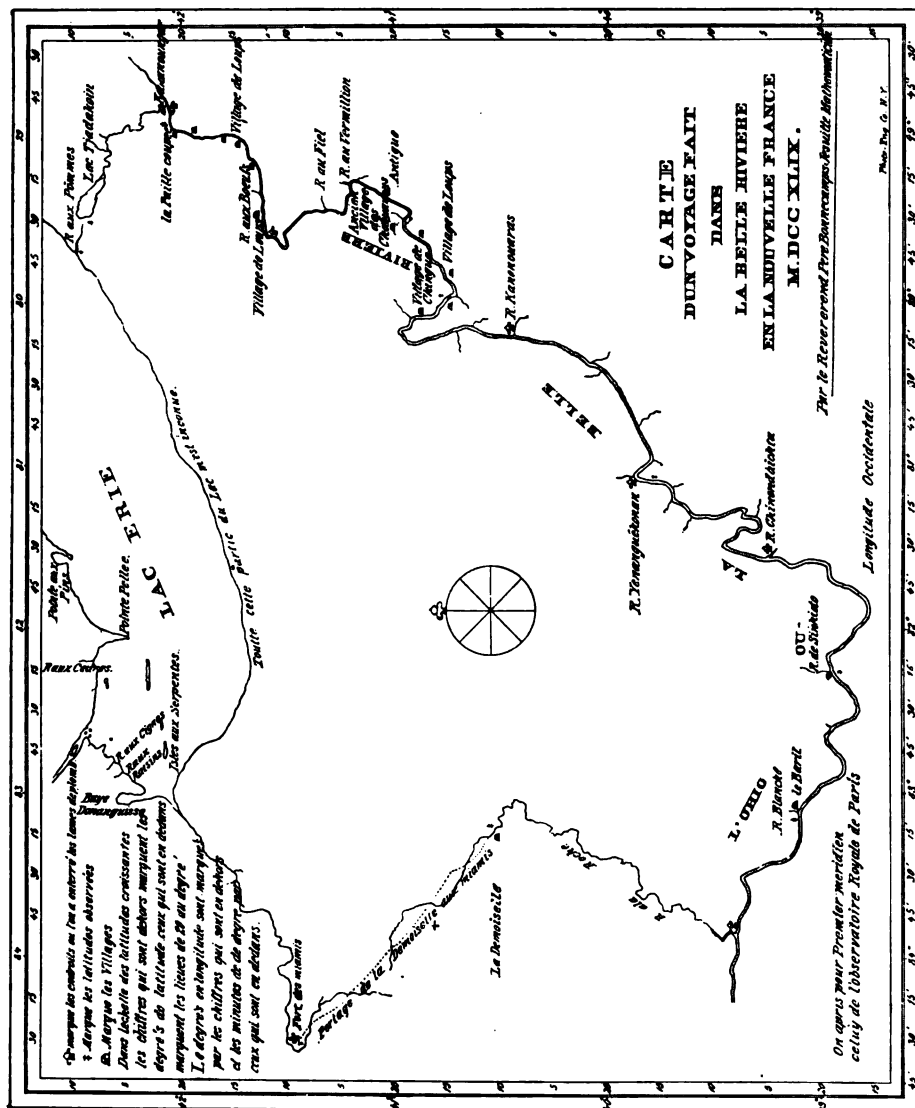
**THE MAINE GENEALOGIST AND BIOGRAPHER.** A QUARTERLY JOURNAL. WM. B. LAPHAM, Editor. December. SPRAGUE, OWEN & NASH. Augusta, Maine, 1877.

In this number will be found eleven articles. The general reader will take much interest in the inscriptions copied from the old cemetery at Hallowell, some of which, though of recent date, have an old time quaintness, and in ancient "warning" notifying one James Gordon, a silversmith, who had presumed to settle in Hallowell without the town's consent, that he leave the town; and this, strange to say, in 1792.

**THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.** JANUARY-FEBRUARY, 1878. Edited by ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE. D. APPLETON & Co. New York.

The most exacting lover of variety could not complain of the contents of this number of our standard Review, which includes articles by such names as Senator Hoar, Dion Bouicault, the Confederate General Richard Taylor, W. W. Story, Bayard Taylor and General McClellan. Those bearing upon American topics are a eulogy upon Senator Hoar and the Reminiscences of the Civil War by General Taylor. The former paints Mr. Sumner at his best. The latter will attract interest from the writer's immediate connection with many of the scenes and persons he describes. Indeed, the article is chiefly made up of a recital in the first person of the author's participation in the various actions which preceded the campaign of 1862, and sundry desultory criticisms of the commanders of the United States and Southern armies, upon the merits of which military men must decide. From the closing sentence of these Reminiscences, we see that they are to be continued, when we shall probably find that the General was more skillful with his sword than he here shows himself to be with his pen. We notice with some regret the tendency this periodical is developing under its new direction towards the magazine order of literature. Departing from the English style of careful book review, embracing an exhaustive treatment of a general subject, and suggesting new views, as has been the time-honored fashion of the English Quarterlies, Mr. Rice seems to have taken as his model the *Reveu des deux Mondes*. No doubt the latter form is more popular, and may prove more profitable in a pecuniary sense, but "noblesse oblige" and the *North American Review* must yield the old field to another if it abandon its traditions.





### EXPLANATION OF THE MAP

The map prefixed is a reduced photographic copy of a part of Father Bonnecamp's manuscript map of the route of de Céloron's Expedition, now deposited in the Archives of the *Departement de la Marine* in Paris.

✚ Indicates the places where leaden plates were buried.

‡ Points where latitudes and longitudes were observed.

▩ Sites of Indian villages.

The degrees of longitude are west of the meridian of Paris, and are indicated by the figures in the outer division of the scales on the eastern and western extremities of the map. Those on the inner divisions are leagues, in the proportion of 20 to a degree.



# MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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## DE CÉLORON'S EXPEDITION TO THE OHIO IN 1749

THE extensive territory lying between the Ohio River and Lake Erie has been the theatre of many remarkable historical changes.

Its earliest inhabitants left no record of their origin or history, save in the numerous tumuli which are scattered over its surface, bearing trees of the largest growth, not distinguishable from the adjacent forest. Measured by the extent and character of those vast structures, the race that built them must have been intelligent and populous. When and how they disappeared, we know not. Whether they were directly succeeded by the present race of Indians, or by an intermediate people, are questions to which history gives no answer. When La Salle discovered the Ohio he found it in the occupation of the red man, who claimed possession and ownership over the territory comprised within the limits of Western Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana, until the close of the last century. His villages were on every stream, and his hunting grounds embraced every hill and valley.

The attractions of the fur trade stimulated Eastern adventurers to penetrate, from time to time, the forest recesses of the West, and glowing descriptions were reported of the fertile soil, mineral wealth and the abundance of the fur-bearing animals. It was not until England and France, the two great rival Powers of Europe, became impressed with the prospective growth and value of the territory, and each prepared to grasp the coveted prize, that the native owners of the soil began to take serious alarm. On the one side, England claimed to the northern lakes, while France asserted ownership not only as far south as the Ohio, but over all the lands drained by its extensive tributaries.

The treaty of Aix la Chapelle, to which both of those powers were parties, while it terminated a long and sanguinary war in Europe, left many subjects of controversy still unsettled. Among them were the boundaries between the French and English in America. At the con-

clusion of that treaty England lost no time in initiating measures for the occupation and colonization of the disputed territory, and encouraged the formation of the Ohio Company as one of the efficient means for accomplishing that purpose. Half a million of acres were granted by the Crown to that association, to be selected mainly on the south side of the Ohio, between the Monongahela and Kanawha rivers. This was coupled with the condition that settlements, protected by suitable forts, should be established on the grant. The French were equally alive on the subject, and the demonstrations of the English aroused the attention of the Marquis de la Galissonnière, a man of eminent ability and forethought, who was then Governor of Canada. In order to counteract the designs of the English, he dispatched Captain Bienville de Céloron,<sup>1</sup> a chevalier of the order of St. Louis, in command of a detachment, composed of eight subaltern officers, six cadets, an armorer, twenty soldiers, one hundred and eighty Canadians, thirty Iroquois and twenty-five Abenakis, with orders to descend the Ohio, and take possession of the country in the name of the King. The principal officers under him were de Contrecoeur, who had been in command of Fort Niagara, and Coulon de Villiers, one of seven brothers, six of whom lost their lives in the Canadian wars. Contrecoeur was subsequently in command of Fort du Quesne, at or immediately after the defeat of Braddock.


The present article is designed to give an account of that expedition, to trace its route and to identify as far as possible the geographical points which it visited. Only brief notices of the undertaking have heretofore been given to the public. The discovery of some of the leaden plates, buried by its officers on the banks of the Ohio, have from time to time awakened public interest and curiosity, which the meagre accounts already published have failed to satisfy. While recently examining the archives of the *Département de la Marine* in Paris the writer met with the original manuscript journal kept by de Céloron during his entire voyage. He also found in the *Grandes Archives* of the *Dépôt de la Marine*, No. 17 rue de l'Université, a manuscript diary of Father Bonsecamps, who styles himself "Jesuite Mathématicien," and who seems to have been the chaplain, as well as a kind of sailing master of the expedition, keeping a daily record of the courses and distances they traveled, the latitudes and longitudes of the principal geographical points, with occasional brief notes of the most important occurrences. In another department, called the *Bibliothèque du dépôt de la Marine*, there was found a large Ms. map, 31½ by 34½ inches square, representing the country through which the expedition passed, including the St. Law

rence westward of Montreal, Lakes Erie and Ontario, the territory south of those lakes as far as the Ohio, and the whole course of that river from the source of the Alleghany to the mouth of the Great Miami. This map forms an important illustration of the expedition. On it are delineated by appropriate characters the points where leaden plates were deposited, where the latitudes and longitudes were observed, and the localities of the Indian villages visited on the route.

The journals of de Céloron and Father Bonnecamps, and the map of the latter, have furnished the ground-work of the narrative. Explanatory and historical notes, drawn from other sources, have occasionally been added.

The first of the leaden plates was brought to the attention of the public in a letter addressed by Governor George Clinton to the Lords of Trade in London, dated New York, December 19th, 1750, in which he states that he "would send to their Lordships in two or three weeks a plate of lead, full of writing, which some of the upper nations of Indians stole from Jean Coeur," the French interpreter at Niagara, on his way to the river Ohio, which river, and all the lands thereabouts, the French claim, as will appear by said writing." He further states "that the lead plate gave the Indians so much uneasiness that they immediately dispatched some of the Cayuga chiefs to him with it, saying that their only reliance was on him, and earnestly begged he would communicate the contents thereof to them, which he had done, much to their satisfaction and the interests of the English." The Governor concludes by saying that "the contents of the plate may be of great importance in clearing up the encroachments which the French have made on the British Empire in America." The plate was delivered to Colonel, afterwards Sir William Johnson, on the 4th of December, 1750, at his residence on the Mohawk, by a Cayuga Sachem, who accompanied it by the following speech:

"Brother Corlear and War-agh-i-ya-ghey: I am sent here by the Five Nations with a piece of writing, which the Senecas, our brethren, got by some artifice from Jean Coeur, earnestly beseeching you will let us know what it means, and as we put all our confidence in you, our brother, we hope you will explain it ingeniously to us." Colonel Johnson replied to the Sachem, and through him to the Five Nations, returning a belt of wampum, and explaining the inscription on the plate. He told them that "it was a matter of the greatest consequence, involving the possession of their lands and hunting grounds, and that Jean Coeur and the French ought immediately to be expelled from the Ohio and Niagara." In reply, the Sachem said that "he had heard with great





attention and surprise the substance of the 'Devilish writing' he had brought," and that Colonel Johnson's remarks "were fully approved." He promised that belts from each of the Five Nations should be sent from the Senecas' Castle to the Indians at the Ohio, to warn and strengthen them against the French encroachments in that direction.

The following is a literal copy of the inscription in question. It was sent by Governor Clinton to the Lords of Trade on the 17th of January, 1751:

"L'AN 1749 DV REGNE DE LOVIS XV ROY DE FRANCE, NOVS CELORON, COMMANDANT D'VN DETACHIMENT ENVOIÉ PAR MONSIEVR LE MIS. DE LA GALISSONNIÈRE, COMMANDANT GENERAL DE LA NOUVELLE FRANCE POVR RETABLIR LA TRANQUILLITÉ DANS QUELQUES VILLAGES SAUVAGES DE CES CANTONS, AVONS ENTERRÉ CETTE PLAQUE AU CONFLUENT DE L'OHIO ET DE TCHADAKOIN CE 29 JVILLET, PRÈS DE LA RIVIÈRE OYO AUTREMENT BELLE RIVIÈRE, POUR MONUMENT DU RENOUVELLEMENT DE POSSESSION QUE NOUS AVONS PRIS DE LA DITTE RIVIÈRE OYO, ET DE TOUTES CELLES QUI Y TOMBENT, ET DE TOUTES LES TERRES DES DEUX CÔTES JVSQVE AVX SOURCES DES DITTES RIVIÈRES AINSI QV'EN ONT JOVI OU DV JOVIR LES PRECEDENTS ROIS DE FRANCE, ET QU'ILS S'Y SONT MAINTENVS PAR LES ARMES ET PAR LES TRAITTES, SPECIALEMENT PAR CEVX DE RISWICK, D'VTRECHT ET D'AIX LA CHAPELLE."

The above is certified to be "a true copy" by "Peter De Joncourt, interpreter."

#### TRANSLATION.

"In the year 1749, of the reign of Louis the 15th, King of France, we Céloron, commander of a detachment sent by Monsieur the Marquis de la Galissonnière, Governor General of New France, to reestablish tranquillity in some Indian villages of these cantons, have buried this Plate of Lead at the confluence of the Ohio and the Chatauqua, this 29th day of July, near the river Ohio, otherwise *Belle Rivière*, as a monument of the renewal of the possession we have taken of the said river Ohio, and of all those which empty into it, and of all the lands on both sides as far as the sources of the said rivers, as enjoyed or ought to have been enjoyed by the kings of France preceding, and as they have there maintained themselves by arms and by treaties, especially those of Ryswick, Utrecht and Aix la Chapelle."

On the 29th of January, 1751, Governor Clinton sent a copy of the above inscription to Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania, informing him that it was "taken from a plate stolen from Joncaire some months since in the Seneca country as he was going to the river Ohio."

The expedition was provided with a number of leaden plates, about eleven inches long, seven and a half inches wide and one-eighth of an

inch thick, on each of which an inscription in French, similar to the one above given, was engraved or stamped in capital letters, with blanks left for the insertion of the names of the rivers, at the confluence of which with the Ohio they should be deposited, and the dates of their deposit. The name of the artist, Paul de Brosse, was engraved on the reverse of each. Thus provided, the expedition left La Chine on the 15th of June, 1749, and ascended the St. Lawrence to Fort Fontenac. From thence, coasting along the eastern and southern shore of Lake Ontario, they arrived at Fort Niagara on the 6th of July. They reached the portage at Lewiston on the 7th, and ascended the Niagara into Lake Erie. On the 14th, after advancing a few miles up the lake, they were compelled by a strong wind to encamp on the south shore. They embarked early on the morning of the 15th, hoping to reach the portage of "Chatakouin" the same day, but an adverse wind again forced them to land.

The southern shore of the lake at this point is described as "extremely shallow, with no shelter from the force of the winds, involving great risk of shipwreck in landing, which is increased by large rocks, extending more than three-fourths of a mile from the shore." Céloron's canoe struck on one, and he would inevitably have been drowned, with all on board, had not prompt assistance been rendered. On the 16th at noon they arrived at the Chatakouin portage. This was an open roadstead, where the United States Government many years ago attempted unsuccessfully to construct a safe harbor. It is now known as Barcelona or Portland. As soon as all preparations were made for the overland passage, and the canoes all loaded, Mm. de Villiers and le Borgue were dispatched with fifty men to clear the way, while Céloron examined the situation of the place, in order to ascertain its fitness for the establishment of a Post. He says: "I found it ill-adapted for such a purpose, as well from its position as from its relation to the navigation of the lake. The water is so shallow that barks standing in cannot approach within a league of the portage. There being no island or harbor to which they could resort for shelter, they would be under the necessity of riding at anchor and discharging their loading by batteaux. The frequency of squalls would render it a place of danger. Besides, there are no Indian villages in the vicinity. In fact, they are quite distant, none being nearer than Ganaougon and Paile Coupée. In the evening Mm. de Villiers and le Borgue returned to lodge at the camp, having cleared the way for about three-quarters of a league." Up to this time, the usual route of the French to the Missis-

ssippi had been by the way of Detroit, Green Bay, the Wisconsin, Lake Michigan and the Illinois river. They had five villages on the Mississippi, near the mouth of the Illinois, as early as 1749.

"On the 17th," continues the Journal, "at break of day, we began the portage, the prosecution of which was vigorously maintained. All the canoes, provisions, munitions of war, and merchandise intended as presents to the Indians bordering on the Ohio, were carried over the three-quarters of a league which had been rendered passable the day previous. The route was exceedingly difficult, owing to the numerous hills and mountains which we encountered. All my men were very much fatigued. We established a strong guard, which was continued during the entire campaign, not only for the purpose of security, but for teaching the Canadians a discipline which they greatly needed. We continued our advance on the 14th, but bad weather prevented our making as much progress as on the preceding day. I consoled myself for the delay, as it was caused by a rain which I greatly desired, as it would raise the water in the river sufficient to float our loaded canoes. On the 19th, the rain having ceased, we accomplished half a league. On the 20th and 21st we continued our route with great diligence, and arrived at the end of the portage on the banks of Lake Chatacoin on the 22d. The whole distance may be estimated at four leagues. Here I repaired my canoes and recruited my men."

It is a little over eight miles in a direct line from the mouth of Chautauqua Creek on Lake Erie to the head of Chautauqua Lake. The route taken by the expedition would of course be more, and probably equal to the four leagues, or ten miles, stated by Céloron. The difficulties they encountered must have been exceedingly formidable. Chautauqua Lake is 726 feet above Lake Erie, and in order to reach the water-shed between the two lakes, an ascent of at least one thousand feet had to be overcome. Although at that early day, when the forests were yet undisturbed, the Chautauqua Creek flowed with fuller banks than now, yet even then but little use could be made of it by loaded canoes, except near its mouth. The portage could only be accomplished for the greater part of the way by carrying the canoes, baggage, provisions and supplies on the shoulders of the men up the steep mountain sides to the summit, from which the waters flowed southward into Chautauqua Lake. Looking back from this elevation, a magnificent panorama must have presented itself to Céloron and his companions. Lake Erie lay at their feet, with the Canada shore, forty miles distant, in plain sight, while the extremities of that great inland sea, extending east and west, were lost below the horizon.

The expedition did not loiter long on the banks of Chautauqua Lake. On the 23d they launched their bark flotilla on its clear, cool waters, and paddling south-eastward through the lake, passed the narrows at what are now known as Long and Bemus Points. The shape of the lake is quite peculiar. Its northwestern and southeastern extremities, which are nearly equal, and comprise the greater part of the lake, are connected by two short irregular straits, between which nestles a small beautiful bay. The singular configuration of the whole gives plausibility to the interpretation of the Indian name, Chautauqua, which is said to signify "a sack tied in the middle."

On the evening of the 23d of July the expedition encamped on shore within three miles of the outlet. The lake is stated by Céloron to be "nine leagues," or about twenty-two miles long. The actual length is less than sixteen. Distances are almost always overstated by the early French voyageurs in America. In the evening a party of Indians, who had been engaged during the day in fishing in the lake, reported they had seen the enemy watching them from the adjacent forest. They had fled as soon as discovered. Early on the morning of the 24th the expedition entered the outlet, a narrow stream, winding through a deep morass, bordered by a tall forest, which, over-arching the way, almost shut out the light of day. The water being found quite low, in order to lighten the canoes, they sent the greater part of their loading about three-quarters of a league by land, over a path pointed out by the *Sieur de Saussaye*, who was acquainted with the country.\* The distance they accomplished this day by water did not exceed half a league. It probably carried them through the swamp as far as the high land in the neighborhood of the present village of Jamestown. The next day, before resuming their march, Céloron deemed it expedient to convene a council to consider what should be done in view of the evident signs of an enemy in the vicinity, who on being discovered had abandoned their canoes and effects and fled, carrying the alarm to the adjacent village of *Paille Coupée*. The council decided to dispatch Lieutenant *Joncaire*, some *Abenakis* and three *Iroquois*, with three belts, to assure the fugitives of the friendly object of the expedition. After the departure of the embassy the march was resumed over the rapids, with which the outlet abounded.

"We proceeded," says the *Journal*, "about a league with great difficulty. In many places I was obliged to assign forty men to each canoe to facilitate their passage. On the 26th and 27th we continued our voyage not without many obstacles; notwithstanding all our precautions to

guard our canoes, they often sustained great injury by reason of the shallow water. On the 29th at noon I entered the '*la Belle Rivière*.' I buried a plate of lead at the foot of a red oak on the south bank of the river Oyo (Ohio) and of the Chanougon, not far from the village of Kanaouagon, in latitude  $42^{\circ} 5' 23''$ ." It is unnecessary to give a copy of the inscription on the above plate, as it is similar to the one which was sent to Governor Clinton, as before related, except slight variations in the spelling, accents and arrangement of lines. The three plates which thus far have been discovered present the same differences. The places and dates of deposit are coarsely engraved, evidently with a knife. In the one just described the blanks were filled with the words: "Au confluent de l'Ohio et Kanaaiagon, le 29 Juillet."

"At the confluence of the Ohio and Kanaaiagon the 29th of July."

The river, spelled "Kanaaiagon" on the plate, "Chanougon" by Céloron in his Journal, and "Kananouangon," on Bonnecamps' map, is a considerable stream that rises in western New York, and after receiving the Chautauqua outlet as a tributary, empties into the Alleghany just above the village of Warren. It is now known as the Conewango. On the site of Warren, at the northwesterly angle of the two rivers, there was, at the time of Céloron's visit, an Indian village, composed principally of Senecas, with a few Loups, bearing the name of Kanaouagon. It was opposite the mouth of the Conewango, on the south bank of the Alleghany, that the leaden plate was buried. The following is Father Bonnecamps' entry in his diary :

*"L'on a enteré une lame de plomb, avec une inscription, sur la rive méridionale de cette rivière, et vis-a-vis le confluent des deux rivières."*

"We buried a leaden plate bearing an inscription on the south bank of this river, and opposite the confluence of the two rivers."

The place of deposit is a little differently described in the Procès Verbal drawn up on the occasion. "*Au pied d'un chêne rouge, sur la rive méridionale de la rivière Ohio, et vis-a-vis la pointe d'une ilette. où se joignent les deux rivières Ohio et Kanaougon.*" "At the foot of a red oak on the south bank of the Ohio river, and opposite the point of a small island, at the confluence of the two rivers Ohio and Kanaougon." It will be noticed that the inscription on the plate recites that it was buried on the south side of the Ohio, opposite the mouth of the "*Chanougon*" (Conewango).

This presents a discrepancy between the inscriptions as given in the Journals of Céloron and Bonnecamps, and the one on the plate forwarded by Colonel Johnson to Governor Clinton in 1751 as above described.

The latter states it to have been buried "at the confluence of the Ohio and *Tchadakoin*.' The solution of the difficulty seems to be, that the latter plate was *never buried* or *used*, but was abstracted by the Iroquois friendly to the English, and another plate, having a correct inscription, was substituted by the French. The inscription on the one sent to Governor Clinton, was undoubtedly prepared on the supposition that the Chautauqua outlet emptied into the Ohio. But when that outlet was found to be a tributary of the Conewango, and that the latter emptied into the Ohio, a corrected plate, containing the name of the Conewango instead of the Chautauqua, was substituted and buried, as stated in Céleron's journal.' The latter plate has never been found. This solution is strengthened by the fact that none of the accounts of the plate sent to Governor Clinton state that it had been *buried*, or had been *dug up*. The Cayuga Sachem, in his speech quoted in Colonel Johnson's letter of December 4th, 1750, states that "the Senecas got it by *some artifice* from Jean Coeur."

Governor Clinton, in his letter to the Lords of Trade, states that some of the upper nations, which include the Senecas, "stole it from Jean Coeur, the French interpreter at Niagara, on his way to the river Ohio." The Governor states the same in substance in his letter to Governor Hamilton, of Pennsylvania. The theft must therefore have occurred while the expedition was on its way to the Ohio, and before any of the plates were buried. The original plate was probably soon after carried to England by Governor Clinton. The names "Chatacoin" and "Chatakouin," as spelled by Céleron in his journal, and "Tchadakoin," as inscribed on the plate, and "Tjadakoin," as spelled by Bonnecamps on his map, are all variations of the modern name Chautauqua. It will be found differently written by several early authors. Pouchot writes it "Shatacoin;" Lewis Evans, 1758, "Jadachque;" Sir William Johnson, "Jadaghque;" Mitchell, 1755, "Chadocoin;" Alden, as pronounced by Cornplanter, "Chaud-dauk-wā." It is a Seneca name, and in the orthography of that nation, according to the system of the late Reverend Asher Wright, long a missionary among them, and a fluent speaker of their language, it would be written "Jāh-dāh-gwāh," the first two vowels being long and the last short. Different significations have been ascribed to the word. It is said to mean "The place where a child was swept away by the waves." The late Dr. Peter Wilson, an educated Seneca, and a graduate of Geneva Medical College, told the writer that it signified literally, "where the fish was taken out."

He related an Indian tradition connected with its origin. A party of

Senecas were returning from the Ohio to Lake Erie. While paddling through Chautauqua Lake, one of them caught a strange fish and tossed it into his canoe. After passing the portage into Lake Erie, they found the fish still alive, and threw it in the water. From that time the new species became abundant in Lake Erie, where one was never known before. Hence, they called the place where it was caught, Jah-dah-gwäh, the elements of which are Gă-joh, "fish," and Ga-dah-gwäh, "taken out." By dropping the prefixes, according to Seneca custom, the compound name "Jah-dah-gwäh" was formed. Among other significations which have been assigned to the word, but without any authority, may be mentioned "The elevated place," and "The foggy place," in allusion, probably, to the situation of the lake, and the mists which prevail on its surface at certain seasons.

It will be noticed the Alleghany is called by Céleron the Ohio, or "La Belle Rivière." This is in accordance with the usage of all early French writers since the discovery of the river by LaSalle. The same custom prevailed among the Senecas. They have always considered the Alleghany as the Ohio proper. If you ask a Seneca his name for that river, he will answer O-hée-yuh. If you ask him its meaning, he will give it as "Beautiful river."

Mr. Heckewelder, the Moravian missionary, supposing the word to be of Delaware origin, endeavors to trace its etymology from several words, signifying in that language, "The white foaming river." The late Judge Hall of Cincinnati adopted the same derivation. Neither of them seem to have been aware that it is a *genuine Seneca word*, derived from that nation by the French, and by the latter written "Ohio." Its pronunciation by a Frenchman would exactly represent the word as spoken by a Seneca, the letter "i" being sounded like e. The name "Ohio" was, therefore, correctly inserted on the plates buried on the banks of the Alleghany, above its junction with the Monongahela at Pittsburgh.

At the time the plate was interred opposite the mouth of the Conewango, as already narrated, all the officers and men of the expedition being drawn up in battle array, the chief in command proclaimed in a loud voice, "Vive le Roi," and that possession was now taken of the country in the name of the King. The royal arms were affixed to a neighboring tree, and a *Procès Verbal* was drawn up and signed as a memorial of the ceremony. The same formality was adopted at the burial of each succeeding plate. This *procès verbal* was in the following form, and in each instance was signed and witnessed by the officers present:

"*L'an, 1749, nous Céloron, Chevalier de l'ordre Royal et militaire de St. Louis, Capitaine Commandant un détachement envoyé par les ordres de M. le Marquis de Galissonnière, Commandant General en Canada, dans la Belle Rivière accompagné des principaux officiers de notre détachement, avons enterré (Here was inserted the place of deposit.) une plaque de plomb, et fait attacher dans le même lieu, à un arbre, les Armes du Roi. En foy de quoi, nous avons dressé et signé, avec M. M. les officiers, le present Procès verbal à notre camp, le (day of the month) 1749.*" "In the year 1749 we, Céloron, Chevalier of the Royal and military order of St. Louis, commander of a detachment sent by order of the Marquis of Galissonnière, Governor General of Canada, to the Ohio, in presence of the principal officers of our detachment, have buried (Here was inserted the place of deposit) a leaden plate, and in the same place have affixed to a tree the Arms of the King. In testimony whereof we have drawn up and signed, with the officers, the present Procès verbal, at our camp, the (day of the month) 1749." This method of asserting sovereignty over new territory is peculiar to the French, and was often adopted by them. La Salle, at the mouth of the Mississippi in 1682, thus proclaimed the dominion of *Louis le Grand*, and more recently the same formality was observed when a French squadron took possession of some islands in the Pacific Ocean.

A few miles from Kanaouagon, on the right bank of the Alleghany, just below its junction with the Brokenstraw Creek, was the Indian village of "Paille Coupée," or Cut Straw, the name being given by Céloron as *Kachuiodagon*, occupied principally by Senecas. The English name, "Broken Straw," and the French name, *Paille Coupée*, were both probably derived from the Seneca name, which is De-ga-syo-noh-dyah-goh, which signifies literally, broken straw. *Kachuiodagon*, as given by Céloron, and *Koshenunteagunk*, as given on the Historical Map of Pennsylvania, and the Seneca name, are all three the same word in different orthography, the variation in the first two being occasioned by the difference between the French and English mode of spelling the same Indian word. Father Bonnecamps states the village to be in latitude  $41^{\circ} 54' 3''$  and in longitude  $79^{\circ} 13'$  west of Paris.

While the expedition was resting in the vicinity of these two Indian villages, a council was held with the inhabitants, conducted by Joncaire, whom Céloron states had been adopted by the Senecas, and possessed great influence and power over them. They addressed him in the council as "our child Joncaire." He was probably the person of that name met by Washington at Venango four years afterwards,\* and a son of



the Joncaire mentioned by Charlevoix as living at Lewiston on the Niagara in 1721, "who possessed the wit of a Frenchman and the sublime eloquence of an Iroquois." The father, who was a captive, died in 1740, leaving two half-breed sons, who seem to have inherited his influence and distinction. Their names were Chabert Joncaire, Junior, and Philip Clauzonne de Joncaire. Both were in the French service, and brought reinforcements from the west to Fort Niagara at the time it was besieged by Sir William Johnson in 1759. Their names are affixed to the capitulation which took place a few days later. The former was in command of Fort Schlosser, his brother, who was a captain in the marine, being with him. They were both in the expedition of Céloron.

The result of the council held by Joncaire was not satisfactory to the French. It was very evident there was a strong feeling among the Indians on the Alleghany in favor of the English. It did not, however, prevent the French from descending the river. After pledging the Senecas in a cup of "Onontios milk" (brandy), the expedition left the villages of Kanaouagon and Paille Coupée on the first day of August, and after proceeding about four leagues below the latter, reached a village of Loups and Renards, composed of ten cabins. The Loups were a branch of the Delawares, called by the English Munseys. Four or five leagues farther down they passed another small village, consisting of six cabins, and on the third of August another of ten cabins. The next was a village on the "Rivière aux Boeufs." According to Father Bonnecamps, they passed between Paille Coupée and the Rivière aux Boeufs one village on the left and four on the right, the latitude of the third on the right being  $41^{\circ} 30' 30''$ , and the longitude  $79^{\circ} 21'$  west of Paris. The Rivière aux Boeufs is now known as French Creek, it having been so called by Washington on his visit there in 1753. The English named it Venango. A fort was built by the French in 1753-4 on its western bank, sixty rods below its junction with the Alleghany, called Fort Machault. In 1760, when the English took possession, they built another, forty rods higher up, and nearer the mouth of French Creek, which they called Fort Venango. In 1787 the United States Government sent a force to protect the settlers, and built a fort on the south bank of the creek, half a mile above its mouth, which was called Fort Franklin. From all of which it appears that this was at an early day an important point on the river. It is now the site of the flourishing village of Franklin. At the time of Céloron's visit the Indian village numbered about ten cabins.

After passing the Rivière aux Boeufs and another on the left, the expedition reached on the same day a bend in the river about nine miles below, on the left or eastern bank of which lay a large boulder, nearly twenty-two feet in length by fourteen in breadth, on the inclined face of which were rude inscriptions, evidently of Indian workmanship, representing by various symbols the triumphs of the race in war and in the chase. It was regarded by the natives attached to the expedition as an "Indian God," and held in superstitious reverence. It was a well-known landmark, and did not fail to arrest the attention of the French. Céloron deemed it a favorable point at which to bury his second leaden plate. This was done with due form and ceremony, the plate bearing an inscription similar to that on the first, differing only in the date and designation of the place of deposit. Céloron's record is as follows: "*Août 3me, 1749. Enterré une plaque de plomb sur la rive méridionale de la rivière Oyo, à 4 lieues, au dessous de la rivière aux boeufs, vis-a-vis une montagne pellt, et aupres d'une grosse pierre, sur laquelle on voit plusieurs figures assez grossièrement gravées.*" "Buried a leaden plate on the south bank of the Ohio river, four leagues below the river *Aux Boeufs*, opposite a bald mountain, and near a large stone, on which are many figures rudely engraved."

Father Bonnecamps states the deposit to have been made *under* a large rock. An excellent view of the rock in question, with a fac-simile of the hieroglyphics on its face, may be found in Schoolcraft's work on the "Indian Tribes in the United States," Vol. VI, pp. 172. It was drawn by Captain Eastman of the U. S. Army while standing waist deep in the river, its banks being then nearly full. At the time of the spring and fall freshets the rock is entirely submerged. The abrasion of its exposed surface by ice and flood-wood in winter has almost obliterated the rude carvings. At the time of Céloron's visit it was entirely uncovered. It is called "Hart's rock" on Hutchings' Topographical Map of Virginia. The distance of "four leagues" from the mouth of the river *Aux Boeufs*, or French Creek, to the rock, as given by Céloron, is, as usual, a little exaggerated. The actual distance by the windings of the river is about nine miles. The league as used by Céloron may be estimated as containing about two miles and a half. The leaden plate deposited at this point has never been found, and some zealous antiquarian living in the vicinity might, from the record now given, be able to restore it to light, after a repose of more than a century and a quarter.

From this station Céloron sent Joncaire forward to Attigué the next day, to announce the approach of the expedition, it being an Indian set-

tlement of some importance on the left bank of the river, between eight and nine leagues farther down, containing twenty-two cabins. Before reaching Attigué they passed a river three or four leagues from the Aux Boeufs, the confluence of which with the Alleghany is described as "very beautiful," and a league farther down another, having on its upper waters some villages of Loups and Iroquois.

Attigué was probably on or near the Kiskiminitas river, which falls into the south side of the Alleghany about twenty-five miles above Pittsburgh. It is called the river d'Attigué by Montcalm, in a letter dated in 1758." There were several Indian villages on its banks at that date. They reached Attigué on the sixth, where they found Joncaire waiting. Embarking together they passed on the right an old "Chaouanons" (Shawnees) village. It had not been occupied by the Indians since the removal of Chartier and his band to the river Vermillion in the Wabash country in 1745, by order of the Marquis de Beauharnois. Leaving Attigué the next day, they passed a village of Loups, all the inhabitants of which, except three Iroquois, and an old woman who was regarded as a Queen, and devoted to the English, had fled in alarm to Chingué. This village of the Loups, Céloron declares to be the finest he saw on the river. It must have been situated at or near the present site of Pittsburgh. The description of the place, like many given by Céloron, is so vague that it is impossible to identify it with any certainty. The clear, bright current of the Alleghany, and the sluggish, turbid stream of the Monongahela, flowing together to form the broad Ohio, their banks clothed in luxuriant summer foliage, must have presented to the voyagers a scene strikingly picturesque, one which would hardly have escaped the notice of the chief of the expedition. If, therefore, the allusion to "the finest place on the river" has no reference to the site of Pittsburgh, then no mention is made of it whatever. On landing three leagues farther down, they were told by some of their Indians that they had passed a rock on which were some inscriptions. Father Bonnecamps and Joncaire, who were sent to examine it, reported nothing but some English names written in charcoal. This was near the second *entrepôt* of the English.

Their camp being only two leagues above Chingué, they were enabled to reach the latter the next day. They found the village one of the largest on the river, consisting of fifty cabins of Iroquois, Shawnees and Loups; also Iroquois from the Sault St. Louis and Lake of the Two Mountains, with some Nippissingues, Abenakis and Ottawas. Bonnecamps estimated the number of cabins at eighty, and says, "we called it

Chiningué, from its vicinity to a river of that name." He records its latitude as  $40^{\circ} 35' 10''$  which is nearly correct, and longitude as  $80^{\circ} 19'$ . The place was subsequently known as "Logstown," a large and flourishing village which figures prominently in Indian history for many years after this period. Colonel Croghan, who was sent to the Ohio Indians by Governor Hamilton, of Pennsylvania, in August 1749, mentions in his journal that "Monsieur Celaroon with two hundred French soldiers, had passed through Logstown just before his arrival."<sup>1</sup> Croghan inquired of the inhabitants the object of the expedition, and was told by them that "it was to drive the English away, and by burying iron plates, with inscriptions on them at the mouth of each remarkable creek, to steal away their country."

On reaching Chiningué Céloron found several English traders established there, whom he compelled to leave. He wrote by them to Governor Hamilton, under date of August 6th, 1749, that he was surprised to find English traders on French territory, it being in contravention of solemn treaties, and hoped the Governor would forbid their trespassing in future. De Céloron also made a speech, in which he informed the Indians that "he was on his way down the Ohio to whip home the Twightwees and Wyandots for trading with the English." They treated his speech with contempt, insisting that "to separate them from the English would be like cutting a man into halves, and expecting him to live."<sup>2</sup> The Indians were found so unfriendly to the French, and suspicious of the objects of the expedition, as to embarrass the movements of de Céloron. His Iroquois and Abenaki allies refused to accompany him farther than Chiningué. They destroyed the plates which, bearing the arms of the French King, had been affixed to trees as memorials of his sovereignty.

After leaving Chiningué, they passed two rivers, one on either side, and crossing the present boundary line between Pennsylvania and Ohio, reached the river Kanououara early on the 13th. Here they interred the third leaden plate, with the usual inscription and customary ceremonies. The blank in the plate was filled as follows: "*Enterré à l'entrée de la rivière, et sur la rive Septentrionale de Kanououara, qui se décharge à l'est de la rivière Oyo.*" "Buried at the mouth and on the north bank of the river Kanououara, which empties into the easterly side of the Ohio river." Neither Céloron nor Bonnecamps gives such a description of the locality as to warrant a positive identification of the site. The plate was probably buried on the northerly bank of Wheeling Creek, at its junction with the Ohio, in the present State of

Virginia, and near where Fort Henry was subsequently built in 1774. No vestige of the plate has been discovered so far as known.

The expedition resumed its voyage on the 14th, passing the mouths of three streams, two on the left and one on the right. Deer abounded along the banks. Two of the rivers are stated to be strikingly beautiful at their junction with the Ohio. On the 15th they arrived at the mouth of the Muskingum, called by Father Bonnecamps Yenanguákonnan, and encamped on the shore. Here the fourth leaden plate was buried on the right bank of that river, at its junction with the Ohio. Céloron describes the place of deposit as follows: "*Enterre au pied d'un érable, qui forme trépied avec une chêne rouge et un orme, à l'entrée de la rivière Yenanguakonan, sur la rive occidentale de cette rivière.*" "Buried at the foot of a maple, which forms a triangle with a red oak and elm, at the mouth of the river Yenanguakonan, and on its western bank."

In 1798, half a century later, some boys, who were bathing at the mouth of the Muskingum, discovered something projecting from the perpendicular face of the river bank, three or four feet below the surface. With the aid of a pole they loosened it from its bed, and found it to be a leaden plate, stamped with letters in an unknown language. Unaware of its historic value, and being in want of lead, then a scarce article in the new country, they carried it home and cast a part of it into bullets. News of the discovery of so curious a relic having reached the ears of a resident of Marietta, he obtained possession of it, and found the inscription to be in French. The boys had cut off quite a large part of the inscription, but enough remained to indicate its character. It subsequently passed into the hands of Caleb Atwater, the historian, who sent it to Governor De Witt Clinton. The latter presented it to the Antiquarian Society of Massachusetts, in the library of which it is now deposited. A poor fac-simile of the fragment is given in Hildreth's Pioneer History of the Ohio Valley, at page 20. It appears to have been substantially the same as the other plates which have been discovered, with the exception of a different arrangement of the lines. The place of deposit is given as "*rivière Yenangue*" on the part of the plate which was rescued from the boys. Mr. Atwater, Gov. Clinton and several historians, misled by the similarity between the names "Yenangué" and "Venango," supposed that it had originally been deposited at Venango, an old Indian town at the mouth of French Creek in Pennsylvania, one hundred and thirty miles above the mouth of the Muskingum, and had been carried down by a freshet, or removed

by some party to the place where it was discovered. The Journal of de Céloron removes all doubt on the subject, and conclusively establishes the fact that the plate was originally deposited where it was found, on the site where old Fort Harmer was subsequently built, and opposite the point where the village of Marietta is now situated.

After the deposit of the fourth plate was completed, the expedition broke up their forest camp, embarked in their canoes, and resumed the descent of the river. About three-fourths of a mile below the Muskingum, Father Bonnecamps took some observations, and found the latitude to be  $39^{\circ} 36'$ , and the longitude  $81^{\circ} 20'$  west of Paris. They accomplished twelve leagues on the 16th, and on the 17th, embarking early, they passed two fine rivers, one on each side, the names of which are not given. On the 18th, after an early start, they were arrested by the rain at the mouth of the Great Kanawha, which is called by Father Bonnecamps "Chinodaichta." The bank of this large stream, flowing from the southeast, and draining an extensive territory, was chosen for the deposit of the fifth plate. Only a brief record of the ceremony is given. A copy of the inscription is omitted by Céloron, but his record of the interment of the plate is as follows: "*Enterrée au pied d'un orme, sur la rive meridionale de l'Oyo, et la rive orientale de Chinondaista, le 18 Août, 1749.*" "Buried at the foot of an elm on the south bank of the Ohio, and on the east bank of the Chinondaista, the 18th day of August, 1749."

Fortunately the discovery of the plate in March, 1846, leaves no doubt of the inscription. It was found by a boy while playing on the margin of the Kenawha river. Like that at the mouth of the Muskingum, it was projecting from the river bank, a few feet below the surface. Since the time it was buried, an accumulation of soil had been deposited above it by the annual river freshets for nearly one hundred years. The day of the deposit, as recorded on the plate, corresponds precisely with the one stated by de Céloron. The spelling of the Indian name of the river differs slightly from the Journal, that on the plate being "Chinodahichetha." Kenawha, the Indian name of the river in another dialect, is said to signify "The river of the woods." The place selected by Céloron for the interment of the plate must have been one of surpassing beauty. The native forest, untouched by the pioneer, and crowned with the luxuriant foliage of Northern Kentucky, covered the banks of both rivers, and the picturesque scenery justified the name of "Point Pleasant," which was afterwards bestowed by the early settlers. On the 16th day of October, 1774, it became the scene of a bloody

battle between an army of Virginians, commanded by Colonel Lewis, and a large force of western Indians, under the leadership of the celebrated Cornstalk, Logan and others, in which the latter were defeated."

The expedition was detained at this point by the rain. It re-embarked on the 20th, and when they had proceeded about three leagues, Father Bonnecamps took the latitude and longitude, which he records at  $38^{\circ} 39' 57''$  for the former, and  $82^{\circ} 01'$  for the latter. Joncaire was sent forward the next day with two chiefs from the Sault St. Louis and two Abenakis, to propitiate the inhabitants of "St. Yotoc," a village they were now approaching. They embarked early on the morning of the 22d, and reached St. Yotoc the same day. This village was composed of Shawnees, Iroquois, Loups, and Miamis, and Indians from the Sault St. Louis, Lake of the Two Mountains, as well as representatives from nearly all the nations of the "upper country." The name "St. Yotoc" seems to be neither French nor Indian. It is probably a corruption of Scioto. Father Bonnecamps calls it "Sinhioto" on his map. He records the latitude of the south bank of the Ohio, opposite its mouth, at  $38^{\circ} 50' 24''$ , and the longitude  $82^{\circ} 22'$ . Pouchot, in his "*Mémoires sur la dernière guerre*," French edition, vol. III. page 182, calls the river "Sonhioto." This village of St. Yotoc, or Scioto, was probably on the north bank of the Ohio, a little below the mouth of the Scioto, now the site of Alexandria. Its principal inhabitants were Shawnees.

The expedition remained here until the 26th of August. On the 27th they proceeded as far as the rivière La Blanche, or White river, which they reached at ten at night. On the bank of the Ohio, opposite the mouth of this river, Bonnecamps found the latitude to be  $39^{\circ} 12' 01''$ , and the longitude  $83^{\circ} 31'$ . Embarking on the 30th, they passed the great north bend of the Ohio, and reached the rivière à la Roche, now known as the Great Miami. Here their voyage on the Ohio ended, and they turned their little fleet of bark gondolas northward into the channel of its great tributary.

The sixth and last of the leaden plates was buried at this place. The text of Céloron's Journal reads as follows:—"Enterrée sur la pointe formée par la rive droite de l'Ohio, et la rive gauche de la rivière à la Roche, Août 31, 1749." "Buried on the point formed by the intersection of the right bank of the Ohio, with the left bank of the Rock river, August 31, 1749." So far as known, this plate has never been discovered. Céloron calls the Great Miami the Rivière à la Roche, and Pouchot, quoted above, and other French writers give it the same name.

The expedition left its encampment at the mouth of this river on the

first day of September, and began the toilsome ascent of the stream, now greatly diminished by the summer drought. On the 13th they arrived at "Demoiselles," which Father Bonnecamps, with his constant companion the Astrolabe, found to be in latitude  $40^{\circ} 23' 12''$ , and longitude  $83^{\circ} 29'$ . This was the residence of La Demoiselle, a chief of a portion of the Miamis who were allies of the English." The fort and village of La Demoiselle were mentioned by M. de Longueil in 1752. It was probably situated on what was afterwards known as Loramies Creek, the earliest point of English settlement in Ohio. It became quite noted in the subsequent history of the Indian wars, and was destroyed by General Clark in his expedition of 1782. A fort was built on the site several years afterwards by General Wayne, which he named Fort Loramie. Here the French remained a week to recruit, and prepare for the portage to the Maumee. Having burned their canoes, and obtained some ponies, they set out on their overland journey. In arranging for the march, M. de Céloron took command of the right, and M. de Contrecoeur of the left. The distance was estimated by Céloron as fifty leagues, and five and a half days were allotted for its accomplishment."

They completed the portage on the 25th, and arrived at Kiskakon. This appears to be the Indian name for the site of Fort Wayne, which was built there in 1794. Céloron found it a French post, under the command of M. de Raymond. It undoubtedly took the name of Kiskakon, from a branch of Ottawas that removed to this place from Missillimackinac, where they had resided as late as 1682. It was here that de Céloron provided pirogues and provisions for the descent of the Maumee to Lake Erie. The Miami Chief "Pied Froid," or Coldfoot resided in the village. He appears not to have been very constant in his allegiance either to the French or the English.

Leaving Kiskakon on the 27th of September, a part of the expedition went overland to Detroit, and the remainder descended the river by canoe. The latter landed near Detroit on the 6th of October. Having renewed his supplies and canoes for the transportation of his detachment, Céloron prepared for the return to Montreal by way of Lake Erie. His Indian allies, as usual, occasioned some delay. They had stopped at the mouth of the Maumee, and were overcome by a drunken debauch on the white man's fire water. It was not until the 8th of October that the party finally launched their canoes, and descended the river into Lake Erie. Their first night was spent on its northern shore at Point Pellée. Nothing worthy of note occurred during their traverse of the lake. They reached Fort Niagara on the 19th, where they remained three



days. Leaving there on the 22d, they coasted the south shore of Lake Ontario, and arrived at Fort Frontenac on the 6th of November, their canoes badly shattered by the autumnal gales, and their men greatly fatigued with the hardships of the voyage. They pushed on, however, with as little delay as possible to Montreal, which they reached on the 10th of October, having, according to the estimate of both de Céloron and Father Bonnecamps, traveled at least twelve hundred leagues.

Allusion has been made to the changes which took place in the Ohio Valley prior to the expedition of de Céloron. Those which have since occurred are no less remarkable. Both the French and the English continued equally determined to possess the country north of the Ohio. The former stretched a chain of posts from Niagara to the Mississippi, as a barrier against English encroachments, and to exclude the Indians from their influence and control. To counteract these demonstrations, Gist was sent by the Ohio Company in 1750 to survey its lands preliminary to their occupation and settlement. In 1753 Washington was dispatched by Governor Dinwiddie to Venango and Le Boeuf on what proved to be a fruitless mission. A post was established the same year by the English at Pittsburgh, which was captured the next by the French, and called after the Marquis du Quesne. It was occupied by the latter until retaken by General Forbes in 1756.

This was followed the next year by an expedition under Washington, who at the age of twenty-two drew his maiden sword at the Great Meadows in an encounter with a detachment of French under Jumonville, which resulted in the death of the latter. Washington pushed on farther west, but the advance of the enemy with strong reinforcements compelled him to fall back to the Great Meadows, which he strengthened and fortified, under the significant name of Fort Necessity. Here he was attacked by the French under Coulon de Villiers, a brother of Jumonville, with a vigor inspired by the desire of avenging his brother's death. Washington was compelled to capitulate. The French were thus enabled to acquire complete control for the time being over the disputed territory. Thus was the opening scene in the great drama of the "Old French War" enacted. The disastrous defeat of Braddock followed the next year, and exposed the whole frontier to the hostile incursions of the French and Indians.

In 1759 the grand scheme for the conquest of Canada, conceived by the illustrious Pitt, was carried into execution. The expeditions of Amherst against Ticonderoga, Wolfe against Quebec, and Prideaux against Niagara, resulted in the fall of those important fortresses.

Major Rogers was sent to the Northwest in 1760 to receive possession of the French posts, which had been surrendered to the English by the capitulation of Quebec. He was met at Cuyahoga by Pontiac, the Ottawa, who forbade his farther progress. "I stand," says he, "in your path; you can march no farther without my permission." A friend to the French, a leader in the attack on Braddock, ambitious and vindictive, Pontiac was a chief of commanding intellect and well qualified for bold enterprises and strategic combinations. These qualities were indicated in his great conspiracy for the simultaneous capture of the ten principal posts in the Northwest, and the massacre of the English trading in their vicinity. Eight of those posts, embracing Sandusky, St. Joseph, Miami, Ouatanon, Mackinaw, Presque Isle, Le Boeuf and Venango successively fell before the deep laid plans of the wily chieftain. Forts Pitt and Detroit successfully withstood the most vigorous assaults, and the latter a protracted siege conducted by Pontiac himself.

Now war in all its horrors raged with savage intensity along the entire frontier. The unprotected settlers, men, women and children, were massacred and scalped, or if spared, borne away into a hopeless captivity. The English colonists were aroused to meet the emergency, and Colonel Bouquet was sent in 1763 with a large force into the Indian territory to relieve the western posts, but was compelled to halt at Pittsburgh.

The succeeding spring found the Indians again on the war-path, and Detroit was invested for the second time by Pontiac. An expedition was sent to the Northwestern posts under Bradstreet, and another under Bouquet penetrated the interior of Ohio. Bradstreet was duped by his crafty adversaries into a peace not intended to be kept, but Bouquet, undeceived by similar artifices, pushed on to the heart of the Indian country. At the junction of the White Woman and Tuscarawas rivers he dictated a peace by his bold and energetic movements, which, with the exception of occasional outbreaks, was destined to last until the commencement of the great contest between the colonists and the mother country.

The treaty of 1783 left the western tribes without an ally, and the United States became free to extend the arts of peace over their new territory. The pioneers shouldered the axe and the rifle, and marching westward in solid column, invaded the land. The frail canoe and sluggish batteau, which had so long and wearily contended with the adverse currents of the Ohio, were soon replaced by the power of steam. The dense forests that for a thousand miles had fringed both borders of the

river were opened to the sunlight, and thriving cities and smiling villages arose on the ruins of the mound builders. The narrow trails of the Indian, deep worn for centuries by the tread of hunter and warrior, were now superseded by the iron rail and broad highway. The hardy emigrants and their descendants subdued the wilderness, and with the church, the school-house, the factory and the plough planted a civilization on the ruins of a fallen barbarism.

The dominion and power of France have disappeared, and no traces of her lost sovereignty exist, save in the few names she has left on the prominent streams and landmarks of the country, and in the leaden plates which, incised in her language and asserting her claims, still lie buried on the banks of the "Beautiful River."

O. H. MARSHALL

<sup>1</sup> This name is usually spelled Céleron, but incorrectly. M. Ferland, in his *Cours d'Histoire du Canada*, vol. ii, p. 493, calls him Céloron de Blainville.

<sup>2</sup> Joncaire. <sup>3</sup> N. Y. Col. Doc., vi, p. 604.

<sup>4</sup> The Indian name of Sir William Johnson. It signifies "Superintendent of Affairs."

<sup>5</sup> V Penn. Col. Records, p. 508.

<sup>6</sup> N. Y. Col. Doc., ix, p. 1097.

<sup>7</sup> This observation, like most of those taken by Father Bonnecamps, is incorrect. Either his instruments were imperfect or his methods of computation erroneous. The true latitude of the mouth of the Conewango is less than 41° 50', as it is about twelve miles south of the boundary line between New York and Pennsylvania.

<sup>8</sup> On Crevecoeur's Map of 1758, in *Dépôts des Cartes, Ministère de la Guerre, Paris*, the Conewango is called the "Chatacouin" as far down as its junction with the Allegany.

<sup>9</sup> Governor Clinton, in his address before the New York Historical Society in 1811, inquires if the Joncaire met by Charlevoix and Washington were the same. They could not have been, for the one mentioned by Charlevoix died in 1740.

<sup>10</sup> N. Y. Col. Doc., IX, 1025; X, ib., 901.

<sup>11</sup> N. Y. Col. Doc., VII, p. 267.

<sup>12</sup> N. Y. Col. Doc., VI, pp. 532-3.

<sup>13</sup> See Vol. I. pp. 747, *Magazine of American History*.

<sup>14</sup> N. Y. Col. Doc., X, pp. 139, 142, 245 and 247.

<sup>15</sup> Major Long of the U. S. Army, in his second expedition to the St. Peter's River in 1823, traveled over the same route.

## THE FOUR KINGS OF CANADA

In the year 1710, during the reign of Queen Anne, four Indian chiefs' belonging to the Six Nations visited London, where they caused a great sensation. An account of these chiefs, who were styled kings, is given in a tract, the title of which is given below. We quote from the book:

"These four Princes, who are Kings of the Maquas, Gavajohhove and the River Sachem, are call'd, the first, *Te Yee Ho Ga Prow*; the second, *Saga Yeon Qua Prah Ton*; the third, *Elow Oh Kaom*; the fourth, *Oh Nee Yeath Ton No Prow*, with the other two they mention in their Speech to her Majesty, are the six who possess all the nations on the North-West side of the Iroquois, up to the Lake Erie, and that great one of the Hurons; and as we have heard it from their own mouths, these six are in a strict alliance against the French, and at the same time are all unanimous to request the assistance of the Queen of Great Britain to drive the French out from among them. This is the great motive of their coming here, where they arrived the beginning of April last, being conducted over sea by Col. Nicholson, late Governor of Maryland; and on Wednesday, the 19th of April they had an audience of her Sacred Majesty, being introduc'd with the usual ceremonies due to sovereign heads, and their Embassadors, to whom they represented their condition, and the errand of their long and hazardous journey, by a speech, that even in the translation carries along with it something of natural eloquence and simplicity peculiar to that sort of people, who, tho' unpolish'd by art and letters, have a large share of good sense and natural reason."

Here follows the speech of one of the "Kings" to her Majesty, as delivered through an interpreter, who has so completely Anglicized it that it bears no resemblance to the usual Indian speeches. A small portion, therefore, is only given here:

"Great Queen.

"We have undertaken a long and tedious voyage, which none of our predecessors could ever be prevail'd upon to undertake. The motive that induc'd us was, that we might see our Great Queen, and relate to her those things we thought necessary for the good of her, and us her Allies on the other side of the great water.

"We doubt not but our Great Queen has been acquainted with our long and tedious War, in conjunction with her children, against her enemies the French; and that we have been a strong wall for their security, even to the loss of our best Men. The truth of which our Brother Queder, Colonel Schuyler, and Anadagarjaux, Col. Nicholson can testify, they having all our Proposals in Writing.

"We were mightily rejoiced when we heard that our Great Queen had resolv'd to send an Army to reduce Canada, and we readily embrac'd our Great Queen's

Instructions: And in token of our Friendship, we hung up the Kettle, and took up the Hatchet, and with one consent join'd our Brother Queder, Col. Schuyler, and Anadagarjau, Col. Nicholson, in making Preparations on this side the Lake by building Forts, Store-houses, Canows, and Battows; whilst Col. Vetch, at the same time, raised an army at Boston, of which we were inform'd by our Embassadors, whom we sent hither for that purpose," etc., etc.

"After the audience," continues the narrative, "they were conducted again to their apartments in her Majesty's Coach, attended with Col. Nicholson and several Merchants belonging to that part of America. As to the persons of these Princes, they are well form'd, being of a stature neither too high nor too low, but all within an inch or two of six foot. Their habits are robust, and their limbs muscular and well shap'd; they are of brown complexions, their hair black and long, their visages are very awful and majestic, and their features regular enough, though something of the austere and sullen; and the marks with which they disfigure their faces do not seem to carry so much terror as regard with them . . . . They are generally affable to all that come to see them, and will not refuse a glass of brandy or strong liquors from any hands that offer it, . . . . but they seem to relish our fine pale ales before the best French wines from Burgundy or Champagne. According to the custom of their country, these Princes do not know what it is to cocker and make much of themselves; nor are they subject to those indispositions our Luxuries bring upon us. They are not afflicted with gout, dropsy or gravel; and notwithstanding their intemperance here, they are not feverish upon any occasion, or troubl'd with loss of appetite; for in their own country they are addicted to gormandizing, insomuch that they rise in the night to eat; if by good luck they have meat by them, they fall to it without getting up. It is reported that these four Princes have been so inur'd to hunting and other sports, that they run as swift as a deer, and hold it a long time; so that they propose to run down a buck or stag before the Queen, when she pleases to see them in any of her parks or chaces. They are to tire down the deer, and catch him without gun, spear, launce, or any other weapon."

We next have the following chapters: 1. A Description of the Country of Canada. 2. Of the Religion of the Indians of Canada, &c. 3. The Manner of Feasting among the Canadans. 4. Of their Marriages. 5. Of their Manner of Interring their Dead. 6. Of the Remedies they administer to the Sick. 7. Of their Constitution, Temper and Manners. 8. Of their Habits and Cloathing. 9. Of their Games and Sports. 10. Of their making War and Peace. 11. Of their Manner of Hunting. 12. Of their Manner of Fishing. 13. Of the Utensils of the Savages in their Wigwams, &c. 14. Of the Beauty and Fertility of the Country, with other remarkable Things.

Beside the account of these "Four Indian Kings" and of their visit



*Ta Yee Kien Ho Ga Ron Emperor of the Salt River*  
*He is the Emperor of the Salt River and is the only one of his kind in the world.*



*Sa Gie Yeath Qua Prets Ton King of the Nagual*  
*He is the King of the Nagual and is the only one of his kind in the world.*



*Stom On Koon King of the River Nation*  
*He is the King of the River Nation and is the only one of his kind in the world.*



*No Nee Yeeth Tan No Ron King of the Gacochan*  
*He is the King of the Gacochan and is the only one of his kind in the world.*



to London, a notice of the event will be found in *The Tatler*, No. 171; and in *The Spectator*, No. 50, April 27, 1711, with an extended note. For several years after the visit of these Indians it was common at masquerades to assume their characters and dresses. Full-length portraits, beautifully engraved in mezzotint, were published, of which we shall speak at length; and there was also issued a sheet ballad, an original copy of which is before us, relating how a beautiful lady fell in love with one these Indians. The following is a reprint of the ballad:

## THE FOUR INDIAN KINGS

## Part I

## HOW A BEAUTIFUL LADY CONQUERED ONE OF THE INDIAN KINGS

Attend unto a true relation  
 Of four Indian Kings of late,  
 Who came to this Christian nation,  
 To report their sorrows great,  
 Which by France they had sustained  
 To the overthrow of trade;  
 That the seas might be regained,  
 Who are coming to beg our aid.  
 Having told their sad condition,  
 To our good and gracious Queen.  
 With a humble low submission,  
 Mixt with a courteous mien,  
 Nobly they were all received  
 In bold Britain's royal court.  
 Many lords and ladies grieved,  
 At these Indian King's report.  
 Now their message being ended,  
 To the Queen's great majesty;  
 They were further befriended  
 Of the noble standers by.  
 With a glance of Britain's glory,  
 Buildings, troops and many things;  
 But now comes a pressing story,  
 Love seized one of these four Kings.  
 Thus, as it was then related,  
 Walking forth to take the air,  
 In St. James's park there waited  
 Troops of handsome ladies fair,  
 Rich and gaudily attir'd,  
 Rubies, jewels, diamond rings.  
 One fair lady was admir'd  
 By the youngest of those Kings.  
 While he did his pain discover,  
 Often sighing to the rest;

Like a broken hearted lover  
 Oft he smote upon his breast.  
 Breaking forth in lamentation,  
 Oh! the pains that I endure!  
 The young ladies of this nation,  
 They are more than mortals sure.  
 In his language he related,  
 How her angel beauty bright  
 His great heart had captivated,  
 Ever since she appear'd in sight.  
 Tho' there are some fair and pretty,  
 Youthful, proper, strait and tall,  
 In this Christian land and city,  
 Yet she far excells them all.  
 Were I worthy of her favor,  
 Which is better far than gold,  
 Then I might enjoy for ever  
 Charming blessings manifold.  
 But I fear she cannot love me,  
 I must hope for no such thing;  
 That sweet saint is far above me,  
 Although I am an Indian King.  
 Let me sign but my petition  
 Unto that lady fair and clear:  
 Let her know my sad condition,  
 How I languish unto her.  
 If on me, after this trial,  
 She will no eye of pity cast,  
 But return a flat denial,  
 Friends I can but die at last.  
 If I fall by this distraction,  
 Thro' a lady's cruelty,  
 It is some satisfaction  
 That I do a martyr die.



Unto the goddess of great beauty,  
 Brighter than the morning day :  
 Sure no greater piece of duty,  
 No poor captive love can pay.  
 O, this fatal burning fever,  
 Gives me little hopes of life,  
 If so that I cannot have her  
 For my love and lawful wife.  
 Bear to her this royal token,  
 Tell her 'tis my diamond ring ;  
 Pray her that it mayn't be spoken,  
 She'll destroy an Indian King,  
 Who is able to advance her  
 In our fine America ;

Let me soon receive an answer  
 From her hand without delay.  
 Every minute seems an hour,  
 Every hour six, I'm sure ;  
 Tell her it is in her power  
 At this time to kill or cure.  
 Tell her that you see me ready  
 To expire for her sake,  
 And as she's a Christian lady,  
 Sure she will some pity take.  
 I shall long for your returning  
 From that pure unspotted dove,  
 All the while I do lie burning,  
 Wrapt in scorching flames of love.

## Part II

### THE LADY'S ANSWER TO THE INDIAN KING'S REQUEST

I will fly with your petition  
 Unto that lady fair and clear,  
 For to tell your sad condition,  
 I will to her parents bear.  
 Show her how you do adore her,  
 And lie bleeding for her sake ;  
 Having laid the cause before her,  
 She perhaps may pity take.  
 Ladies that are apt to glory  
 In their youthful birth and state,  
 So hear I'll rehearse the story  
 Of their being truly great:  
 So farewell, Sir, for a season,  
 I'll will soon return again :  
 If she's but endow'd with reason,  
 Labour is not spent in vain.  
 Having found her habitation,  
 Which, with diligence he sought,  
 Tho' renown'd in her station.  
 She was to his presence brought  
 Where he labour'd to discover  
 How his lord and master lay,  
 Like a pensive wounded lover  
 By her charms the other day.  
 As a token of his honour,  
 He has sent this ring of gold,  
 Set with diamonds. Save the owner,  
 For his griefs are manifold.  
 Life and Death are both depending  
 On what answer you can give,  
 Here he lies your charms commending.  
 Grant him love that he may live.

You may tell your lord and master,  
 Said the charming lady fair,  
 Tho' I pity this disaster,  
 Being catch'd in Cupid's snare.  
 'Tis against all true discretion,  
 To comply with what I scorn :  
 He's a heathen by profession,  
 I a Christian bred and born.  
 Was he king of many nations,  
 Crowns and royal dignity,  
 And I born of mean relations,  
 You may tell him that for me,  
 As long as I have life and breathing  
 My true God I will adore,  
 Nor will ever wed a heathen,  
 For the richest Indian store.  
 I have had my education  
 From my infant blooming youth,  
 In this Christian land and nation,  
 Where the blessed word and truth  
 Is to be enjoyed with pleasure  
 Among Christians mild and kind,  
 Which is more than all the treasure  
 Can be had with Heathen wild.  
 Madam, let me be admitted  
 Once to speak in his defence ;  
 If he here then may be pity'd,  
 Breath not forth such violence,  
 He and all the rest were telling  
 How well they lik'd this place ;  
 And declared themselves right willing  
 To receive the light of grace.

So then, lady, be not cruel,  
 His unhappy state condole ;  
 Quench the flame, abate the fuel,  
 Spare his life and save his soul.  
 Since it lies within your power  
 Either to destroy or save,  
 Send him word this happy hour  
 That you'll heal the wound you gave.  
 While the messenger he pleaded  
 With this noble virtuous maid,  
 All the words that she then minded  
 Which his master he had said.

Then she spoke like one concerned,  
 Tell your master this from me.  
 Let him, let him thus be turned  
 From his gross idolatry.  
 If he will become a Christian,  
 Live up to the truth reveal'd,  
 I will make him grant the question,  
 Or before will never yield.  
 Altho' he was pleased to send me  
 His fine ring and diamond stone,  
 With this answer pray commend me  
 To your master yet unknown.

The curious may see in the British Museum four beautiful pictures of these Indian chiefs in their peculiar dresses, and probably the representations they give are as faithful as they are elegant. There was an opinion that they were the figures of four Chinese Emperors, and some similarity in the names to those we meet with in the history of China favored the supposition. Indeed, no one, from the manner in which these names are written, would recognize them as appertaining to the North American Indians. On removal of the frames and the plate-glass placed before them, and which cover the inscriptions, they proved to be fine miniatures on ivory. Each chief carries his wampum in his hand, a pledge of the amity of the Six Nations, and their names correspond with those in the volume relating to the Indian Kings, as well as to those given in *The Tatler*, No. 171. Upon the back of these pictures is the following endorsement: "Drawn by the life, May 2, 1710, by Bernard Lens, jun."

By an advertisement in the folio edition of *The Tatler*, it appears that full-length portraits of the four Indian chiefs were painted by John Verelst, a Dutch painter of celebrity, then residing in London. It also appears that the paintings referred to were in the collection of Queen Anne. In the folio edition of *The Tatler*, May 16, 1710, Mr. Verelst gives notice that no person will be permitted "to take any draught or sketch" from his pictures; and that "if he should, he will take care to have it correctly done by a skilful hand, and to inform the public thereof in *The Tatler*." A year later, in *The Tatler*, November 14, 1710, appeared the following: "This is to give notice that the mezzotinto prints by John Simmonds, in whole lengths, of the four Indian Kings, that are done from the original pictures drawn by John Verelst, which her majesty has at her palace at Kensington, are now to be delivered to subscribers, and sold at the Rainbow and Dove in the Strand."

Besides the prints of Simmonds, there were it seems other prints,

said to have been taken from Verelst's original pictures, disowned by the painter, and represented in his advertisement as incorrect. All this goes to show the great sensation which the visit of the Indian chiefs created in London. The prints of Simmonds are engraved in mezzotint, large folio in size, and are now exceedingly rare. Two or three of them, defaced by time, hang in frames upon the walls of the American Antiquarian Society's Hall, in Worcester. There is also a set of proof impressions of the four in the collection of the late John Carter Brown, in Providence.<sup>1</sup>

Walpole, in his "Anecdotes of Painting," gives some account of John under the name of Simon Verelst, and says he lived to a great age. "He was a Dutch flower-painter of capital excellence in that branch of art of painting, and likewise attempted portraits, labouring them exceedingly and finishing them with the same delicacy with his flowers. He was a real ornament to the reign of Charles II., and greatly lessened the employment of Sir Peter Lely, who retired to Kew, while Verelst engrossed the fashion." Verelst is also noticed by Bryan in his Dictionary of Painters. Simmonds, the engraver of the Indian Kings, who is also mentioned by Walpole, was pronounced "the best mezzotinto scraper of his time." He died in 1755.

J. R. BARTLETT

<sup>1</sup> The Four Kings of Canada. Being a Succinct Account of the Four Indian Princes lately arrived from North America. With a particular description of their Country, their strange and remarkable Feasts, Marriages, Burials, Remedies for the Sick, Customs, Manners, Constitution, Habits, Sports, Wars, Peace, Policy, Hunting, Fishing, Utensils belonging to the Savages, with several other Extraordinary Things worthy Observation, as to the natural or curious Productions, Beauty, or Fertility of that Part of the World. LONDON. Printed and sold by John Baker, at the Black Boy in Pater-Noster Row. 1710.

<sup>2</sup> The plate which prefaces this sketch is taken from the proof impressions mentioned.

## WHERE ARE THE REMAINS OF COLUMBUS

Columbus, returning from his fourth voyage in a vessel which was, like himself, much the worse for wear, arrived at Seville November 7th, 1504. Queen Isabella, his patroness, died at Medina del Campo on the 26th of the same month, and Ferdinand turned a deaf ear to the petitions of the great discoverer. Columbus repaired to court, but, weakened by toils and disease, died at Valladolid on Ascension Day, May 20th, 1506. His death was not even noticed in the *Cronicon de Valladolid*, a manuscript diary which records the most trivial events from 1333 to 1539, nor did Pedro Martir de Angleria, his friend, who had chronicled his discoveries minutely in his *Decades de Orbe Novo*, not then published, make any allusion to the closing life of a man who had been praised in his letters and narratives.<sup>1</sup>

His remains, unaccompanied by any relative, unless, perhaps, by his eldest and natural son Fernando, were placed in the vaults of the Convent of St. Francisco; and if his wishes were followed, the chains which he had worn when sent home by Bovadilla in 1503 were enclosed with him in his burial case. In a small work by Antoine de Latour, entitled "*Valence et Valladolid*," Paris, 1877, p. 144, it is said, on we know not what authority, that his obsequies were celebrated in the small *église romane* of the Comte Ansures, but that his life-long friends, the Franciscans, seized upon his body. In 1513, probably by the directions of the brothers and sons, the remains were removed to Seville. Here they probably were encased in the leaden box which has recently been found in the cathedral church of Santo Domingo, with the inscriptions placed on the inside and outside which we give below.

Diego began, in 1506, a suit against the Crown, the details of which have been published by Don Martin Fernandez de Navarrete in 1827, for a confirmation of the dignities and revenues promised solemnly to his father by several royal charters. In 1509 he succeeded in part, and became Second Admiral of the Indies, with certain allowances to maintain his rank. Having married Donna Maria de Toledo, a niece of the Duke of Alva, his suit was probably thereby favored, and he sailed for San Domingo in 1509, in great style, together with his uncles, Don Bartolomé (the Adelantado) and Don Diego, and his brother Don Fernando. Bartolomé was in Spain again, and returned to San Domingo in 1512. In 1515 Don Diego went to Spain to defend himself against

out their exact place of interment. Roselly de Lorgues, in his "*Vie de Colomb*," first edition, 1856, Vol. II., p. 400, gives to Moreau de St. Méry the credit of finding them. He quotes from the *Annales Maritimes et Coloniales*, tom. IX., p. 342, Première Série, as follows: "*Il retrouva dans une église de Santo-Domingo le tombeau de Christophe Colomb dont les habitants du pays ignoraient l'existence.*" Moreau de St. Méry, who published a description of the French portion of the Island in French, at Philadelphia, in two quarto volumes, 1797-8, and the Laws and Constitutions of the Franco-American Colonies in Paris, in six quarto volumes, in 1784, was a native of Martinique, born in 1750. He was at one time quite wealthy, and prepared the last-named work at the request of Louis XVI. He was a deputy from Martinique in 1790, took refuge in the United States in 1793, and while carrying on business as a bookseller in Philadelphia, published the other named work. He filled various offices under the Empire, and died in 1819. It must have been during one of his visits to the Islands that he pointed out the supposed remains of Columbus; but that he was deceived there can be no doubt. There must have been some record of the disinterment in 1795, but it is again said that the records had been destroyed, and we can find no printed notice relating to it except as above, even in the work of De Saint-Méry. Let us now see whether the true remains have been found.

The article in *La Patria*, reprinted in the Pamphlet, *Colon en Quisqueya*,<sup>1</sup> after describing the ceremonies and pomp attending the transfer of the remains in 1795, says that a rumor was current among a few discreet persons that the Spanish authorities had been deceived, and that the remains of Don Diego, the son of the First Admiral, or of some other member of the family, had been passed off as those of Christopher Columbus. It then adds that the last one who held this precious tradition as a fact, was the distinguished and learned Dominican Don Tomas Bobadilla, who transmitted it with profound conviction (sic) to Sr. Don Carlos Nouel. We are assured (the author of the article continues) that Sr. Don Juan N. Tejera also was certain of the fact.

Recently the works begun in the Cathedral, under the initiative of the Sr. Presbitero Bellini, accidentally exposed the remains of Don Luis Colon, as published in the papers in July, 1877. Further research at another spot, on the right of the *Presbiterio*, under the place occupied by the episcopal chair, a point designated by the tradition above mentioned, as the true location of the remains of Columbus, resulted in finding a vault. By the removal of a few stones a leaden box was discovered, which bore an inscription confirming the tradition, which probably was, as hinted before, a positive certainty.

The extraction of this leaden case, and its opening officially in the presence of invited witnesses, is given in much detail in the publication quoted. It is of lead, with a hinged cover, but the document does not state how it was closed, and is forty-two centimetres ( $16\frac{5}{8}$  inches) long, twenty and a half ( $8\frac{1}{8}$  inches wide), and twenty-one ( $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches) deep, with the following inscriptions. On the outside of the cover, D. de la A. Per. Ate. On the left, front and right of the box respectively are the letters C. C. and A. On the inside of the cover, in *letras góticas alemanas*, or German black letter, *Ilte y Esdo. Varon Du Cristoval Colon*. The case contained twenty-eight large and thirteen small fragments of human bones, some dust from bones, a leaden ball, weighing one ounce, and two small screws of the case itself. The case, after being examined, was closed and officially sealed, and deposited in the Santuario de Regina Angelorum under the charge and responsibility of the Señor Canonigo Penitenciario Dom Francesco Javier Bellini, until further orders. A solemn procession accompanied the remains to the said church, and the official report of the proceedings was signed by various officers of the church, the city, of the foreign consulates and other witnesses. Mr. Paul Jones signed them as United States Consul. This was done on the 10th of September last, and an effort is about to be made to raise an amount sufficient to erect a fitting monument over the remains.

It would appear, therefore, as far as we can judge from the testimony recently published, that the remains of the great Columbus were not removed in 1795 to Havana, and as there is no likelihood of their being given up by the Republic of Santo Domingo, they will forever remain on the island which, when living, he loved so much.

The "Diario de la Marina" suggests that the letters D de la A on the leaden case may signify *Descubridor de la America*, although the name America had not yet been given to this continent. It is more probable that they signify *Dignidad de la Almirantazgo*, connected as they are with the next words of *Primer Almirante*. This title was prized by Columbus most highly, and the last words would at the time have been unmeaning without the titular letters preceding it. Fernando, in his will of 1539, speaks of his father twice as D. XPVAL. COLON PRIMERO ALMIRANTE, &c. It was supposed that a long line of Admirals would succeed him in the Almirantazgo, which had been founded to honor him, and which he especially mentions in his will. It might signify also *Dia de la Ascension*, but then the year date would have been added.

The letters C. C. and A on the sides of the box probably signify *Cristoval Colon Almirante*. The inside inscription may be read, *Ilustre*

y Escogido Varon Don Cristoval Colon. The London *Athenæum*, of November 24 thinks that the inscription being in Spanish indicates a modern date for its fabrication, as Latin was used at the time of the transference of the remains to America, then called the Indies. This removal was, however, a family, and not an official proceeding, which might explain this matter.

As for the chains which Columbus wore on his return from his third voyage, and which he ordered to be buried with him, they are not elsewhere mentioned than in his will. It is not probable that they were sent to America with his dust, but we believe that these supposed chains are exhibited in the church at Havana. No mention is made of them in the articles describing the recent discovery.

The Havanese have supposed, since the year 1795, that the authentic remains were "deposited in an urn, covered by an erect monumental slab, on the left hand side of the entrance to the choir of the Cathedral." These words are used by Mr. John Woodward in *Notes and Queries*, 5th Ser., Vol. II, p. 152. He gives also the unmeaning inscription beneath the bust, which, however, is more correctly given by HARRISSE in his "Notes on Columbus." The longer inscription on the monument has been often quoted, and we omit it also.

This doubt as to which city possesses the true ashes of the First Admiral cannot be solved until further inquiry is carefully made. The question excites much interest in Spain, and the Royal Academy of History has appointed a committee to investigate and report on the subject.

JAS. CARSON BREVOORT

<sup>1</sup> See R. de Lorgues' *Vie de Colomb.*, p. 396, note.

<sup>2</sup> HARRISSE, *op. cit.*, p. 149, note, copied from the Archives of the Indies.

<sup>3</sup> The recent exhumation is described in the following official pamphlet and newspaper articles: *Colon en Quisqueya*. Coleccion de Documentos concernientes al Descubriniento de los restos de Cristoval Colon en la Catedral de Santo Domingo. Santo Domingo. Imprenta de Garcia Hermanos. 1877. 12mo., p. 98. *Colon en Quisqueya*, in "La Patria, . . . Santo Domingo, 15 de Setiembre de 1877. Año I, Num. 53." *Colon en Quisqueya*, in "El Diario de la Marina, 27 de Set., 1877." *The Bones of Columbus*, in "The World, New York, Oct. 5, 1877," and other daily papers in New York subsequently.

## COLONEL RUDOLPHUS RITZEMA

Concerning this Revolutionary officer, the son of the Rev. Johannes Ritzema, a once eminent collegiate pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church in this city, we have recently received some interesting particulars, not heretofore printed, through a lady of antiquarian taste, a great-grand-daughter of Alida, the Colonel's sister, of the ancient Bogert family, who has rendered herself familiar with the record of her Netherlandish ancestry. These facts, with others from the same source relative to the Military Journal of Colonel Ritzema, now in the archives of the New York Historical Society, and published in an early number of this Magazine, are worthy of a place in its columns.

From this memoranda we learn that Rudolphus Ritzema was born at Collum, East Friesland, Holland, some years before his father came from that country in answer to the call of the New York Church to assume its associate charge, which was in 1744. He is first mentioned of the three children which this good "minister of the divine word," with his worthy spouse, Hillje Dykstra—born in the same place—brought with them over the sea. Alida, the second of the number, was born at Collum, February 19, 1742, and the third was Maria Wilhelmina, who married first, Thomas Anderson Hoog, and secondly, David Van Schaak. The dominie had but one son to bear his name to manhood.

From the Ms. Memories of Horatio Bogert, Esq., of New Jersey, his great-grandson, we quote as follows relative to Colonel Rudolphus, viz.: That "he was educated as a soldier in the Prussian army, the best soldiers' school in the world, and had almost certainly been in active service. As Steuben drilled our raw armies, and trained the soldiers who won our independence, it is not remarkable that a man who, like Lee, was a European soldier, should at once take rank among those who were unused to war, and only possessed muscle and courage. At that period it was part of the soldier's creed that advancement in rank must be by regular seniority of commission. Our family tradition is, that such advancement was refused Ritzema, and he left the service in disgust. We have no information of him subsequent to his 'Journal' (with the N. Y. Historical Society, and presented by Horatio Bogert, Esq.), except that he lived and died at York, England. My father had an old friend and client, named Thomas F. Popham, an Englishman, I



believe of York, who while in England had procured the 'Journal' as an American relic. When he accidentally heard that we were related to Colonel Ritzema, he gave the 'Journal' to my father. We never knew of any descendants of the name in this country." In this connection, however, we may relevantly insert a paragraph from the gleanings of the lady above mentioned, which thus reads: "I find a portrait sketch of *Roger* Ritzema, who was a nephew of the Dominie, and who died a young man. He appears in long curling hair, and with a large lace cravat or scarf." "We should have been likely," proceeds the Bogert Ms., "to be informed of the career of Colonel Ritzema, because my father, Cornelius Bogert, born in 1775, lived near the events and actors, knew Colonel Burr, General Hamilton and others of the army, and was related both to Captain Strachan and Captain Leaycraft of the artillery service, yet I have stated all that I ever heard on the subject." It is not of historical importance, but it was said that Colonel Ritzema was a tall man, of good presence. My family were of medium height, and of spare body, while I am myself of much taller stature. My father used to say that I received my frame from the Ritzema branch, thus illustrating the familiar theory of races, skipping as it were, and reproducing again in a subsequent grade."

"Dominie Ritzema," adds our chief authority, "was said to have been indignant that his son should have been supposed to be disloyal to the American cause, which he certainly was not. The family traditions all agree that when he left the army here he never took up arms against the colonial forces. Marshall, in his 'Washington,' represents the Colonel's position erroneously. He was never a traitor. I find his will reading thus: 'I, Rudolphus Ritzema, of the city of Exeter, late Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant in his Majesty's Provincials' in North America, &c.,' giving his wife, *née* Anne Porter, and sons, John, Henry and William, everything, including Mss. Trustees and executors were Thomas Lidell of Ravensworth Castle, in the Bishopric of Durham, Baronet, and George Daniel of City of Exeter, Doctor of Phisick, dated April 24, 1803. He died two weeks after, and was buried at Kent, two miles from Harcross, the place of his death."

In addition to the facts thus received and recorded, we subjoin the substance of several brief notices of this once noted New York officer contained in Force's "Revolutionary Archives," one of which, under date of March 24, 1776, states that he was appointed Colonel of the Third Regiment of "Yorkers." Speaking of it in a letter to a military friend, he says: "The regiment is to continue during this unhappy

struggle in service. This removed all my objections to the service." In May of that year he was Lieutenant-Colonel in Colonel Alexander McDougall's regiment. In May, 1775, his name is on the list of the New York "Committee of One Hundred," and in the subsequent July he "ordered the seizure of the King's stores" in this city. In the same invaluable Revolutionary repertory we also find a letter of Colonel Ritzema to General Washington, tendering his resignation on account of certain charges, from which he was soon thereafter acquitted by a Court of Inquiry. One of them was of speaking disrespectfully of Lord Sterling, which probably gave rise to inferences affecting his standing as a patriot. From his letter to the Commander-in-Chief at this time, dated July 14, 1776, it is but just to his memory to quote the following paragraph: "The American cause—a cause which I have as much at heart as any man in America, and in which I have frequently ventured my life in the last campaign, and was the first man in the Province of New York who ever took up arms in defense of it—a cause for which I am still willing to lay down my life." In his answer, Washington, in kind, but decided terms, declined to accept the Colonel's proffered retiracy.

The "Archives" also preserve several letters of his to the Provincial Congress, and a record of his appearance before it upon military matters, of his presidency of a court-martial in 1776, and also of two letters addressed, one to Lord Sterling and the other to Pierre Van Courtlandt, Esq., Chairman of Committee of Safety New York, brief extracts from which two latter documents will conclude what we have now to offer concerning Colonel Rudolphus Ritzema. He writes to Lord Sterling on the importance of military discipline, a subject relative to which he was probably well prepared to make useful suggestions. We quote as follows: "I can expect little from undisciplinarians. Without discipline, no obedience, and without obedience, no duty. In short, discipline gives confidence, and confidence is the very soul of an army."

Ritzema's letter to Mr. Van Courtlandt, dated Montreal, January 3, 1776, and of considerable length, announces the death of General Montgomery, of whom, with many interesting particulars of the action in which he fell, he speaks in these pathetic and appreciative terms: "Thus fell our worthy and brave General. Weep, America! for thou hast lost one of thy most virtuous and dearest sons."

With regard to the Rev. Johannes Ritzema, the "good old father" of our Colonel, to whom he thus tenderly refers in his letter to General Washington, we would here take occasion to say that his name has been unjustly, because erroneously, numbered among those of the "Loyalists"

in "Sabine's History," with the mere general and unsatisfactory remark appended, that "in the controversy which preceded the Revolution he acted uniformly" with them. The only valid question with us in the premises is, with whom he sided after the contest had gone to its last appeal, *et vi et armis*? That the venerable Dominie was decidedly patriotic in sentiment after the war had begun as well as before is, we think, put beyond reasonable question by the fact that he was declared "*Emeritus*" at the commencement of hostilities. And the same conclusion is no less authorized by the following extract from an historical discourse by the late Rev. Thomas De Witt, D.D., delivered in 1856, viz.: "Johannes Ritzema and Lambertus De Roude, thoroughly educated in Holland, etc., sustained a highly respectable character during their ministry in New York, and after leaving the city during the Revolutionary war, and remaining in their old age in the places of their exile, they sustained the same character of high respect paid to them during their whole lives."

Dominie Ritzema's ministry in this city covered a period of about forty years, during which at one time he officiated collaterally in the noted "Sleepy Hollow" Church at Tarrytown. As a preacher and a divine "he was," says the Ms. before us, "learned and eloquent, and also, judging from his portrait now in the church gallery of divines in New York," a man of fine presence." We find among the same memoranda a verse written in the Dutch language by Dominie Gulielmus Dubois, his colleague, "on seeing the portrait of Rev. Johannes Ritzema, painted 1753, when he was 42 years old." This was the portrait of him above mentioned, and the only one known. The writer of a recent obituary notice of Mr. Edmund Quincy, in the New York Biographical and Genealogical Record, there states that David Ritzema Bogert of "Beekmantown," the brother-in-law of President Quincy, bequeathed a portrait of Dominie Ritzema, his grandfather, to the New York Historical Society. This is doubtless a mistake, since no such picture or record of it is known to the present curators of that institution. The poetical tribute of Pastor Dubois delivers a noble eulogium upon his associate's ministerial and christian character, which was doubtless as true to life as the picture. It may be found, with a faithful translation by its side, in the New York *Christian Intelligencer* of December last. In the published Minutes of the Colonial Synods, Coetus, and Conferential of the Reformed Church, the name of this ancient pastor often appears, and as one of their most conspicuous members. He was a writer too of much repute in his ecclesiastical sphere, and we learn

from the Rev. Dr. Chambers of this city that one or more of the controversial tracts of Dominie Ritzema is under advisement for reprint by their Publication Board, with a view to preservation.

This good man closed his life at Kinderhook, N. Y., his place of retreat during and after the war, an event piously recorded by one of his grandsons, Mr. John R. Hoog, as follows: "On the 7th of April, 1794, the Rev. Johannes Ritzema slept in the Lord after a short sickness of three days, aged eighty-six years, seven months, thus terminating a life which had been spent in the service of God, and in which he proved industrious and faithful." This reverend, and in his day greatly esteemed clergyman, the father of Colonel Rudolphus Ritzema, is very respectably represented in detail by many families in this State and elsewhere of the present generation, and of various names besides the well-known one already given, such as Baskins, Russell, Ludlow, Starr, Mills, etc. To these we add Booth and Brett, each of which has also among us a worthy successor of their common ancestor in the sacred office, viz.: the Rev. Cornelius Brett, of Bergen, N. J., and the Rev. Robert Russell Booth, D.D., pastor of the University Place Presbyterian Church.

WILLIAM HALL

<sup>1</sup> These statements seem contradictory.—EDITOR.

<sup>2</sup> This valuable collection of portraits, now kept in the basement of the church on the corner of 29th street and 5th avenue, needs safer depository.

NEWS FROM CAMP  
LETTERS RECEIVED BY CORNELIUS TEN  
BROECK OF ROCKY HILL, NEW JER-  
SEY, FROM HIS SONS CORNELIUS  
AND PETER SERVING IN THE  
CONTINENTAL ARMY

1779—1780

Communicated by George C. Beekman of Free-  
hold, N. J.

Camp, White Plains, Sept. 2d, 1778.

Dear Parents.

Your kind favour dated July 31st was about Ten days since handed me which gave me much satisfaction, since which I have recieved a letter from Mr. Jno. De Lamater (Informing me of his being with you a short time since) with a letter from Brother John at Morris Town who was well the 22d August. I have nothing new to communicate to you at present, except the following account from Rhode Island. It seems the French Fleet in the Late storm had recieved so much damage that they determined to proceed to Boston to Refit previous to which Gen'l Sullivan prepared to leave the Island and accordingly began his retreat, which the enemy recieving intelligence of attacked his rear guard which in a short time brought on a very Bloody engagement, when the enemy gave way and left our army entire masters of the field; the above Intelligence is just received in Camp—the particulars are momentarily expected. The main army still remains on the Plains consisting of about 24,000 Men which are plentifully supplied with provisions &c. which is chiefly Brought down the North River landed at a place called Tarry Town about Ten miles from Camp. Not being in a department that causes me to know

the current prices of produce it is not in my power to inform you at present, but may expect it in my next.

Shall be glad to have a line from home whenever convenient, and shall allways think it an esensial part of my duty to write you by every convenient opportunity. I shall add no more but must beg you will excuse the incorrectness of this letter as the person who carries it is waiting.

In haste I remain

Your affectionate Son

CORN. TEN BROECK.

N. B. When you write please direct me at Gen'l Greene's office.

—  
Camp, Smiths Clove July 8th, 1779.

This will inform you I arived safe at Camp (in five days after I left home) and found Brother Peter well as we both through divine blessing are at Present. Our Army still continues here and I have not heard of any move being in adgitation. It has been for several days Currently reported that the Enemy are gone down the River again all except about two Regiments which are left to Garrison there Forts at Kings Ferry. Our Camp is about 12 miles from New Winsdor and the same distance from West Point Fort. The Army lay encamped about five miles along the Clove the Roughness of the Ground not admitting of there incamping Closer. I quarter about Six Miles North from Camp at a place called Bloominggrove where I am Posting Books. Peter is in Camp with Mr. Meng.

The crops of Grain are promising in this pãrt of the Country which the Inhabitants are Just beginning to Reap

though some of the wheat is a little Blasted, owing to the frequent Rains we had sometime ago. Wheat sells here from 25 to 30 Dollars p Bushell and other grain in proportion.

I am somewhere between 20 and 30 Miles from Aunt Hausbrooks where I expect to go if we remain here much longer, and perhaps to Eusopus. Shall write you again by next convenient opportunity in the Interum Remain,

Your dutifull and obedient Son

CORNS. TEN BROECK.

P. S. You may perhaps wonder how so many horses as we have with the Army are provided for in this Rough Country. They are Chiefly all Quartered in the Township of Bloomingrove, where they have been since the army arived here and I think I never saw better meadows and pasture that they have in this unlevel Country though it is greatly hurt by a pretty severe Drouth we have here at present.

Smiths Clove, July 9th, 1779.

Dear Parents.

I embrace the opportunity of writing you a few lines acquainting you that I am well, and in a good state of health; Hoping these few lines may find you in the same. I have been verry well since I left home, except a day or Two on the way from Middle Brook to this place, I had a midlen bad flux but it left me before I come here. I was inform'd on the way that it was a verry bad road to Smiths Clove and excessive hilly but would not perfectly beleive it was as bad as they told me until I found it to be so.

Mr. Weiss, Brother Cornelius and Mr. Burchan are about six miles from us

into the country, at a farmers house a posting Books in a place called Blooming grove. Mr. Meng, Mr. Wright and myself, are with the stores and have not quite as much busines as we had when we first come. I hear of Cornelius almost every day by Carters who have there horses at pasture where he lives and Received a letter of him this morning for Dadde with a few lines that he was well and desired we would forward it by the first opportunity which I hope you will receive with mine. We hear there is a great Number of Men Deserts Dayly both to and from the enemy; yesterday three men belonging to the Maryland line were found going in to the enemy, they were brought to their camp. The one was shot and his head cut off and this morning was brought to the Virginia Camp and was put on the top of the gallows of a man who was executed and hung; the man who was hung is said to have been executed and reprieved twice before and expected to be reprieved the third time. There is no prospect of our moving soon. I would glad if convenient to Receive a letter from home. I am,

Your Efectionate Son,

PETER TEN BROECK.

Camp New Windsor, July 24th, '79  
Hon'd Parents.

I wrote you from Smiths Clove about two weeks ago, where the Army continued untill the 16th inst. At one o'clock in the morning of which day Brigadier Genl Wayne, with the Light Troops under his command, made an attack on the Enemy's Fort they had erected at Stoney Point near Kings

Ferry. Rushing on them with fixt Bayonets, the Enemy were alarm'd by there Picquets, & gave our Troops two or three heavy Fires as they approach'd, which wounded several Valuable Officers. Our Troops nevertheless enter'd the Fort, and after Baynoting one hundred and upwards, the remainder submitted at discretion. It was a very bold and daring attempt, though it succeeded beyond expectation, as our loss, kill'd and wounded, is not near as much as the kill'd and wounded of the Enemy. Our Army kep possession of the Fort till a few days ago, when the Enemy came up the River again in force, there Troops marching up rapidly on the East Side of the River to relieve the Garrison they had left on that side opposite the Fort our Troops took, which was at this time besieged by our army which lay on that side the River, but where obliged to Raise the Siege when the British Army arived near them, being inferior in number to them. His Excellency at the same time ordered the Fort at Kings Ferry to be demolished, which was done, and all the stores safely brought up to West Point Fort, where Head Quarters is kep at present. The Enemy's main body are at Peek's Kill, and the conjectures what movements they will make next are very various.

West Point Fort is about Nine Miles from this, and may be seen from New Burg with a spy glass. I expect to go and see it to-morrow or next day, when I will endeavour to give you a particular description of it.

If we continue here any time, will make a short trip to Eusopus.

I enclose you a Copy of the Return of

the Enemy's Loss and ours on the morning of the 16th instant, which I believe is nearly a just account. I find it impossible to send letters to be left nearer you than Princetown, where I shall in future direct all my letters to the care of Colo. Hyre.

Brother Peter and myself are through divine blessing in perfect health, as we hope this may find you and all the Family. I remain unfeignedly

Your dutifull Son,

CORNS. TEN BROECK

—  
Camp New Windsor, Augt. 11th, 1779.  
Dear Father.

In my last I informed you I expected to go to the Fort where I have since been, and as I make no doubt you would be glad to know how it is Situated have enclosed a small sketch thereof, which I have made only with my pen and from the Idea I retain in my memory of the Place—you can therefore not expect it accurate, and must pay no regard to distances, &c., as I have put it down.

I have marked down the principal Forts and mentioned in the Reference their Chief use, except Fort Putnam, which is undescribedly Strong; its built on a high nole or rock; the walls are Sixteen feet high and as strong as stone and lime will make them; there are in it two very Strong Bum proofs besides every other necessary—it can play on the Shipping before any other of the Forts, and commands all the Ground about Fort Arnold. So that if the Enemy should attempt to storm it they would be exposed to the Fire of Both Forts. But it is generally believed they will not attack it this Campaign, as there

Army is gone down to New York again.

Nevertheless General Washington continues at the Forts, and has near a Thousand Men at work daily in order to make them yet more stronger, so as a less number of men may Garrison them and be secure in case of an attack. If the Enemy continues in there present position, its said Gen'l Washington will remain at the Fort untill it is finished, when we shall no doubt be oblige to move, as the pasture will begin to fail here.

We have no news particular here except a report that the French Fleet in the West Indies have gain'd a Victory over the English Fleet, and also taken the Island of St. Vincents, but it yet wants confirmation.

I must also inform you I went to Aunt Hausbrooks on Sunday last, where I was received and treated with the Greatest marks of Frenship. I stayd there two days and left her and family very well; they had lately heard from Eusopus, when our relations there were all well. I had not time to go as far Eusopus, but hope I shall before we are ordered away from here.

The Wheat between this and the wall Kills, and I am told from there to Eusopus, all that was sowed on the low lands, is blasted and was scarcely worth gathering—but the up lands has produced tolerable good Crops. With my love to Mama,

I remain with ye Greatest respect

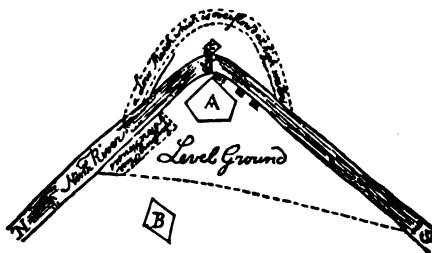
Your Obdt Son,

CORNEL TEN BROECK.

Brother Peter is well, and desires his love.

*References.* A—Fort Arnold, being

the main Fort which commands the River and protects the Chain. B—Fort Putnam near half a mile from Fort Arnold wh it Commands and overlooks. C—Fort Constitution, Stands on an Island opposite Fort Arnold and in con-



*A Long Ridge of Mountains extend over several Forts*

junction with it protects the chain—its made very strong on the East side to defend it in case the Enemy should find means to cross the Marsh, which is very difficult. D D D—Little Batteries built on the River Side.

#### STATION OF THE AMERICAN ARMY

VIRGINIANS	{ Between the Clove and Ramapau to be handy to go into Jersey in case of an Invasion there.
MARYLANDERS	{
PENNSYLVANIANS	{ At West Point where his Excellency General Washington is.
2 NEW ENGLAND BRIGADES	{
NORTH CAROLINIANS	{ On the Island opposite the Point.
4 NEW ENGLAND BRIGADES	{ On the East Side the River a little below the Island.
GEN'L POOR'S BRIGADE FROM NEW HAMPSHIRE	{
GEN'L CLINTON'S BRIGADE FROM NEW YORK	{ Gone on yewestern expedition under General Sullivan.
GEN'L MAXWELL'S BRIGADE FROM NEW JERSEY	{

Exclusive of the above there are some Troops on the East side Hudson River but am not certain where they are.

The Heavy Baggage and Stores of the Main Army are at New Windsor and the Horses are distributed in the Pastures between that and the Pals.



New Windsor, August, 24th, '79.  
Dear Parents.

This will Inform you that I am very hearty and I hope these few lines may find you in the same good state.

I have been almost ready to Despair to hear from you untill last Sunday I recieved a Letter from Bro. Jno., Dated the 17th of August, Informed me that Daddy was at Town and was well and Informed him that they was all well at home which I received with gladness, as I had not heard from you since (Cornelius) Left home.

I have the pleasure to inform you that Brother Corn'ls and I have been to see aunt Hausbrook at the Wallkill and had the pleasure also to see my Couzens. I was there on sunday the 15th inst. August—they was verry kind and the Dutch Language was of infinite service to me as they altogethertalk Dutch in the Family.

I returned to windsor again on Monday and Left them all well. Couzen Thomas prepar'd to go to Philadelphia, on Tuesday, and telled me that he would go and see dady and mamma which I hope he has.

I have nothing new to communicate to you, But that the enemy have all gone down the river to york Island, except Two Regiments who are fortifying on Stoney Point. We hear that Major Lee has surprised and taken a Considerable number of the enemy at Pawlis Hook, with the loss of some men the particulars are not yet come to hand. Cornelius is About five miles from this into the Country and wrote me a Line this morning acquainting me that he is

well, and I am with the Stores—no more at present,

But remain with Respect  
your Affectionate son

PETER TEN BROECK.

John also Inform'd That Daddy wrote a letter to Corn'ls and me, which we have not yet Recieved.

Camp, New Windsor, Sept. 21st, 1779.

Received the 28.

Honoured Sir.

Your kind favour by Gen'l Morris I Received and have since been to Eusopus, which is the reason I have not answered it till now. I left Cats Kill Eight and Eusopus four days ago, where all friends are well, except Uncle Ten Broeck's youngest daughter and son and Cousin Conrad Alvendorph who have the Fever Augue which rages more than was almost ever known there.

Aunt Turk has been in a very poor state of health but is got much better and is still mending. Uncle Turk expects to move from his farm into the Town again this Fall.

Uncle Wynkoop has received two letters from you this Summer, Uncle Van Vechten one and I think Uncle Ten Broeck one also.

I spent about two weeks with my relations very agreeable, they received and treated me in a very friendly manner which will ever make me respect them. Relations and acquaintance were very particular in enquireing after you and desired to be remembered.

As the Army is a place where people generally expect news from I wish I had it in my power to write you some favour-

able but at present we have not a syllable of any kind worth mentioning. Our Army still keeps in and about the fort and the Enemy in and about New York and its very probable there will not much more be done this Campaign, Unless a French Fleet should arrive which is Currently talk'd of, but from where it originated I know not.

By accounts from the Western Army it appears they have Destroy'd a Considerable number of Indian Towns and large Quantity of Corn &c. and are very little opposed by the Enemy. Numbers of People flatter themselves this will be our last Campaign, but according to my notion of Politicks I am fearfull it will not, as I am apt to think in case the Enemy find themselves unable to carry on an offensive war next summer in America, they will still keep an Army to act on the Defensive which will oblige us to keep up our Army. This is only my opinion of the matter and wish may not turn out so.

With respect to our money there are various opinions about it every body has their fears concerning it as there are no effectual measures taken to stop the Depreciation thereof; our expenditures Daly vastly exceed what is paid into the Treasury on Loan and by Taxation so that the sum in circulation still increases and so long as that is the case it must unavoidably decrease in value.

Peter and myself through the blessing of divine providence are in perfect health as I pray this may find you and all the family.

I remain with much respect

Your dutifull and Obt Son

CORNS TEN BROECK.

Camp, New Windsor, Octr 13th, '79.

Dear Parents.

Its near three weeks since I wrote you last, when I informed you of my receiving your letter by Gen'l Morris, and also of my having been to Eusopus, which letter I make no doubt you have received ere the date of this. I have nothing particular to write you this time having wrote you so lately but as I think it my duty, so its a pleasure to me to write you by every opportunity, and wish I could hear often-er from you which has been very seldom this summer, I think only once which was the letter above mentioned; however I make no doubt you would write whenever you have an opportunity which I know must be very seldom as you live much out of the way.

I make no doubt but you will soon expect Peter or me home or both of us but how soon that will be is imposible to inform you at present, as we are under great apprehensions of going to New York shortly. The French Fleet we hear are expected at the hook every hour, and the Pilots from this part of the Country who are acquainted with the Harbour of New York are gone down to Monmouth by order of the Commander in Chief; all the Troops from Albany and places Adjacent thereto are yesterday arrived here and all the Boats and Crafts that are in the River between this and Albany are collecting here; the same I am told is done at the sound and in short every preparation is making to attack New York as soon as the French Fleet arrives. The Enemy by Accounts are aware of our design and are fortifying Long Island, impressing the inhabitants to assist them,

a number of whom are fled over to the main in consequence thereof ; but I suppose before you receive this you will have more particular accounts of this moneuvre ; shall therefore add no more but conclude with the greatest respect,  
your dutifull and obedient Son

CORN. TEN BROECK.

Mr. C. Ten Broeck, sen'r.

New Windsor, Novem'r 10th 1779.  
Dear Parents.

I have wrote you very frequently this Campaign, but cannot now recollect the Date of my last Letter. I however therein informed you of the great expectations we had of going to New York, which I am sorry to say we begin to doubt happening this fall, as the Count De Estang with the French Squadron under his Command by the accounts was in Georgia, had landed his men and formed a junction with General Lincoln, who were devising a plan to reduce the British Army in that Quarter, which is not doubted they have compleated ere this ; but as the season is far advanced its judged if the Fleet does arrive it will be too late to carry on the intended operations against New York ; but it seems the matter is not wholly despaired of yet, as the preparations are Still continuing and its said the Army will not go into Quarters untill the General hears particularly from the Count.

The Enemy since I wrote you last have evacuated their two posts on the North River near Kings Ferry and also Rhode Island and all Randavousd at New York which they are Fortifying very Strong.

I was in great hopes this Campaign would have brought the War to an Issue, but I fear we shall have another, which if we may have occasion for, I could wish to think that we shall be in a situation to carry on with ease, but I fear it will be attended with the greatest difficulty principally owing to the depreciated State of our Currency, which I am sorry to tell you is got to a very low ebb in this part of the Continent and I am informed it is not any better with you.

I have not heard a syllable from you since your letter by General Morris which is some considerable time ago, which makes me not so happy as if I could hear from you oftener, but suppose you have no opportunity to write me, or at least I am constrained to think you would not willingly omit once in a while to let me know how you do.

You will not expect Peter nor me home till the Army goes into Winter Quarters, and must not be concerned about us respecting Clothes as we have Each a warm Suit and two pair wollen Stockings which will be sufficient till we get into Quarters which cant be long and undoubtedly will be not a very great distance from you.

I have nothing further to add save that Peter and myself through the blessing of devine providence are in perfect health and hope with his permission to Eat our Christmas dinner with.

I remain Dr Parents  
with great respect

your Dutifull Son

CORNLS. TEN BROECK.

Mr. Corns. Ten Broeck, Sen'r.

Camp, Quaker Hill, 25 miles East  
from Fish Kill, Novem'r 2, 1780.  
Dear Father.

I wrote you some time since per one  
Mr. Armstrong wherein I requested  
you would please to send my winter  
clothes to Colonel James Abeel D Q M  
Gl at Morris Town who has frequent  
opportunity to send them to me, and  
have wrote to him to forward them, in  
case they are sent to him.

I dont think I shall come home this  
fall unless something should happen  
that would call me that way, as is some  
considerable distance and Traveling ex-  
pences very high.

The Army are still in their Tents, The  
New England Troops are all in Con-  
necticut being ordered there, when the  
fleet sailed from New York, in order to  
be handy to go farther to the Eastward  
in case the Enemy made any attempt  
that way.

The Pensylvanians and Carolinasans  
lay here, the Marylanders at Fish Kill,  
and the Virginnians between Kings Ferry  
and Fish-Kill. The New Yorkers are  
ordered to the Forts in the Mohawk  
Country in order to keep the Indians in  
awe who are grown very troublesome of  
late. The weather is getting pretty cold  
in this country which will oblige us to  
go into Winter Quarters very soon which  
is said will be between Fish Kill and  
Poughkeepsie. A great quantity of  
Boards have been contracted for and are  
now transporting down the North River  
to Build Barracks. After the Army gets  
into Winter Quarters I expect to take  
a jaunt home but dont think I shall be-  
fore. I have not heard a word from  
you or any of the family since Mr. John

De Lamater came to camp, which  
causes me to have a great ancsietty to re-  
ceive a line from you; should therefore  
be glad if no other g[ood] opportunity  
offers, you would write me a line by the  
Post and direct it to me at Gen'l Green's  
as I am always near his Quarters and  
with that part of the Army were the  
mail comes, so that I cant possibly miss  
receiving it. Every thin[g] is very dear  
in this part of the country. Wheat sells  
among the inhabitants from 4 to 5 Dolls  
p Bushel and other Grain in proportion.  
The Arm[y] receives Chiefly all their  
flour from the North River which is col-  
lected at Fish Kill from different places,  
what wheat they raise here is scarcely  
any more than for their own consump-  
tion. With my love to all friends, I am

Your Obdt Son,

CORNS. TEN BROECK.

## NARRATIVE OF LIEUT. LUKE MATTHEWMAN

OF THE REVOLUTIONARY NAVY

*From the New York Packet, 1787*

At the particular request of an Ameri-  
can Navy Officer in the late war, the fol-  
lowing narrative is published, the con-  
clusion of which will show the intention  
of its publication.

Early in March, 1776, I entered into  
the service of my country as Lieutenant  
of the Brig Lexington, Captain Barry,  
the services on board which vessel met  
the approbation both of the command-  
ing officer and the public, particularly  
in saving 270 barrels of powder from a  
vessel run on shore near Cape-May, un-  
der the fire of two frigates; afterwards

blowing her up with about 30 of the British, who had boarded her; I had the misfortune of being made a prisoner by the Pearl Frigate, on board which ship was most cruelly treated, being thrown in the cable tier, in wet clothes, without any shift in the month of February; on board this ship I continued about one month under the most disagreeable circumstances, until I made my escape at Cape Henlopen. On my arrival at Philadelphia, was ordered to Baltimore, as the Lexington had been retaken by the crew; on board of which was fortunate in regaining my clothes. As Congress then sat at Baltimore, was desired to follow them to Philadelphia (with a number of prisoners under my charge) in expectation to serve on board the Champion Xebeck; but on my arrival took charge of the impress service under very disagreeable circumstances, being liable to all prosecutions; however, was fortunate in manning the Delaware frigate, the two Xebecks, and other vessels. I took the command of a field-piece at Swedesford, and when the British took Philadelphia went on board the Delaware frigate at Mud Island, the first Lieutenant being unwell; on board of this frigate was taken, and confined in the goal of Philadelphia, twenty-one in dungeon (without respect to persons), for eight days; during which time we received no more from the British than one pound of raw beef and two mouldy biscuits; the water they gave us to drink was in a necessary tub, and that very dirty; the means of procuring the same was through the gate of the door, by filling a quart bottle from the tub; on which drink many of us became very

sick, and had it not been for the great humanity of some citizens, who, at great risk, in some measure supplied us, we must undoubtedly have perished, as many then under confinement absolutely did through hunger. After which period of time, through private solicitations to Gen. Howe, we were transferred to the State House; here we fared much better, being allowed two thirds allowance, of which we received about one half, and our friends were permitted to visit us, until some officers expecting their parole, and to ingratiate themselves, informed the officers of the guard that some letters were privately delivered to the prisoners; on this information the ladies were turned down stairs by the Sergeant; and those persons alluded to were heard to say, d—n the b—h—s, they deserve to be kicked down, for which those officers were formally forbid the room of the navy officers. After continueing some few days in this situation, a plot was agreed on, that might have been carried into execution, which was, on private information that most of the troops of Philadelphia, consisting of the grenadiers (the main body being at Germantown), were to go down on a secret expedition, we had concluded to get the guards drunk, relieve the prisoners in the goal (we being ourselves seventy-five officers in number), proceed to Cornwallis's quarters, of whom we had secret intelligence, and take our route over Middle Ferry at Schuylkill, where was a guard of only twenty men; we officers of the navy forfeiting our honors to secure the retreat; matters thus agreed on, I consented to pass, and reconnoitre the

guards; accordingly, at eleven o'clock at night took a water pot in my hand, passed all the guards (who were in a situation we could wish them), went out of the doors into the street to the pump, filled my jar with water, and returned in the same manner, the guards every one asleep. I must acknowledge the temptation great, when I found myself alone in the street; but the hopes of being in some measure of great service to my country bore down all private views; on my return informed the rest of my success and observations, and with some others urged the necessity of our immediately prosecuting our plans without delaying the time; some who were to be the leaders going to bed, discouraged others, while a few, among whom was a Major Darch, of Virginia, were prepared for the purpose; the guard unluckily were awaked by the relief; thus were our measures frustrated by the backwardness of a few. I then solemnly declared I would attempt my escape at any rate, let the consequence be what it might to the rest; accordingly, about three nights afterwards, before the guards had got their lights, I saw most of the prisoners engaged at cards, I slipped unobserved out of the room, the door closing behind me (as I was particularly watched), with my shoes off, close behind the sentry, and got up stairs, where the clock was fixed, the spindle of which to the dials I carefully traced to the case for the weights which, being neglected, had run down. I let myself down, and in two minutes was in the State House yard (a panel being broke out of the bottom of the case) although it was dark was discovered by

the walking centry, who followed me to the necessary, which I entered, and immediately got through the window, and on my hands and knees crawled to the ditch of the wall, over which I got; being then in my uniform, I proceeded to a Quaker's house, who had frequently proffered me friendship, in order to change my clothes, but could gain no admittance, unless I could lay concealed on the roof the house. I then proceeded to Captain Harris's, where I was well received, and lodged in the cellar under the woods for two nights and a day, where I disguised myself, until I could devise a method of getting out of the city. On the second, disguised like a porter, with a bag on my shoulder, as if going for potatoes, passed their lines, and got to Gloster Point, about two miles below the city, where I swam one mile and a quarter to League island, in the time of the year when the water was frozen on the meadows; after which I was obliged to walk near three miles, without hat, coat or shoes, before I could get on board any boat to take me to the fleet at Mud island. At length I got on the brig Andra Doria, where I was supplied with a jacket and trowsers, &c., for which, in the settlement of my account, they have charged me pounds, equal to hard cash. Here I commanded the gunboat, and was in every action for near five weeks, either on board the floating batteries or the gallies, particularly in the last action at Mud Island; the first Lieutenant of the floating battery being under arrest, I was ordered on board to take command of the gun-deck, when we lay exposed to the fire of three two deckers, and the Vigilant

floating battery for three hours within musket shot; when night put an end to the action, and we towed on shore, with 28 twenty four pounders below water, and the spar deck entirely shot away; during the action we had three reinforcements. While commanding the gun boat I cut away at night at two different times the buoys laid out at the expense of many of their lives, in order to warp up their floating battery, on which their whole dependence lay in the reduction of Mud island; this greatly protracted the siege. On our evacuation of the forts and the destroying of our fleets, was the only boat that arrived at Bordentown, loaded with powder, the remainder were drove on shore in passing the city by the very severe fire from the enemy. Our ships on fire making it as bright as day, the gallies luckily escaped the night before.

On my arrival at Bordentown, I was made Commissary for the seamen of the late fleet, and with Captain Robinson, had the conducting of the famous battle of the Kegs, after which Captain Barry and myself, in two barges, passed Philadelphia through the ice, where we captured a British schooner of eight guns, and two ships, one of six guns, after a running fight of three hours. Those vessels we were obliged to destroy, being shortly after pursued by two frigates. In those barges we cruised until the middle of April, preventing any communication from the country with the enemy by water, and was greatly accessary in the preservation of General Wayne and his party, with near one thousand head of cattle, which he had collected in the Jersies near Salem. The enemy

having intelligence of Gen. Wayne, landed near 1500 men in the Jersies; In consequence of which, Gen. Wayne consulted Captain J. Barry and myself, being then at Salem. It was judged necessary to fire all the forage on the Jersey side of the river, which would naturally draw the enemy that way, whilst he (General Wayne) by heading the creeks, might march around to the back of them. This plan was put in immediate execution, and effected to our wish; the enemy making their appearance, as we had nearly finished our work. Gen. Wayne having saved all his stock, returned, collected the Militia, and galled their retreat. After laying up the barges, we went to Senepuxent on business; where a message came on shore from Count D'Estaing (who was then off Chingoteague) praying some pilots or gentlemen acquainted with the coast and harbours, to come on board him, as the want of them was his only detention. I accordingly set off in company with Captain Baldwin and the express. We pursued, but could not come up with the fleet, they being in chase of some English ships of war, until we arrived at the Capes of the Delaware. I went on board the Chimere frigate to Philadelphia, for which ship I cruised the bay and coast as a tender, until I was called upon to weigh the guns of the burnt fleet; which service was performed in company with Capt. Brewster, to the number of fifty eight; some in three fathoms water, together with a sloop of ten guns, with everything on board for a cruise in seven fathoms; for this service we received only one ration, and our usual months wages, not paid yet. From this business I was called upon, to carry

dispatches from Congress and Mons Girard, to the Marquis D'Bouille, at Martinico, in a vessel of twenty tons only ; every naval officer having refused, alledging the smallness of the vessel and the time of the year (being the first of October). The Navy board urging the great necessity of the matter, together with large promises, I was determined to undertake it, at the risk of my life ; I accordingly set off, manned with five deserters from a British man of war, and six Spaniards taken out of goal, and through Providence, (although they had brought the goal distemper on board, so that only two could keep the deck at the same time,) we arrived safe at Martinico. Here I was obliged to be led by two men to the Governor to deliver my dispatches. His Excellency treated me with the greatest politeness, and sent his own physician to attend me. Judge my situation on that passage, being four times chased, myself obliged to be supported to take an observation, there being no other on board capable, which was a great cause why they had not secured my dispatches, as I was informed by one of the men, I afterward saw at Rotterdam, when I escaped from Fortune prison in England. I remained at Martinico, near three months in expectations arising from some promises made me by the Navy Board ; after which time, returned in a brig loaded with sugar, charged with dispatches to Congress. I was chased into Chesapeake bay by a frigate, and afterward proceeded for Baltimore. When nearly opposite the river Patuxent, I was chased by two British privateers ; and as I had only four guns and twelve men, plied them

with my stern chase ; and as they were coming up fast ordered the lee ports to be hawled up, and billets chalked at the ends, run out with all the guns on one side, (being pierced for 16.) When near to me, bore around and raked a schooner, cut away her jibb stay, and fore hal-yard, on which, the other also bore away, and the schooner followed. I however arrived safe at Baltimore, and from thence proceeded to Philadelphia with my dispatches. On my arrival at Philadelphia, I found it out of the power of the Navy Board to serve me, there being no continental vessels in that port. I then returned and fitted out the Black Snake at Baltimore with 16 guns and eighty men, this was attended with great trouble and much expense. I proceeded down as far as Portsmouth, when the British fleet, under Commodore Hotham, appeared in the mouth of the bay and bent their course for James river. A vessel laden with stores, belonging to the State of Virginia, lay becalmed near Hawkins hole ; a Captain of one of the State galleys, begged my assistance in covering the brig, as some of the enemy's tenders were coming up fast with a southerly breeze; I immediately got under way with my sweeps, and dropped below the brig ; the galley made the best of her way up James river, however I saved the brig. Judging the destination of the enemy up James river, I run my vessel for Portsmouth harbour, up Elizabeth river ; but the next morning we observed the fleet standing for Portsmouth, and as there was a large number of shipping then in the harbour, in company with two Captains of French ships, we offered our service to Major Mathurs, to



act under him in the fort, we being capable of bringing three hundred good men with us; who, with the matrosses of the fort, and the Militia, might have saved the place, and prevented the devastation committed there. The Major did not accept our offer, and set off with two field pieces towards North Carolina; this discouraged the inhabitants. The French ships and myself, ran as far up the river, so as to get a morass on each side of us; where we sprung across the river to defend ourselves as long as possible. I then with my barge's crew, returned to Portsmouth, to observe the motions of the enemy. I found the town deserted by all except a few; stores full of goods, and magazines full of state stores; We immediately sunk above a thousand stands of arms, and set fire to a ship of 22 guns, which lay ready for launching, and through solicitation, loaded a scow with bale goods for Mr. Dean, brother of Silas Dean Esq. (he being present) and secured them up the river. The enemy making their appearance on the wharfs, and commencing a heavy fire on our boat, I proceeded on board and consulted with the French captains, who promised to stand by me; but am sorry to say, that on notice given of a force coming against us, they blew up their ships, and left me to shift for myself. I was however determined to wait the issue. In about two hours, a large galley with a 24 pounder, one schooner and three gunboats, of one brass six pounder each, commanded by a Lieutenant of the Commodore, approached us. I had both my broadsides well loaded, and our colours were flying; They came so near, that judging my grape and musquetry of

service, we gave them a well directed fire, which obliged them to retire behind a point, where they held a consultation for near an hour. From all their fire we had as yet no man hurt. During their consultation, my men absolutely refused to fight such odds; I then ordered those who chose to go on shore, to step in the boat, in short they all left me but 17, and these mostly officers. We were determined to have one touch more, and then set fire to the magazines, for which purpose we placed a suitable match; the enemy having returned more determined, they kept their fire briskly up, until coming very near, they perceived no one on board (our barge being on the other side with our small arms); without raising our heads above the waist, we poured in a full broadside, which did great execution; and as they boarded one side, we jumped over the other, and put off for the shore.

Forgetting to wet the priming of the other side guns, they gave us the contents, being not twenty yards distance, killed two, and wounded four of our party. We soon got on shore, and from behind the trees in the swamp, galled them prodigiously. Upon this they produced the Lieutenant of marines, with a halter round his neck, and swore they would hang him if we did not desist: he being left behind through his own neglect. We then marched off, through the swamp without interruption. We understood from the inhabitants, and some of my officers, who were afterwards taken in the swamp, that we killed nine, and wounded eleven, among the former, was an Aid of Gen. Mathews and of the latter the commanding officer, who died

shortly after. I was pursued with some of my officers, and kept four days in a place called Dismal Swamp, without a mouthful to eat, half leg deep in mud every step, and seldom a drop of water, which brought on the piles. I counselled my officers to make for the roads at all events, and get to Nansemond river, they all refused except the first Lieutenant and clerk, who were determined to pursue my fate. We nearly gained the skirt of the Swamp before night, and there waited an opportunity to gain the other side of the road before morning; which we happily did, after hearing two of the patrols meet; and got down as far as Nansemond which we crossed in a small canoe. We had not quite crossed, when we perceived the enemy on the bank we had set off from, but were then happily out of their reach. From Nansemond we had to walk the length of fifty miles to Williamsburg. On my arrival at that place, I was sent for, by Governor Henry, of Virginia, who gave me his thanks for what little service I had rendered the state, with five hundred pounds for a horse and sulky (as I could not ride on horseback) to defray my expenses to Baltimore, promising me great acknowledgment on recovering the arms I had sunk at Portsmouth. While I remained at Williamsburg, I understood the remainder of my officers were taken in the swamp, owing to a boy who was sent out for the purpose of deceiving them, by pretending to shew them the way to the North Carolina road; he led them to an ambuscade of soldiers, placed for the purpose; the truth of which I had afterwards from Mr. Hayes, (a nephew

of General Conway) who was my Captain of Marines.

When I arrived at Baltimore was ordered on board the Continental ship Chacy, to carry her to France; she then lying at Patuxent with 700 hogsheads of tobacco on board. On board this ship I was near a twelve month, until she was so much cut by the ice, in the severe winter of 1779-80, that she was judged unfit for sea, and all the benefit I received was wearing out my cloaths. Being destitute, I took a brig of twelve guns, loaded with tobacco from Edentown, bound for Bourdeaux; was unfortunately taken by the Newfoundland fleet, bound to Lisbon, and taken to that port. Whilst there the son of the French Consul came on board the Frigate, who informed me if I could make my escape on shore he would protect me. I observed we lay in the hawse of a Portuguese man of war, when tide of flood; accordingly, one rainy night on the flood tide, about the middle watch, I stript all to my drawers, and with a knife in my mouth, was getting out one of the waist ports, when I was seized by the centinel of the cabin, for which I was closely confined and otherwise illtreated; My intention was to fall alongside the long boat, cut her panther, and drive athwart the Portuguese hawse. I was afterwards carried to Portsmouth, and confined to Forton Prison, from which place I made my escape in the following manner: Over or through the roof of the prison, at the top, there are ventilators for extracting the foul air from the prison; they are about eighteen inches square, and come through the ceiling that forms a cockloft; these we removed, and get-

ing on, and not being able to make sail, she got from us. Our damages obliged us to put into Cape Francois for main and mizzen masts &c. After we had made our repairs, we sailed for the Havanna, and on our arrival there found that an embargo was laid on all American vessels, in consequence of advice from Spain that America was making a separate peace. The Governor concluded the embargo should be taken off, provided two of the American vessels, mounting 16 guns each, were fitted out to cruize the coast of Cuba, which was complied with, and myself ordered the command of the Schuykill, of 16 six pounders, and 100 men, mostly Spaniards. After cruizing about a month without success, fell in with the British fleet of 27 sail of the line, and in the night, was taken and brought into New York and paroled on Long Island; having certificates with me of some prisoners I had put on board a flag from Jamaica, I procured my exchange. On my way to Philadelphia was offered the command of Hyler's boats at Brunswick, which I accepted. In these boats I captured a British gun boat, with 22 grenadiers and sailors, and retook a brig that was on ground near the narrows, for which the gun boat was the guard, together with a schooner with half the brig's cargo on board. Shortly after, the peace taking place, put an end to my services.

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OBSERVATIONS. — The intention of publishing the foregoing narrative is, to convey an idea of the sufferings of those who engaged in the naval department during the late war; and I would

be understood as considering myself one of the *least* of those sufferers.

This narrative may likewise serve to shew some peculiar disadvantages the Navy Officers laboured under; which, it is conceived, entitle them to a participation of the emoluments granted to their brethren in the land service: such as the allotments of land, and commutation monies, as it is commonly termed. The exclusion of the Navy Officers from these privileges is certainly unfair. It has been acknowledged by gentlemen of candor and abilities that, although the officers of the navy were not so numerous as those of the army, still their spirited conduct throughout the war was apparent; their services were essentially useful; their exposition to dangers was great; and their sacrifices and sufferings were equal to any other class of citizens. If this be true, why are they not to reap equal emoluments with their brethren in the land service? Even to procure a settlement of accounts for their known services, they are obliged to send for certificates to the most distant parts of the Continent.

Another difficulty at present peculiar to some of the officers is this:— The Whig merchants who were engaged in the shipping line previous to the late war, being mostly now unable to serve them, they are necessarily obliged to follow occupations with which they are unacquainted, or remain idle. The greater part of the persons at present engaged in the shipping way, being men of opposite principles, employ such as *have* acted, and now think, similar to themselves.

At the conclusion of the war, finding

myself destitute of employ, I was under the necessity of accepting the disagreeable business of transporting free negroes from this place to their respective homes. In the prosecution of which I incurred the appellation of Kidnapper. However, I can easily exculpate myself from this charge, as my transactions were authorized by some of the Magistracy, whose warrants I can at any time produce.

The *tried* and sincere friends of my country will, I trust, approve of my intentions in this publication. As for the opinions of the *opposite class*, they ever were, and still are to me, a matter of mere indifference.

LUKE MATTHEWMAN,  
An American Navy Officer in the late war.

### NOTES

THE CONTINENTAL COCKADE.—The officers who have lately come into camp are informed that it has been found necessary, amidst such frequent changes of troops, to introduce some distinctions by which their several ranks may be known, viz.:—Field officers wear a pink or red cockade; Captains, white or buff; Subalterns, green. The General flatters himself every gentleman will conform to a regulation which he has found essentially necessary to prevent mistake and confusion.—*General Orders*, Aug. 20, 1776.

All officers, as well warrant or commissioned, to wear a cockade and side arms.—*General Orders*, June 18, 1780.

The officers recommended to have white and black cockades, a black ground with a white relief, emblematic of the expected union of the two armies, American and French.—*General Orders*, July 19, 1780.


At a meeting of the Whig inhabitants of New York City returned from a seven years' exile, held at Cape's Tavern Nov. 20, 1783, it was *Resolved*, That the Badge of Distinction to be worn at the reception of the Governor, on his entrance in this City, be a *Union Cockade*, of black and white ribband, worn on the left breast, and a Laurel in the hat.—*Rivington's N. Y. Gazette*, Nov. 22, 1783.

*Boston*, June 16. The Minister of War has been pleased to direct, that the uniform of the troops raised and to be raised for the frontier service, be blue, faced and lined with white, for the infantry; and blue, faced and lined with red, for the artillery; the cockades to be black. Discarding the union cockade does not seem to meet with general approbation. It is therefore to be lamented, that any regulation should take place that will excite jealousy, or create uneasiness in the minds of our allies, who afforded us succour in the moment of distress and difficulty.—*Port-Roseway Gazetteer*, June 30, 1785.

Several persons, says a Philadelphia paper, have been taken up and committed for wearing in their hats a red and blue ribbon; the old continental cockade. \* \* \* there are many also who wear black cockades in their hats. \* \* \* the only manner in which the magistracy can effectually restore tranquility to the city is by prohibiting the wearing of these badges. It will no doubt be attempted to make a distinction between these two sorts of badges, the one will be called French because it bears some resemblance to it; the other American, though it is exactly like the British.

As to the blue and red cockade, it is

true that it is not the military badge recognized by our government as the American cockade; though it is composed of the colors in our national flag, and was worn in the beginning of our revolutionary war. It is true also, that it somewhat resembles the French.—*The Time Piece*, May 14, 1798. W. K.

ANOTHER FISH STORY.—*Boston, November 23, 1767*. We hear from Marblehead, that a Fisherman arrived there last Friday Night from the Banks of Newfoundland; the Master and People belonging to her give the following extraordinary account, viz. That on the Banks of Newfoundland being at Anchor, they were much surprised to observe that their Vessel ran direct in the Winds Eye at a considerable Rate, they hove their Log-Line and found she went above 7 knots, (not being able to purchase their Anchor) and continued so to their great Astonishment for 36 Hours, without being able to Account for this unusual Occurrence; when a large Whale hove up, seemingly much tired, they then hove towards him, and got so nigh as to discern the whale had got their Anchor in his jaws; they still hove nigher, and threw their Fish-Hook into the Ring of the Anchor, but being under fearful Apprehensions of Danger, they cut their Cable, and the Whale went off with their Anchor and part of the Cable. Several other Fishermen being in sight were greatly surprised to see this Vessel run direct to Wind ward without any sail, and hove up their Anchors and came to sail.  If any of the Whalemens should happen to take the Whale, they are desired to return

the Anchor to the Owner in Marblehead.  
PETERSFIELD.

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NAVAL SONG, 1812.—

Columbia's sons, a patriot band  
Inured to victory on the land,  
In spite of orders and decrees,  
Are gaining laurels on the seas.

Decatur, Jones, and gallant Hull  
Will give a lesson to John Bull;  
And Rodgers, too, who we well know  
Will conquer, when he meets the foe.

Of *Davy Jones*, no future fear  
From English sailors shall we hear;  
For now they wish to save their bones  
From being sent to *Jacob Jones*.

H. S.

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NEW YORK PROVINCIAL CURRENCY.—  
A tabular statement of the rates of sterling exchange in the province of New York at successive periods, would be convenient for reference.

Appleton's Cyclopædia *sub voce* "Money," gives the rates which obtained in the several provinces for a single year—the year 1767. In New York and East Jersey the rates were 175 to 171 5-7.

From manuscripts consulted I learn that in 1758 the guinea was valued in New York currency at £1 16 0  
The French pistole at 1 8 0  
The Spanish pistole at 1 9 0  
The Portugese moidore at 2 6 0  
The Johannes, or "joe," at 3 3 0

New York bills of three, five and ten pounds, and of twenty and forty shillings are mentioned; and "Jersey bills" of three and six pounds, and of three, twelve and thirty shillings. The Jersey pound was worth £1 1 8 New York currency.  
C. W. B.

THE GOOD OLD TIMES.—The citizens of Framingham, Mass., celebrated the 4th of July, 1827, in good style. Among the toasts drank on that occasion was the following, offered by Josiah Adams: "*The good old luxurious days of our Independent Daddies* :—when Bean-porridge was Turtle-soup, New Cider was Champagne, and Bread and Molasses was Wedding-cake." A. H.

LAST OF THE STAMPS.—*Newport, Rhode Island, December 7, 1767.* Last week his Majesty's Ship the *Garland*, Captain St. Johns, sailed from this port for England. She carried off—(what the Viper brought here about two Year since)—the memorable Stamped Paper, which was sent by the Mother Country, for the use of her Children in this Colony; and now returned, in order to be unpacked and distributed. REDWOOD.

BENEVOLENT SOCIETIES IN PHILADELPHIA.—The St. Andrews is by far the oldest of all the national societies of a relief and social character in the city of Philadelphia, having been founded by Scotchmen, for giving pecuniary assistance to their distressed countrymen, as far back as the year 1749. Next in age among our national societies of this class are the German, founded in 1764; the Hibernian, 1771–1792; Sons of St. George, 1772; the Welsh, in 1798; the Societé de Francais de Beinfaisance, in 1793–1805, and the Swiss Benevolent, in 1805.

F.

THE SEVEN WONDERS OF THE WORLD.  
1. A Stamp Act, and a duty on Tea at Boston.

2. A Bishop revived and authorised in Connecticut.

3. The British restraining our trade, keeping possession of our frontier posts, carrying away our money and laughing at us—and likely to do so forever.

4. Religious disputes revived in the enlightened State of Maryland.

5. Rhode Island granting the five per cent. duty to Congress, and New York refusing it.

6. The free constitution of Pennsylvania.

7. George Washington.—*Freeman's Journal, May, 1785.* W. K.

PIRATES ON THE VIRGINIA COAST.—Upon the 7th of this Instant a Ship arrived at *Bristol* from *Virginia*, and brought this account: That a Pyrate of 20 Guns and 120 men of Several Nations, came about the latter end of *March* upon the Coast, and took the *Indian King* of *London*, and also one Captain *Larty* of *London*, laden with Tobacco; but the *Shoreham*, one of his Majesty's Ships, arriving there at the same time, tho' weakly mann'd, Coll. *Nicholson*, the Governour, with several other Persons, went aboard her, engag'd the Pyrate, and after a fight of Ten Hours took her, and retook the two Merchants Ships before mention'd also, with the loss of the Collector, and six more kill'd and wounded. A considerable piece of service done in time, for had not this Pyrate been luckily prevented by the Courage and Conduct of the Governour, all the Homeward bound Ships for this Season had been in danger of being destroyed.—*The State of Europe, June, 1700.* W. K.

## QUERIES

GERMAN BIBLE OF 1483.—The Reverend Ferdinand Sievers, Lutheran pastor of Frankenlust, Saginaw County, Michigan, is the possessor of a Bible printed at Nuremberg in the year 1483. It contains a curious inscription showing that in the year 1602 this book was presented to the newly-founded library of the village of Namslau, in Prussian Silesia, by Johannes Kletke, citizen and baker of that village; "for the Lutherans, as heretics, to their ignominy and infamy, that they may see that their German Lutheran Bible has been falsified:—much omitted, *much added*."

This edition of the Bible contains the Apocryphal books of the Old Testament, but lacks the Pentateuch and several other historical books. Is it known to the libraries?

C. W. B.

FRENCH IN NEW YORK.—What was the period of the first introduction of the French Huguenot element into New York? Did any emigration occur before the Edict of Nantes?

ALBANY.

STEUBEN'S WILL.—Kapp, in his Life of Steuben, prints a will of the Baron. Can any of your readers give information as to where the original is preserved; the Records of the State of New York have been searched in vain?

SEARCHER.

PORTRAIT OF COLUMBUS.—Is there known to exist any authentic portrait of Columbus?

DIEGO.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN MAINE.—Do any records exist of the members of the

Church of England who settled at an early period at Pemaquid; Hough's volume does not give biographical detail?

E. R. T.

## REPLIES

WRECK AT THE ISLES OF SHOALS.—(II. 57.) Many years ago I collected some historical matters relating to the Isles of Shoals. Among my collections, I find some particulars relating to the wreck there, referred to by Review. Without producing evidence—as I design to discuss this more fully on another occasion—I will state the following facts: The Spanish vessel *La Concepcion*, from Cadiz for New York, was wrecked at the east end of Smuttys Nose Island on the night of January 14, 1813.

The Spanish ship Sagunto, Captain Carrero, from Cadiz for New York, arrived at Newport, R. I., on the 12th day of January, 1813, two days before the wreck of *La Concepcion*, having had a long passage of 73 days. The Sagunto proceeded to New York, reaching there February 2, 1813.

To the blundering recorder at the Isles of Shoals, and to some Boston newspapers, we are indebted for all this confusion.

Boston.

C. W. T.

DIGHTON ROCK INSCRIPTION.—(II. 83.) Dr. Rau's observations on the Dighton Rock inscription does not go beyond the facts, but it might appear from the way the subject is presented, that the error in connection with the Runamo Rock was not well understood. Such, however, is the case. It is referred to

amongst others, by the author of *Pre-Columbian Discovery* (p. lv.), Munsell, Albany, 1868. The point, however, is that the case is specially comprehended by the Boston committee, who have the subject of a monument to the Northmen in hand, and that all their actions will be made consistent with the latest information on the subject. The writer understands that the Antiquarians of Copenhagen have abandoned the inscription of Dighton Rock, as that of Runamo, and the alleged "Runic Rock" of Monhegan, Maine. It may also be added, that a monument to the Northmen who discovered America in the eleventh century has already been dedicated by the Icelanders in Minnesota.

DELTA.

INVERTED INTERROGATION POINTS.—(II. 58.) In the Spanish, whenever an exclamatory or interrogative sentence occurs of such length, or which from the construction, its nature is not immediately apparent, the distinguishing mark for punctuation is placed, as in the English at the conclusion, and also for the purpose of guiding the reader in giving proper modulation to the voice, and in order to convey unequivocally to the mind the idea intended, an inverted point of the same character is prefixed to the sentence.

The publisher of the book mentioned, realizing doubtless the manifest utility of such an arrangement of the modulative signs, employed it, perhaps, with the hope of its ultimate incorporation into our English system.

*Hudson, N. Y.*

EGO.

WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS, 1778.—(II. 58.) Washington had his headquarters at Fredericksburg, now known as Kent, Putnam County, New York, from October to November, 1778, when they were removed to Middlebrook.

W. K.

FALL OF THE ALAMO.—(II. 1.) Since reading the article on the fall of Alamo, by Capt. Potter, I have heard an old resident of San Antonio say, "I have often seen and spoken to the daughter of Capt. Dickenson, who was one of the survivors of the Alamo." Captain Potter says, "Toward the close of the struggle, Lieut. Dickenson, with his child in his arms, or, as some accounts say, tied to his back, leaped from the east embrasure of the chapel, and *both* were shot in the act;" further on he says, "A negro belonging to Travis, the wife of Lieut. Dickenson, who at the time was *enciente*, and a few Mexican women with their children were the only inmates of the fort whose lives were spared." The question is this: Was not the lady referred to by my informant born after the fall of the Alamo? There seems also to be a conflict in the following: Capt. Potter says, "According to Mr. Ruiz, then the Alcade of San Antonio, who after the action was required to point out to Santa Ana, the body of Crockett was found in the west battery just referred to, and we may infer that he either commanded at that point, or was stationed there as a sharpshooter;" Appleton's *Cyclopædia*, vol. I. page 236, says, "The Texans, unable to load in the hand-to-hand fight which



now ensued, clubbed their rifles and fought with desperation, until but six of their band remained alive. These, including Col. Crockett, surrendered to Castrillon, under promise of protection; but being taken before Santa Ana, they were, by his orders, instantly cut to pieces. Col. Crockett fell stabbed by a dozen swords." The life of Crockett very closely confirms the statement of Mr. Ruiz to Capt. Potter.

E. W. SPENCER.

*Council Grove, Kansas.*

#### FEBRUARY PROCEEDINGS OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The regular monthly meeting was held in the Hall of the Society, Tuesday evening, February 5, 1878, the President, Frederic de Peyster, LL.D., in the chair.

A minute of thanks to Mr. Benjamin H. Field, late Treasurer of the Society, for his long and faithful services, was reported by the Executive Committee and unanimously adopted.

A resolution of thanks was also voted to John Divine Jones, Esq., of New York City and Queens County, for his generous gift of three thousand dollars to the Society, thereby increasing the John D. Jones Publication Fund to the sum of six thousand dollars.

The usual routine of business concluded, the Honorable Erastus C. Benedict, LL.D., Chancellor of the University of the State of New York, read a paper on "The Evacuation of New York and the Battle of Harlem Heights, in September, 1776."

This engagement, though unimportant if the number of men engaged and the amount of killed and wounded on either

side be alone considered, Mr. Benedict held to be one of the most decisive of the war. It was not a defeat as Bunker Hill, nor yet a rout as the Battle of Long Island, but a fairly earned success; indeed, the first success of the American arms. The British left their encampment which stretched across the island from McGowan's on the east to the Apthorpe House on the west, attacked the Americans, and were driven back to their position.

In the number of the Magazine for January, 1877, our readers will find an account of the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of this battle on the heights overlooking Harlem Plains, and of the oration then delivered by the Honorable John Jay upon the fight and its consequences. In this complete and comprehensive address Mr. Jay located the scene of the principal engagement to be the crest of land upon which the celebration was held, lying between 117th and 119th streets. To this location Mr. Benedict made exception, and held that the action took place on the high ground to the northward, in the neighborhood of the Morris House, known as Harlem Heights.

At the close of the paper Mr. Benson J. Lossing moved a vote of thanks to the orator, and was seconded by the Rev. Thomas E. Vermilye in some interesting remarks; and the evening closed with a few words from the President, Mr. de Peyster, who, from early youth, has been familiar with the historic ground referred to. Mr. de Peyster differed from the conclusions of Mr. Benedict.

The paper will probably be the cause of a lively controversy, in which, whoever may suffer, the interests of history will be served.

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

NOVA-ZEMBLA (1596-1597). THE BARENTZ RELICS: RECOVERED IN THE SUMMER OF 1876, AND PRESENTED TO THE DUTCH GOVERNMENT. Described and explained by J. K. J. DE JONGE, Deputy Royal Archivist at the Hague. Published by command of his Excellency, W. F. VAN ERP TAALMAN KIP, Minister of Marine. Translated, with a preface, by SAMUEL RICHARD VAN CAMPEN. With a Map and a fac-simile of the "Scroll." 8vo, pp. 70. TRUBNER & Co., London, 1877.

The first discovery of the relics of this early Dutch navigator, who sought the way to China through the Arctic seas, was made by Captain Elling Carlsen, who was the first navigator known to have entered Ice Haven since the voyage of the Barents in 1596.

In 1594 the Government of the United-Provinces fitted out three vessels for the discovery of a northwest passage: *le Cygne*, commanded by Cornelis; *le Mercure*, by Isbrandtz; and *le Mesager*, by Willem Barentz de Terschelling. Of these Barentz alone took a northerly course, and reached the highest point of Nova-Zembla 77° 25' north latitude, which he named Is-Hock or *Cap des Glaces*. Further progress being stopped by the ice he returned to Holland, where he landed 16th September, 1594.

The next year a fleet of seven vessels under the command of Van Heemskerck, and with William Barentz as Chief Pilot, sailed from the Texel and touched the Coasts of Nova-Zembla and Asia, but was prevented by ice and fog from reaching beyond the 71st parallel. These successive failures discouraged the Dutch Government. The Council of the City of Amsterdam then stepped in, fitted out two vessels, and placed them under the direction of Willem Barentz. They left Amsterdam the 10th of May, 1596. The 5th of June they met the first icebergs. After an extensive and circuitous navigation they found themselves on the 25th of August shut in by the ice. Here began, for the hardy mariners, a series of incidents and privations which lend to the narrative a tinge of romance.

The report before us gives on account of the voyage of Mr. Gardiner's yacht "Glowworm," in July and August, 1876, to the spot where Barentz wintered. We will not describe the various articles discovered and rescued from

the custody of the bears. No. 16 of the collection contains nine strips of red flag stuff and fragments of black banner stuff, with a depending white cross or Cross of St. Andrew; joined together it furnishes a portion of the three stripes of the Amsterdam banner, namely, red, black, with the three crosses (of which only one now remains) and red. The objects found—one hundred and twelve in number—were generously presented to the Dutch Government, and are now in the model room of the Naval Department at the Hague.

THE PIONEERS OF UTICA: BEING SKETCHES OF ITS INHABITANTS AND ITS INSTITUTIONS, with the Civil History of the Place from the Earliest Settlement to the year 1825, the Era of the Opening of the Erie Canal. By M. M. BAGG, A.M., M.D. 8vo, pp. 665. CURTISS & CHILDS, Utica, 1877.

This is one of the most exhaustive and valuable local histories of which we have knowledge, and from the notices of it in the region which it describes we are satisfied that its correctness may be thoroughly relied upon. The original settlement made at Utica took the name of Fort Schuyler from the old fort at the fording place of the Mohawk. The first chapters of the book are devoted to a history of the taking up of the original tract of the territory, which was originally a grant of 22,000 acres made by George II. in 1734, for the benefit of Governor Cosby, whence it took the name of Cosby's Manor. In 1774 it was sold for arrears of quit rents and purchased by General Philip Schuyler, on joint account of himself, General Bradstreet, Rutger Bleecker, and John Morin Scott. In chapter II. we find an account of the first charter of Utica in 1798. Chapter IV. begins the history of the town under the second charter of 1805; chapter V. that under the third charter enacted in 1817, when Utica was set off from Whitestone and created into a separate town.

The volume is full of interesting biographical detail concerning many distinguished families whose names are identified with the history of this beautiful city, and will be found indispensable to any one interested in the study of the history of the State of New York.

THE COMING EMPIRE; OR, TWO THOUSAND MILES IN TEXAS ON HORSEBACK. By H. F. McDONALD and N. A. TAYLOR. 12mo, pp. 389. A. S. BARNES & Co., New York, 1877.

We have here a volume which cannot but prove fascinating to all who are fond of accounts of scenery and the adventure of travel. The authors are enthusiastic travellers, show a keen appreciation of nature and a devotion to the lone star state which we have found common to all who have visited this wonderful country, of which our authors make the prophecy that come what may, whatever changes and revolutions may shake the American continent and disperse its people, Texas will forever stand *one indivisible*—the mightiest empire of them all. In the next census her population will we are told exceed that of Ohio; in that which follows that of New York. This is what we used to hear termed "tall talk," but we have no disposition to dispute the assertion. If "Nature and her God" have knitted Texas together for a great destiny, then as is said man cannot put her asunder; otherwise she must submit to the inevitable law of subdivision and change. Intermixed with charming descriptions of nature and country are valuable accounts of the origin of the different settlements and the characteristics of the population.

HISTORY OF WINDHAM COUNTY, CONNECTICUT. By ELLEN D. LARNED. Volume I. 1600-1760. Published by the Author, 1874. 8vo, pp. 582. CHARLES HAMILTON, Worcester. Map. 1874

This first volume of the history of this ancient town brings its record to the middle of the last century. We regret extremely that the promise of a second volume, which should continue the account to the present day, has not yet been fulfilled. It is rarely that we find a work so comprehensive as this, which was pronounced at the time of its publication as rather an exposition of New England character, institutions and life, illustrated in the settlement and history of a frontier country, than a local sketch. The accomplished authoress is familiar with her subject in every branch, and her work is the recognized standard authority upon all subjects whereof it treats. It is divided into four periods: the first, from 1676 to 1726; the second, from 1726 to 1743; the third, from 1740 to 1746, when the well-known Separatist religious movement shook the orthodox world; and fourth, from 1745 to 1760, closing with the French and Indian War.

THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW. JANUARY-FEBRUARY, 1878. A. S. BARNES & Co. New York.

The publishers have never supplied a better number than this. The article on the Elements of National Wealth, by David A. Wells, and on Money and its Laws, by W. G. Sumner, will interest the large and increasing class of persons who are making political economy a study. Sumner's place in history is treated by Ben. Perley Poore, and the Count of the Electoral Vote by Alexander H. Stephens. These are the only articles with which we have properly any thing to do; but the reader will find amusement and instruction in First Impressions of Athens by Mr. Freeman, and in Dr. Samuel Osgood's learned disquisition on Modern Love. His treatment of it is not as realistic, nor his physiological analysis as keen as that of Stendhal. Goethe's Werther is the text of this first chapter. Werther was an example of what Stendhal calls *amour-passion*, which is hardly the recognized German type, which is usually *amour-sentiment*. From this metaphysical dilemma we expect to see the accomplished Doctor extract himself triumphantly in a second paper, the theme of which is to be "Modern love in its positive traits and serious worth." We are glad to be promised such treatment of the universal god, who, as the poet tells us, "rules the court, the camp, the grove."

THE COMMONWEALTH RECONSTRUCTED. By CHARLES C. P. CLARK, M.D. 8vo, pp. 216. A. S. BARNES & Co., New York.

This is an effort to present a picture of the existing condition of the political system of the United States; to ascertain the true root of our difficulties, and recommend a method of change, which the author does in a new system of elections. We find in his reasonings and suggestions a great deal that is excellent, while we differ with him in many of his conclusions. Mr. Clark considers that we are doing the best that we can under our present system, and that the present machinery of political organization is indispensable to democratic affairs, from the fact that its methods and instruments, caucus, convention, committee and platform, are the inevitable processes of every popular movement. The new system proposed contemplates a popular constituency and a college of representative electors chosen by it. The tenure of office he would have undefined and at the pleasure of the elective as well as the appointing power. We can not go further into details. The book is well worth perusal and study.





*Don E. J. A.*





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## THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS BEFORE THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

**T**HE gallant struggle of the American Colonies against the gigantic power of Great Britain, and their ultimate triumph, resulting in the establishment of a new and mighty empire on the Western Continent—that most remarkable and ever-memorable struggle for independence—has constantly excited the admiration and reverence of mankind during the century that has majestically passed away. Standing at the shadowy portal, through which the thronging events of the coming ages will in like manner pass, it is well for the members of our great republic to frequently look back, and keep well in view the lofty motives and soul-inspiring enthusiasm with which the Fathers laid the foundations of our noble and wonderfully enduring government. When we stand in the Yosemite Valley in California, and contemplate the endless groves of beautiful trees, the carpet of wild flowers, and the placid river reflecting majestic outlines, while the roar of cataracts, leaping as it were from the clouds, fills the air, we feel transported with the charming scene, the Paradise of Creation! But when we raise our eyes to the tremendous rocky walls that surround this Eden, lifting our thoughts to another world, we see that the incomprehensible forces of nature, under the guiding hand of God, have hollowed out that amazing chasm now blooming with beauty. Like those giant walls may the strong barriers of our National Constitution, the result of the struggles and prayers of many generations, continue to surround and protect our nation in a land wonderfully prepared for us in the slow movements of ages; and as the fertilizing rivers transport the varied soil of the mountains, may the sand washed down upon us from the later upheavings of Europe eventually be clad with the verdure and flowers of spring!

The long religious struggles in Europe, which so largely led the way to the founding of the English Colonies in America, also developed in them the germ of political liberty. When the Puritan sought in a



also at Annapolis, where a vessel with its cargo of tea was burned. The East India tea ships were not even allowed to approach New York and Philadelphia. All these proceedings increased the patriotic excitement occasioned by the Boston "Massacre" of 1770 and other memorable occurrences.

Massachusetts has always justly claimed a large share of the interest that is awakened by the history of the early days of the American struggle for freedom. The closing of the port of Boston by Act of Parliament, the annulling of her charter, the grievous oppression Massachusetts suffered excited the sympathies of the other Colonies to such an exalted degree that they cheerfully made her cause their own, feeling that their interests were identical, and being roused to a high pitch of righteous indignation by watching the rapid progress of events in Boston, where the British Ministry appeared to be rehearsing a terrible drama of slavery prepared for the American people. The condition of Massachusetts might well arouse a deep feeling of sympathy in the other Colonies. All felt that the overthrow of her charter was fraught with consequences perilous to the liberties of all. We know how bravely Samuel Adams led resistance in that Colony with his eminent cousin, our second President. Great indeed and heroic are the memories that are awakened by thoughts of the ardent movement of Massachusetts in the cause of freedom. A spirit of united resistance to tyranny appeared throughout the land. In Virginia, patriotism, encouraged by the exertions of Jefferson and Lee, had found a voice in the burning eloquence of Patrick Henry, whose glowing words have kindled the enthusiasm of many a generation of readers since that day. The heroism of Rhode Island is equally memorable. Accustomed to self-government, and as yet unassailed, she threw everything into the scale of freedom, and grandly supported her injured sister Colony. The patriotic conduct of the Rhode Islanders in burning the royal sloop "Liberty" in 1769, and the schooner "Gaspee" three years later, for enforcing the unjust revenue laws, showed the spirit of the people. The same spirit animated New York, Connecticut and the other Colonies, save that Rhode Island's statesmen, being used to a large measure of freedom, saw that the steps now taken led to the establishment of an independent empire. "Ward, of Rhode Island," says Bancroft, "regarded America as the rising power that was to light all the nations of the earth to freedom."

In March, 1773, Virginia, followed by Rhode Island, led the way in establishing the celebrated committees of inter-colonial correspondence between the Legislatures of the different Colonies. Soon after the

destruction of the tea in Boston Harbor, on the 31st of December, 1773, Samuel Ward wrote from Westerly, Rhode Island, urging the appointment of committees of correspondence and inquiry in the various towns of that Colony. Such measures contributed powerfully to the slow, but irresistible march of the Revolution. Governor Ward wrote as follows: "As Liberty under God is the parent of wisdom, virtue and happiness, and the only security which mankind can have for the enjoyment of those invaluable blessings, we have beheld with the deepest concern the many unconstitutional, violent and unjust attacks which have been made upon the liberties of America. Many of these attempts have been defeated by the brave resistance of the Americans; and the Colonies in general have gloriously asserted their just rights and privileges, and placed the justice of their cause in a light as clear as that of the meridian sun. But the Administration, insensible of every humane, generous and equitable sentiment, still continues its vile attempts to enslave us. There is therefore the greatest necessity that a general, firm and inviolable Union and intercourse of all the Colonies, and of the several towns in each Colony, should immediately take place, that the Ministry may be effectually convinced that an opposition to their measures hath been made, not by a few interested, designing or factious persons, but by the joint concurrence of people of all ranks in the several Colonies. To put this matter beyond a doubt, and convince the world that America is firmly united, and resolved never to give up their liberties but with their lives and fortunes, we think a matter of the greatest importance. We are sensible that the appointment of committees of correspondence by the several Governments will have a most happy tendency in this respect. But we think something further necessary, and can think of nothing so effectual as the calling town-meetings in every town in the several Colonies, in order to publish to the world their sentiments upon the present alarming situation of affairs, particularly their detestation of, and determination to oppose to the last extremity, the base attempts made by the East India Company to establish tea-factors and tax-gatherers amongst us; and to declare the firm resolution of every town to support each other, and especially our most worthy brethren in Boston, who have so nobly sustained and defeated every ministerial attempt upon their liberties; and also to manifest our unalterable resolution to live Freemen, or die gloriously in defence of our liberties. \* \* \* We have only to add that the crisis, the important crisis, which must determine whether the inhabitants of this vast continent shall be the greatest and most happy people in the universe, or a race of vile,

miserable, unhappy, wretched slaves, appears to us to be now come. \* \* \* Let us then stand firm, and whatsoever our hands find to do in this glorious cause do it with all our might! May that God who delivered our Fathers from the cruel hands of oppression and persecution, and preserved them amidst all the dangers and distress attending their settlement in a wilderness destitute of every necessary of life, and inhabited by numerous tribes of fierce savages, give us wisdom and virtue to defend those liberties they so gloriously purchased and transmitted to us, and to establish our just rights and privileges upon a foundation which shall last as long as the sun and moon endure!"

It was soon perceived that another Congress must be summoned. The City of New York enjoys the honor of being the place where the Congress of 1765 assembled to protest against the Stamp Act, and the elder Robert R. Livingston and Francis Lewis of our Colony were prominent members of that body. But nine Colonies, however, were represented on that important occasion, which proved the memorable first step toward a union of the Colonies. The immortal Continental Congress of 1774 was called together with a distinct purpose in that direction, and New York and Rhode Island are proud of suggesting this renowned assemblage. The Sons of Liberty in New York recommended a General Congress early in May, (the last proceeding of importance before their dissolution,) and seem to have acted separately from the freemen of Providence. A town meeting in Providence on the 17th of May, 1774, without knowledge of the New York proceedings, ("unsolicited from abroad," says Bancroft,) proposed a General Congress of all the Colonies; and on the 15th of June the Rhode Island Legislature chose Samuel Ward and Stephen Hopkins as delegates to the Continental Congress that subsequently met in Philadelphia, they being the first delegates appointed from any Colony.

The gathering together of the remarkable men that formed the first Continental Congress was accomplished in the primitive manner of the times. Journeys then were ordinarily performed on horseback, accompanied by a body-servant similarly mounted. The diaries of John Adams and Governor Ward describe their travelling generally in this manner. When Governor Ward was about to leave his home in Westerly, R. I., to attend the session of the first Congress at Philadelphia, while his horse and that of his faithful servant, Cudjoe, stood saddled at the door, he called his household about him, and kneeling in the midst of them, invoked the Divine aid and blessing upon the great cause of liberty in which he was engaged, offering himself, his means and his family to the

cause of his country; and having thus committed the issue to Providence, went cheerfully to perform his solemn duty.

John Adams' diary is full of amusing and interesting details of his journey from Boston to Philadelphia. He mentions the earnest and enthusiastic manner of the reception of the Massachusetts delegates when passing through Connecticut—that noble Colony soon to be widely known as the land of Jonathan Trumbull, Israel Putnam and Roger Sherman. He was favorably impressed with the appearance of New York. He speaks of the city's being well built, covering less ground than Boston; "the streets," however, "being vastly more regular and elegant," "and the houses more grand as well as neat. He was informed that the politics of the Colony were swayed by two families, the Livingstons and Delancys. He gives graphic details of the wealth and luxury prevailing among the merchants of Philadelphia, and describes their elaborate banquets. Governor Ward's diary is much more condensed, but it preserves many valuable details of the proceedings of the Congress; and in his admirable letters, he gives a vivid illustration of the lofty patriotism animating the leaders of that memorable period. His first thought and prayer were for his country. John Adams' reports of the debates of the Continental Congress, while very incomplete, are extremely valuable, and show how freely and in what a practical spirit measures were discussed.

When that remarkable body of patriots first met at Philadelphia, in September, 1774, the persistent oppression of the mother-country had already weakened the feeling of allegiance to the throne, and a few far-seeing men were dreaming of a glorious future in store for the United Colonies. The delegates who first reached Philadelphia visited each other for the purpose of exchanging views, until a sufficient number had arrived; when they met at the New Tavern, on the 5th of September; went to Carpenters' Hall, and liking the place, agreed to hold the Congress there. The Hon. Peyton Randolph, having been the Speaker of the Virginia House of Burgesses, and therefore well accustomed to presiding, was chosen President, and Mr. Charles Thompson, not a delegate, but a Philadelphia gentleman of great patriotism and merit, was made Secretary.

It was a noble gathering that assembled in Carpenters' Hall that day. There were Washington, Patrick Henry and others, from Virginia; the two Adamses from Massachusetts; John Jay and Philip Livingston from New York; the two Rutledges and Gadsden from South Carolina; Roger Sherman from Connecticut; and Stephen Hopkins and Samuel

Ward from Rhode Island; besides many others well known to fame. The Father of his Country came from Virginia with a reputation for talent, probity and military knowledge, and a modest unconsciousness of the brilliant career awaiting him. Patrick Henry, who had electrified the Virginia Assembly with his eloquence, was about to pour it forth again during this memorable Congress. The two Rutledges displayed marked legal ability. Samuel Adams and Governor Ward were animated with a profound, burning patriotism, and with Richard Henry Lee, who arrived the following day from Virginia, labored steadfastly and earnestly in the silent advance toward Independence.

The Colony of New York sent some excellent representatives and others of unequal merit. The New York delegation were principally chosen by the City and County of New York, and the members thus elected—James Duane, John Jay, Philip Livingston, Isaac Low and John Alsop—were adopted by Westchester, Dutchess and Albany Counties as their representatives; the County of Suffolk electing Colonel William Floyd as their delegate; Orange County subsequently choosing Henry Wisner and John Herring, and Kings County sending Simon Boerum. The idea prevailing in this delegation from our City and State was to propose a Confederation of the Colonies, to be directly connected with the British throne, and probably intended to enjoy a greater degree of practical independence even than the present Dominion of Canada. All the Congress agreed in the necessity of respectfully remonstrating with the King on the arbitrary conduct of his Ministers, while taking such bold steps as showed their fixed determination to preserve their liberties. The question immediately arose as to the relative importance of the different Colonies in voting. Patrick Henry made his celebrated speech on the necessity of basing representation on numbers, saying: "Government is dissolved. Fleets and armies and the present state of things show that government is dissolved. Where are your landmarks, your boundaries of colonies? We are in a state of nature, sir! It is known in my province that some other Colonies are not so numerous or rich as they are. I am for giving all the satisfaction in my power. The distinctions between Virginians, Pennsylvanians, New Yorkers and New Englanders are no more. I am not a Virginian, but an American. Slaves are to be thrown out of the question, and if the freemen can be represented according to their numbers, I am satisfied." Governor Ward of Rhode Island took his stand for the equal voice of each Colony in the important deliberations before them. The historian Bancroft quotes his words as follows: "Every Colony should have an equal vote.

The counties of Virginia are unequal in point of wealth and numbers, yet each has a right to send two members to its Legislature. We come if necessary to make a sacrifice of our all, and by such a sacrifice the weakest will suffer as much as the greatest." As the Congress possessed no proper materials for ascertaining the importance of each Colony, the question was settled as thus proposed, and each Colony cast one vote. "About two o'clock on the sixth of September," writes Governor Ward, "an account arrived of the troops and fleets cannonading the town of Boston, which occasioned an adjournment to five o'clock P. M." This was founded on General Gage's removing the powder belonging to the province of Massachusetts that was stored at Cambridge. In reality no blood was spilt, but the rumor aroused the country. Governor Ward wrote to his family from Philadelphia, saying: "A noble ardor prevailed here. We proposed turning the Congress into a Council of War, (had the news been confirmed, which was much doubted,) and some had thoughts of removing to Rhode Island that we might be on hand to give any necessary advice." He writes in his diary the following day, the 7th: "Mr. Duché read prayers and lessons, and concluded with one of the most sublime, catholic, well-adapted prayers I ever heard." John Adams, in a letter to his wife, says: "Mr. Duché appeared with his clerk and in his pontificals, and read several prayers in the established form, and then read the collect for the seventh day of September, which was the thirty-fifth Psalm. You must remember this was the next morning after we heard the horrible rumor of the cannonade of Boston. I never saw a greater effect upon an audience. It seemed as if Heaven had ordained that Psalm to be read on that morning. After this Mr. Duché, unexpectedly to everybody, struck out into an extemporary prayer, which filled the bosom of every man present. I must confess I never heard a better prayer, or one so well pronounced. Episcopalian as he is, Dr. Cooper himself never prayed with such fervor, such ardor, such earnestness and pathos, and in language so elegant and sublime, for America, for the Congress, for the Province of Massachusetts, and especially the town of Boston. It has had an excellent effect upon everybody here." Governor Ward writes of the business accomplished the same day as follows: "A Committee of two from each Colony was appointed to prepare a statement of the rights of the Colonists, the infringements of those rights, and the means of redress. A Committee to report what Acts of Parliament affect the trade of the Colonies."

The Committees met the following day, and John Adams gives an

interesting account of the debates in the great "Committee for stating rights, grievances and means of redress." Colonel Lee, of Virginia, said: "The rights are built on a fourfold foundation; on nature, on the British Constitution, on charters, and on immemorial usage. The Navigation Act—a capital violation." Mr. Jay, of New York, remarked: "It is necessary to recur to the law of nature and the British Constitution to ascertain our rights. The Constitution of Great Britain will not apply to some of the charter rights. A mother-country surcharged with inhabitants, they have a right to emigrate. It may be said, if we leave our country we cannot leave our allegiance. But there is no allegiance without protection, and emigrants have a right to erect what government they please." Mr. Rutledge, of South Carolina, said: "Emigrants would not have a right to set up what constitution they please. A subject could not alienate his allegiance." Colonel Lee, of Virginia, replied: "Can't see why we should not lay our rights upon the broadest bottom, the ground of nature. Our ancestors found here no government." Mr. Duane, of New York, remarked: "Upon the whole, for grounding our rights on the laws and constitution of the country from which we sprung, and charters, without recurring to the law of nature; because this will be a feeble support. Charters are compacts between the Crown and the people, and I think on this foundation the charter governments stand firm. England is governed by a limited monarchy and free constitution. Privileges of Englishmen were inherent, their birthright and inheritance, and [they] cannot be deprived of them without their consent. Objection; that *all* the rights of Englishmen will make us independent. I hope a line may be drawn to obviate this objection." Mr. Galloway, a delegate from Pennsylvania, who subsequently proved to be a royalist in disguise, spoke very strongly for the rights of the Colonies, saying: "I have ever thought we might reduce our rights to one—an exemption from all laws made by British Parliament since the emigration of our ancestors. It follows, therefore, that all the acts of Parliament made since are violations of our rights." This large committee was at first composed of twenty-two members, representing eleven Colonies, two being appointed from each. A week later two delegates arrived from North Carolina, and were added to the great committee, now numbering twenty-four, Georgia not being represented in that Congress. This committee was of great importance, and, says John Adams, met "every morning for many days successively, till it became an object of jealousy to all the other members of Congress." The President adjourned the Congress from day to day, from

the seventh instant until the twelfth, awaiting the action of the committee, in compliance with a resolve of the seventh instant."

On the 9th of September Governor Ward writes to his family: "We are as unanimous as I expected. Much the largest part of the province is hearty in the cause of liberty. The Southern gentlemen have been used to do no business in the afternoon, so that we rise about two or three o'clock, and sit no more that day; and as we meet late in a morning, we shall sit a long while." The same day he wrote in his diary: "The Committee met, agreed to found our rights upon the laws of Nature, the principles of the English Constitution, and charters and compacts; ordered a sub-committee to draw up a declaration of rights." He mentions this sub-committee as sitting on the 10th, 12th and 13th, and on the 12th says it "made some progress in stating the Rights." John Adams, who was a member of this sub-committee, says: "After a multitude of motions had been made, discussed, negatived, it seemed as if we should never agree upon anything. Mr. John Rutledge of South Carolina, one of the committee, addressing himself to me, was pleased to say: 'Adams, we must agree upon something. You appear to be as familiar with the subject as any of us, and I like your expressions, 'The necessity of the case,' and 'excluding all ideas of taxation, external and internal.' I have a great opinion of that same idea of the necessity of the case, and I am determined against all taxation for revenue. Come, take the pen, and see if you can't produce something that will unite us.' Some others of the committee seconding Mr. Rutledge, I took," he continues, "a sheet of paper, and drew up an article. When it was read, I believe not one of the committee was fully satisfied with it, but they all soon acknowledged that there was no hope of hitting on anything in which we could all agree with more satisfaction. All, therefore, agreed to this, and upon this depended the union of the Colonies. The sub-committee reported their draught to the grand committee, and another long debate ensued, especially on this article, and various changes and modifications of it were attempted, but none adopted." The Great Committee itself made a partial report to Congress on the 22d. Governor Ward writes that day: "The Congress met, made and ordered public a request to the merchants not to import, and also to direct a delay of orders already sent, until the Congress came to resolutions on that point. The Committee met afterwards." On the 24th, Congress discussed the report of the committee, and according to the official journal *resolved*, "That the Congress do confine themselves at present to the consideration of such Rights as have been



infringed by Acts of the British Parliament since the year 1763, postponing the further consideration of the general state of American Rights to a future day." The Congress, on the 28th of September, considered Mr. Galloway's plan for a union between Great Britain and the Colonies, writes Governor Ward, but ordered it to lie on the table. On the 1st of October, Congress resolved unanimously, "That a loyal address to his Majesty be prepared, dutifully requesting the royal attention to the grievances that alarm and distress his Majesty's faithful subjects in North America, and entreating his Majesty's gracious interposition for the removal of such grievances, thereby to restore between Great Britain and the Colonies that harmony so necessary to the happiness of the British Empire, and so ardently desired by all America."

On the 6th, Governor Ward writes: "Received letters by express from Boston, (from the Committee of Correspondence there,) laying before us the distressed state of the town, and desiring advice." The Boston Committee wrote: "That the entrenchments upon the Neck" are "nearly completed; that cannon are mounted at the entrance of the town; that it is currently reported that fortifications are to be erected on Corpse Hill, Bacon Hill, Fort Hill, etc.; that the fortifications, with the ships in the harbor, may absolutely command every avenue to the town, both by sea and land;" \* \* \* "that from several circumstances there is reason to apprehend that Boston is to be made and kept a garrisoned town; that from all they can hear from Britain, [the] Administration is resolved to do all in their power to force them to a submission; that when the town is inclosed it is apprehended the inhabitants will be held as hostages for the submission of the country." The following day, Congress appointed a committee to draft a letter to General Gage, remonstrating with him upon raising fortifications around Boston. The resolution directs mention to be made of the soldiers offering various insults to the people, which must irritate their minds, and if not put a stop to, involve all America in the horrors of a civil war. On the 10th, the committee reported the draught of a letter to General Gage, which was ordered to be copied and signed by the President on behalf of the Congress. The letter was read the following day as adopted. On the 14th of October, the Congress adopted important declarations and resolves; those on "Rights" being reported from the Great Committee, and drafted by John Adams; those on the "violation of rights" being reported from a special committee, and drawn up by John Sullivan of New Hampshire. "In adopting a declaration of Rights," says Bancroft, "the division which had shown itself in the

committee was renewed. 'Here,' said Ward of Rhode Island, 'no Acts of Parliament can bind. Giving up this point is yielding all.' Against him spoke John Adams and Duane." On the 12th Governor Ward wrote in his diary: "Considered the Bill of Rights. That relative to Statutes, and that mentioning our Fathers not having forfeited by emigration, I did not like." "Two years afterwards," says John Adams, "these two Declarations" (of Rights and Violations of Rights) "were recapitulated in the Declaration of Independence." On the 22d of October, Governor Ward sums up the proceedings of the Congress in a letter to his son Samuel, (afterwards a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Revolutionary Army,) as follows. He says: "We have formed a bill of rights, a list of grievances, and for redress of those grievances agreed upon a petition to the King, a non-importation, non-exportation and non-consumption agreements, an address to the people of England, another to those of America; have stigmatized Bernard, Hutchinson, and other wretches in Boston, and advised resistance and reprisals in case any attempt should be made to seize and transport any person to England for trial. Our proceedings are to be sent to all the Colonies and the West Indies, to invite them to join us." Mr. Galloway's plan for a union between Great Britain and the Colonies was finally dismissed by the close vote of six Colonies to five. It was a very dangerous movement, and all traces of it were expunged from the journal of the Congress. Governor Ward mentions his voting against the plan. The same day, in consequence of Peyton Randolph's indisposition, Henry Middleton was chosen President. On the 26th of October, the Congress signed the petition to the King, and dissolved the session. The American Commissioners in England, of whom Dr. Benjamin Franklin was the leader, were requested to present the petition to his Majesty.

The following January, when their petition and addresses, which reached England in December, were brought before Parliament, the Earl of Chatham rose in the House of Lords, and moved to address the King for "immediate orders to remove the forces from the town of Boston as soon as possible." He said: "My lords, the way must be immediately opened for reconciliation; it will soon be too late; an hour now lost may produce years of calamity. This measure of recalling the troops from Boston is preparatory to the restoration of your peace and the establishment of your prosperity. When your lordships look at the papers transmitted us from America, when you consider their decency, firmness and wisdom, you cannot but respect their cause and wish to make it your own. For myself, I must avow that in all my reading,—and

I have read Thucydides, and have studied and admired the master-states of the world—for solidity of reason, force of sagacity and wisdom of conclusion under a complication of difficult circumstances, no nation or body of men can stand in preference to the general Congress at Philadelphia. The histories of Greece and Rome give us nothing equal to it, and all attempts to impose servitude upon such a mighty, continental nation must be vain.” The influence of the Ministerial party proved too powerful, and the Earl of Chatham’s resolution was not adopted. His praise of the Continental Congress was well deserved. What do we not owe to those true-hearted patriots! The practical common-sense they displayed is as remarkable as their unselfish, patriotic zeal. The members of that Congress were the leading men in their respective Colonies, and accustomed to sway public opinion on a comparatively limited, yet important theatre of action. They had inherited all the broad feelings and thoughts of their English ancestors, enlarging them still further by direct contact with nature on a grand scale, and were in the habit of regarding themselves as rightfully equal members of a great empire. The principle of equality in voting by Colonies, so early established, bore within it the germ of the American Senate, that balance wheel of our republican form of government. The first session of the Continental Congress was a most important step toward the foundation of our government. The wonderful endurance of our republic, and the steadfast manner in which it has survived the shocks of a century, are principally due to the circumstance of its being the legitimate outgrowth of the colonial system. The men of the Revolution had grown up accustomed to certain fixed ideas of local self-government, and the happy preservation of these principles has largely caused the surprising growth and prosperity of our great nation. The Federal government, so marvellously adapted to our position on this vast continent, arises naturally out of the principle of colonial equality recognized in the Continental Congress, and now preserved in the American Senate, with the addition of the important factor of a House of Representatives based on *population*, as Patrick Henry proposed; while the President, during his short term of office, truly represents our ancestors’ English Kings, inasmuch as he wields more power than many an Emperor. Our forefathers were devoted to the English throne, and nothing but the most arbitrary attacks upon their liberties could have weakened their allegiance and caused our happy deliverance from the thralldom of a Court. On the other hand, the development of our Federal Union from the original group of Colonies may be compared to the growth of the Indian banyan

tree, which shoots off branches in every direction that droop to the earth, and taking root, become trees themselves, but retaining their connection with the parent stem, rise in proud equality, forming stately bowers that cover the land with their wonderful foliage; one sap, one life-blood vitalizing the gigantic, ever-growing structure overshadowing the nations. When we remember the impetuous haste with which the Southern States precipitated the clash of arms in 1861, as if feeling the weakness of their cause, and anxious to commit their best men irretrievably to its support, we cannot but admire the self-restraint of the Congress of 1774. Confessedly the most remarkable array of statesmen ever before assembled, and equally distinguished for deep religious feeling, they were unwilling to invoke the God of battles until every honorable means of reconciliation had been exhausted; and while their self-control was misinterpreted, they placed on record a noble example for all succeeding ages.

The petition of the American Congress to the King requesting the repeal of the obnoxious statutes, met with an unfavorable reception in Parliament, owing to the great influence of the Court, and was finally rejected. Dr. Franklin, who had been treated with great distinction by the Earl of Chatham, now sailed for America to take part in the impending struggle; while the British Government resolved to reinforce the troops in Boston, and to send General Howe to command the royal forces. In New England, minute men prepared everywhere to respond to the first call of wounded liberty. On the evening of the 18th of April, 1775, the British Governor of Massachusetts, General Gage, sent Lieutenant-Colonel Smith and Major Pitcairn to seize the military stores at Concord. We all know how Paul Revere and Samuel Prescott aroused the minute men that night. The following morning the memorable engagements at Lexington and Concord took place, followed by the retreat of the British to Boston, sorely harassed by the minute men. "Here once the embattled farmers stood, and fired the shot heard round the world," says Emerson of the battle of Concord; and truly the consequences were most momentous. From the 19th of April, British authority in America rapidly declined. The news of the bloodshed at Lexington and Concord thrilled through the land and aroused the most exalted outburst of patriotism. From every New England Colony thronged the hardy yeomanry, eager to assist their Massachusetts brethren. The British soldiers, retreating to Boston under an irregular but deadly fire from the rural riflemen—who hastened from the neighbouring farms and villages—soon found themselves besieged in Boston

by a hastily assembled army of patriots. General Nathanael Greene was appointed by Rhode Island to command the brigade the Colony soon raised—known at first as the Rhode Island Army of Observation—and exerted himself to the utmost to thoroughly drill and discipline his soldiers. His efforts were crowned with great success, and the brigade became pre-eminent in the patriot army for high military training. In Connecticut, General Putnam left the plough to hasten to the scene of action, and New Hampshire sent her yeomanry. While Rhode Island and Connecticut retained control of their troops, General Artemas Ward, of Massachusetts, became gradually acknowledged as Commander-in-Chief.

When the Congress of 1775 assembled at Philadelphia on the 10th of May, the whole aspect of affairs had changed since the previous Congress met. Then, many members cherished hopes of reconciliation, and even now, when war-clouds were drifting madly across a hitherto comparatively calm sky, a number still hesitated, or hoped that a short contest would convince the British King that the colonies were in earnest in defending their rights, and thus the appeal to arms would result in the preservation of their liberties, while they still might remain members of the British Empire. Viewing this in the light of subsequent events, it seems strange that the previous year even Washington and John Adams were opposed to separation; but a common language and a common faith were powerful, though unconscious, agents in strengthening the many ties that had been maintained between the mother country and her distant children. The tenacity with which the present British Colonies cling to the idea of remaining members of the mighty empire that has so long controlled the commerce of the world, can alone bring home to us the ancient feeling of loyalty that once prevailed in the thirteen United Colonies. But those American statesmen who were in advance of their countrymen saw that the last hope of reconciliation vanished with the appeal to arms. Henceforth the two countries must follow different destinies; and when the smoke and flame of the long and heroic struggle for freedom had been dispelled by the final recognition of our independence, it would be seen that it was wisely ordained, and that it was for the advantage of both countries to separate. The ties of commerce and of a common language would eventually remove all traces of the long-cherished bitterness of feeling, and both England and America meanwhile would be stimulated to the greatest exertions; England by the desire to found new Colonies in the far East, in order to recover her lost prestige and subject other realms to her control; and

America by her zeal to maintain and establish the right to a proud position among the nations of the earth, which she had won by her terrible struggle. And how fortunate for America that at the outset of her arduous contest, the Colonies had the wisdom to send their best representatives, as before, to the Congress at Philadelphia. Virginia re-elected Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, and her other historic representatives; Massachusetts added John Hancock to her illustrious roll of members; the New York delegation was greatly strengthened: in addition to the well-trying Philip Livingston, John Jay (the future Chief Justice of the United States), James Duane, William Floyd and the other three members of the Congress of 1774, now appeared Robert R. Livingston, Jr. (afterwards Chancellor of the State), Francis Lewis, Philip Schuyler (soon to be known as an able General,) and George Clinton. Truly, the important Colony of New York was nobly represented in the Continental Congress! What associations cluster around those honored names! Dr. Benjamin Franklin appeared as one of the delegates from Pennsylvania. The Rhode Island Assembly again sent Governor Samuel Ward and Governor Stephen Hopkins as their representatives. When unanimously re-electing them on their return from the first Congress, the Assembly passed a vote of thanks for "the wise, spirited and faithful discharge of the important trust reposed in them." The members of the Continental Congress met like ambassadors from separate friendly powers about to cast their fortunes in common. As when their ancestors left the visible shores of old England, and crossed the broad Atlantic to seek a refuge on the Western Continent, the American statesmen averted their gaze from the throne at Westminster, and boldly guided the bark of the infant republic through the storms and breakers of civil war to seek a sure haven and refuge for liberty; not rearing her beautiful temple on the shifting sands of constant revolutions, but founding it on the granite rocks of Independence and Federal Union. The impetuosity with which the New England people rushed to the battle-field at the first call of wounded freedom, has remained a characteristic of the American people to this day. From the New England hive, swarm after swarm of hardy, active colonists has been thrown off, who, seeking the ever-advancing western frontier of civilization, have built up the mighty West as a counterpart, in many respects, of New England. And the resemblance was shown at the outbreak of our civil war. Then, the North waited patiently, as their forefathers had done, until a fatal blow was aimed at liberty; and then, rising as one man, repeated on a larger scale the memorable uprising of New England in 1775. In the early days of

the Revolution, Americans spoke especially of the inhabitants of their respective Colonies as their countrymen. In the first outburst of patriotic feeling, strange to say, the representatives of the Southern Colonies were the most anxious to throw down the colonial boundaries, especially in the organization of the army. Governor Ward, in his valuable letters, speaks of this tendency as unwise, believing as he did in preserving the happy balance between local authority and that of the Congress, which has proved so important an element in our national prosperity. The Southern representatives at first evinced a most foolish jealousy of New England, and the wise choice of the most illustrious Southerner to command the New England army before Boston had a most happy influence in partly allaying this unfortunate feeling. Nearly every day Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole to take into consideration the state of America, etc.; and Governor Ward, on such occasions, was, with one exception, always called to the chair, from the 19th of May, 1775, to the 13th of March, 1776, shortly before his death; the President, Hon. Peyton Randolph, first paying him this compliment, and it being constantly renewed by his successor, John Hancock. Governor Ward, from the time of the Stamp Act, had been in favor of Independence, and had predicted it as a certainty. John Adams now argued strongly in favor of this important step, but was much opposed by Mr. John Dickinson, of Pennsylvania, who led the party that finally prevailed on the Congress to prepare a second petition to the King. John Adams attributes the loss of Charlestown, with the death of General Warren, and the loss of Canada, to the effect on the Congress of the active, but unwise exertions of this gentleman against Independence.

On the 13th of May, Dr. Lyman Hall, from the parish of St. John's, Georgia, was admitted as a representative of that extensive parish. He was the first delegate from Georgia, but did not represent the whole Colony. On the 18th, Governor Ward mentions in his diary the news of the taking of Ticonderoga. The cannon captured at this fortress and Crown Point by Ethan Allen, Seth Warner and the Green Mountain boys, were transported across the snow the following winter to Boston, and were of infinite service on the Heights. On the 19th, John Hancock was chosen President, on Peyton Randolph's returning to Virginia. John Adams, finding that the Southern members were strongly in favor of electing George Washington as Commander-in-Chief, threw all his influence in his favor, making a strong speech, in which he mentioned him, not by name, but as "a gentleman from Virginia," (then present,) "whose skill and experience as an officer, whose independent fortune,

great talents, and excellent, universal character would command the approbation of all America, and unite the cordial exertions of all the Colonies, better than any other person in the Union." The modest Virginian immediately retired to the library. John Adams mentions in a letter that Washington attended the meetings in uniform. Finally, on the 15th of June, according to the official journal, the Congress resolved itself, as usual, into a Committee of the Whole, Governor Ward presiding. After some time the President, John Hancock, resumed the Chair, and Governor Ward reported the following memorable resolutions: "Resolved, That a General be appointed to command the Continental forces raised, or to be raised, for the defence of American Liberty. That five hundred dollars per month be allowed for the pay and expenses of the General." "The Congress then proceeded to the choice of a General by ballot, and George Washington, Esq., was unanimously elected." Thomas Johnson of Maryland nominated him to this exalted position, which Washington accepted the following day. When the name of the Father of his Country is mentioned, all instinctively feel an emotion of reverence. What do we not owe to that extraordinary man! Extraordinary, not for any fitful brilliancy of genius, but for his remarkable balance, resulting in the happy union of all the forces of his elevated nature working toward unselfish, magnanimous ends. He was a type of the noble characters that inaugurated the Revolution; and how fortunate in surviving to carry his glorious work to completion, and receive with due modesty the grateful homage of his countrymen! The success of the Revolution apparently turned upon the fortunate event of the 15th of June, 1775. The Massachusetts General, acting in command of the forces besieging Boston, was unequal to the situation, while the choice of George Washington aroused the army to an extraordinary degree of enthusiasm, when they learned from personal observation what a providential selection of a General had been made by the statesmen at Philadelphia.

"It gives me inexpressible pleasure," writes Governor Ward to his son, "to find General Washington so universally acceptable to all the troops. I was sure, from the intimate acquaintance I had with him, his appointment would certainly be attended with the most happy consequences." He writes to General Washington: "I most cheerfully entered into a solemn engagement, upon your appointment, to support you with my life and fortune, and shall most religiously, and with the greatest pleasure, endeavor to discharge that duty." Washington's journey to Boston was accompanied by demonstrations of respect and




enthusiasm. On the way he heard the news of the battle of Bunker Hill, and the gallant conduct of the Americans under Colonel William Prescott. It inspired him with renewed confidence in the ultimate success of the struggle for liberty. Much remained for him to do in disciplining the army. General Greene had already made great progress with his men; and Professor A. P. Peabody, in his Centennial oration, (delivered at Cambridge, Massachusetts,) states that "only in the Rhode Island regiments under General Greene did [Washington] discover aught of military order, system, discipline and subordination." We all know the fortunate results of Washington's generalship at Roxbury and Dorchester, culminating in the evacuation of Boston by the British under General Howe. But a long and anxious period of eight months was to roll away before that happy day came to crown the hero with one of the first of his many laurels. John Adams' correspondence with his wife, a woman of strong, good sense, tinged with romantic feeling, shows the spirit of New England at that day, as her letters, like the chorus in a Greek tragedy, reflect the emotions of the people as mighty events were unfolded before them.

On the 18th of June, General Washington's commission was agreed to in Congress, and Artemas Ward and Charles Lee were chosen Major-Generals. The following day, Philip Schuyler and Israel Putnam were raised to that rank, and Horatio Gates was made Adjutant-General. Governor Ward's letters to his son Samuel, (then a captain in General Greene's brigade in the army before Boston,) and to his brother Henry, Secretary of State of Rhode Island, throw much light on the movements of the period. On the 22d of June, he writes to the latter: "Yesterday the famous Mr. Jefferson, a delegate from Virginia in the room of Mr. Randolph, arrived. I have not been in company with him yet. He looks like a very sensible, spirited, fine fellow, and by the pamphlet which he wrote last summer he certainly is one. \* \* \* A resolution was passed this week, desiring that Connecticut would send what forces they have (not already employed) to Boston as soon as possible, and Rhode Island and New Hampshire to send all they have raised also there. By the best accounts something of consequence will soon be done there. Should we receive a check, all your firmness will be necessary to keep up the spirits of the Colony, and I doubt not but you will exert every nerve to do it. In no case whatever can submission be thought of; for slavery is worse than all the calamities of war and death in any shape whatever. What innumerable losses and distresses the Dutch suffered for years! Their firmness at length

prevailed over all opposition. The same resolution will certainly deliver us. \* \* \* Since writing the above, we have an imperfect account that our army has met with a check at Bunker's Hill. If it be so, and should prove so considerable a one as to make it necessary to raise new levies, your most strenuous efforts for that purpose I dare say will not be wanting, and I hope may prove successful. The Congress came to a resolution after the appointment of the Generalissimo [George Washington] that they would stand by him with their lives and fortunes. To retreat will be certain destruction, and tho' the road through which we are to march is rugged, a fixed resolution will surmount all difficulties, and land us in the beautiful, safe and happy regions of liberty."

On the 23d of June, Governor Ward reported from the Committee of the Whole the very important resolutions passed in favor of a Continental currency. This report was adopted by Congress, and had the system been carried out on a moderate scale, it might have proved of at least as much benefit as the legal-tender currency, to which we are accustomed. Had all the early measures of the Congress of 1775 corresponded in wisdom with the appointment of Washington as Commander-in-Chief, the long agony of the Revolution would apparently have been materially shortened. While the new Continental currency possessed a purchasing power, and the spirit of sacrifice for liberty still wore the engaging hues of patriotic enthusiasm, was the time for earnest, rapid measures. But Mr. Dickinson's party held back the Congress by contradictory resolutions.

From the 28th to the 30th of June, Congress was engaged in discussing rules and regulations for the government of the army, which were finally adopted. On the 5th of July, another petition to the King was agreed upon, and the following day a declaration was adopted, setting forth the causes and necessity for their taking up arms. This was to be published by General Washington upon his arrival at the camp before Boston. On the 8th, the petition to the King was signed by all the members present. An address to the people of England was also prepared, and a letter to the Lord Mayor of London; all of these documents were ordered to be sent by Mr. Richard Penn. On the 6th of July Governor Ward writes to Captain Samuel Ward: "Your General [Washington] hath arrived before this time, and I hope, established discipline and good order in the camp before now. I did not mention your name to him, but shall do it in a letter soon. He is worthy of every regard in the power of his country to show him. A vessel hath just arrived which left London



24th May. The Lexington affair had not got home then. I hope the army will unanimously consider that the cause they are engaged to defend is the greatest and best that ever arms were taken up for, and will fully answer their country's just expectations. The Congress are taking measures for the support of the army, and for the defense of the colonies: besides which, nothing proper for the common good will be omitted, I hope. \* \* \* You will soon have some companies of riflemen from here: they are already on their march; and this day a German, dressed in his hussar uniform, offered his services to some of the Congress, and said he could get fifty men in three weeks. His arms were a short carbine as horsemen usually carry, a pair of pistols and a broadsword. I believe he will be countenanced." On the 20th of July, Congress resolved, "that General Schuyler be empowered to dispose of and employ all the troops in the New York department, in such manner as he may think best, for the protection and defence of these Colonies, the tribes of Indians in friendship and amity with us, and most effectually to promote the general interest; still pursuing, if in his power, the former orders from this Congress, and subject to the future orders of the Commander-in-Chief." On the 29th, Governor Ward writes to his son as follows: "General Washington speaks very handsomely of the army in general, and I doubt not, will soon have everything in the best order. Colonel Warren, the President of the Provincial Congress [of Massachusetts,] is appointed Paymaster-General of the army. Every thing which the General [Washington] has asked of the Congress hath been cheerfully done. You will soon receive a fine supply of powder, and cloth for tents; and nothing in the power of Congress will be wanting to make the army happy. Colonel Nightingale and Mr. Russell arrived in town yesterday from Baltimore, in Maryland. The military spirit and ardor of that province, they say, is vastly high, and they are still higher in Virginia." The same day Congress adopted a system of paying the army, and established the quotas of money to be contributed by each Colony. The following day Congress discussed an insidious resolve of the British House of Commons, passed on the 20th of February, allowing a suspension of colonial taxation, with the approval of the King and Parliament, so long as a Colony made provision for the common defence, etc., and submitted proposals to that effect. No relief was promised from duties for the regulation of commerce. Congress declared this resolution to be unreasonable, and refused to listen to any such proposition. On the 31st of July, Congress adjourned until the 5th of September, and the members returned home. A quorum was not obtained

until September 13th. In a letter to General Washington, written from Philadelphia on the 17th of September, Governor Ward says: "I am much obliged to you for the kind notice which you were pleased to take of my son, and the favorable light in which you view him. \* \* \* With pleasure I observe that you have lately received some powder, and expect some lead and arms from our colony. I hope the measures taken by Congress and by the Colonies will furnish you with such quantities as will allow the freest scope to your military plans and operations. The innumerable difficulties which you must have encountered in the command of an army under different establishments, in want of arms and ammunition, regular supplies of provisions, a military chest, experienced officers, a due organization, and a hundred other things, I have some, though not an adequate conception of; but, from the accounts which I have the pleasure to receive from my friends in Congress, I doubt not but your wise and steady attention to the service will surmount all obstacles, and that by the opening of the next campaign you will have the finest army under your command which ever was formed in America. \* \* \* The Congress began to do business last Wednesday, but many members are still absent. Col. Lee, Col. Harrison and Mr. Jefferson, and the North Carolina delegates and some others have not arrived. Mr. Randolph has been confined with a fever two or three days. Messrs. Wythe and Lee are under inoculation, so that Col. Nelson alone attends from your Colony. We entered into the consideration of your letters yesterday. \* \* \* We have no news here from England later than the 18th of July. By the King's answer to the petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commons of the City of London it appears he is determined to pursue and enforce his measures. God be thanked that however severe the contest may prove, we are now in such a happy way that the end must be the establishment of American liberty." On the 30th, Governor Ward writes to his brother Henry Ward: "The gentlemen of Georgia deserve the character I gave you of them; they are some of the highest sons of liberty I have seen, and are very sensible and clever. Saving that unhappy jealousy of New England, which some weak minds are possessed with, great unanimity prevails in Congress. Our measures are spirited, and I believe we are now ready to go every length to secure our liberties. John Adams' letter has silenced all those who opposed every decisive measure. \* \* \* That the issue of this same contest will be the establishment of our liberties I as firmly believe as I do my existence; for I never can think that God brought us into this wilderness to perish, or, what is worse, to become


slaves, but to make us a great and free people." Two of John Adams' letters, containing very positive views, and criticising Mr. Dickinson and others, not by name, had been intercepted and published by the British. In his diary John Adams gives an interesting account of the debates in Congress on the 23d of September, on the subject of appropriating five thousand pounds for the purchase of clothing for the army; and on the 4th of October he gives the more important debate on the subject of modifying the non-importation and non-exportation agreements, as these had begun to work disaster for the country. Mr. Robert R. Livingston, of New York, took a prominent part in the debate. On the 5th, Mr. Francis Lewis, also of New York, moved "that it be recommended to the Council of Virginia that they take such measures to secure themselves from the practices of Lord Dunmore, the Governor, either by seizing his person, or otherwise, as they think proper." On the 7th, Governor Ward mentions in his diary "that a committee was appointed to consider the subject of fortifications ordered to be erected on the Hudson river; and that Gen. Wooster was ordered—unless counter-ordered by Gen. Schuyler—to come down to the Highlands, leave as many troops as the managers of the works think necessary, and repair with the remainder to New York." It was of vital importance to prevent the British from seizing the Hudson river, as was afterwards attempted in Burgoyne's campaign. The result would have been as momentous as the opening of the navigation of the Mississippi during our civil war, for the colonies would have been cut in twain. On the 3d of October, Governor Ward presented the instructions of the Rhode Island Legislature for building an American fleet. John Adams gives the debates on this proposition. It was violently opposed, and laid on the table, but was finally adopted in December. Much of the month of October was employed in discussing the state of trade. John Adams' record of the debates ceases with the close of that month, to be resumed the following February, and on the 9th of December he returned to Massachusetts for six weeks or more.

On the 11th of November, Governor Ward writes to his brother Henry as follows: "I have seen one letter from a faithful and very sensible friend in England, which gives us a most minute account of affairs. 'The King,' says he, 'who out-does Lord Mansfield himself in dissimulation and lust of power, is at the head of the violent measures pursued and planning. Councils are frequently called, various conclusions formed, but all agreeing in this, to make an absolute conquest of America. The King hath himself prevailed upon Sir Jeffry Amherst to

come over next spring; has engaged him a reinforcement of 20,000 men—2,000 of them Highlanders, 3,000 Roman Catholics, the remaining 15,000 to be Hanoverians and Hessians.' The people of New York have moved, and are daily moving, their families and most valuable effects into the country. A very strong fortification is building on the Highlands, about forty-five miles above New York, which, it is said, will effectually command the North River: two battalions are ordered by Congress to be immediately raised in the Jerseys for the defence of that post and the neighbouring coasts. In one word, all hopes of a speedy reconciliation are given over, and we unanimously determine to push the war with the greatest vigor."

At this period the Colony of Rhode Island was experiencing severe trials, occasioned by its early and patriotic adherence to the cause of Independence, as Captain Wallace, who commanded the British ships on that coast, sent parties of marauders to lay waste the country already menaced by the fleet, the shores lying naturally much exposed to a hostile expedition. Governor Ward writes to his brother at that time: "I have traced the progress of this unnatural war through burning towns, devastation of the country, and every subsequent evil. I have realized, with regard to myself, the bullet, the bayonet and the halter; and compared with the immense object I have in view, they are all less than nothing. No man living, perhaps, is more fond of his children than I am, and I am not so old as to be tired of life, and yet, as far as I can now judge, the tenderest connections and the most important private concerns are very minute objects. Heaven save my country, I was going to say, is my first, my last, and almost my only prayer."

On the 2d of November he writes: "The evening before last, two ships arrived from England. The advices which they bring (amongst which is a proclamation for suppressing rebellion and sedition,) are of immense service to us. Our councils have been hitherto too fluctuating; one day measures for carrying on the war were adopted; the next, nothing must be done that would widen the unhappy breach between Great Britain and the Colonies. As these different ideas have prevailed, our conduct has been directed accordingly. Had we, at the opening of the Congress in May, immediately taken proper measures for carrying on the war with vigor, we might have been in possession of all Canada, undoubtedly, and probably of Boston. Thank God, the happy day which I have long wished for is at length arrived; the Southern Colonies no longer entertain jealousies of the northern; they no longer look back to Great Britain; they are convinced that they have been pursuing a phantom, and that



their only safety is a vigorous, determined defence. One of the gentlemen, who has been most sanguine for pacific measures, and very jealous of the New England colonies, addressing me in the style of *Brother Rebel*, told me he was now ready to join us heartily: 'We have got,' says he, 'a sufficient answer to our petition; I want nothing more, but am ready to declare ourselves independent, send ambassadors,' and much more which prudence forbids me to commit to paper. Our resolutions will henceforth be spirited, clear and decisive. May the Supreme Governor of the universe direct and prosper them! The pleasure which this unanimity gives me is inexpressible. I consider it a sure presage of victory. My anxiety is now at an end. I am no longer worried with contradictory resolutions, but feel a calm, cheerful satisfaction in having one great and just object in view, and the means of obtaining it certainly, by the divine blessing, in our own hands."

During the autumn, the subject of re-enlisting and remodelling the army occupied the attention of General Washington and of the Congress; and it proved a question beset with many difficulties. General Greene corresponded with Governor Ward on the subject. That distinguished soldier was strongly in favor of a Declaration of Independence.

On the 12th of December, Governor Ward writes to his brother: "The contest between the two countries involves a question of no less magnitude than the happiness or misery of millions, and when we extend our views to future ages, we may say millions of millions. Our views, therefore, ought to be extensive, our plans great, and our exertions adequate to the immense object before us, and such, I doubt not, will be the conduct of Congress." On the 8th of January, Governor Ward writes to one of his family as follows: "The King's speech to Parliament opened 27th October, is come to hand. He calls all rebels; charges us with endeavoring to amuse the nation by professions of affection for them and loyalty to him, and meaning only to gain time to make our preparations for a general revolt, in order to set up an independent empire; says he has greatly augmented his naval and land forces; determines to be decisive; has the offer of foreign assistance, if necessary, and the strongest assurances that his operations in America will not be interrupted by any foreign disturbances. Thus you see your [father's] sentiments are confirmed, that the savage ever meant to make himself an absolute, despotic tyrant. May the reward of his hands and wicked heart be given him! Every idea of peace is now over, and all possible exertions are to be made for the common defence."

On the 31st of December, the American forces under Montgomery

and Arnold attacked the city of Quebec, under cover of a heavy snow storm. The gallant Montgomery fell; and on Arnold's being wounded, the intrepid Christopher Greene led his detachment on, headed by Captain Morgan's company, the company commanded by Governor Ward's son (Captain Samuel Ward) occupying about the centre of the forces. These brave men carried the first barrier in the face of a fire of artillery, and as Governor Ward writes: "They carried two barriers, attacked the third, and fought gloriously with much superior forces, under cover also, four hours. After being overpowered by numbers, they were compelled to surrender as prisoners of war, and are very kindly treated. In Colonel Greene's detachment there were one hundred and twenty killed and wounded, nearly half killed." The tidings of this disaster reached Congress on the 17th of January, 1776, by dispatches from General Schuyler. On the 4th of March Governor Ward writes: "The Congress is taking measures for the defence of all parts of the continent. New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the lower counties [Delaware] and Maryland are made a middle department under General Schuyler; Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia the Southern department under General Lee, who will soon be detached there. A committee is appointed by Congress to contract for the making of arms. This is a matter of immense importance. General Lee is fortifying New York. The Captain of the enemy's ships gave out that they would fire on the town. General Lee, in return, gave out that if they did he would chain a hundred of their best friends together, and the first house they set on fire should be their funeral pile." General Howe evacuated Boston soon after this, and Washington entered the patriot city in triumph, having expelled the British by seizing Dorchester Heights.

On the 26th of March, Governor Ward died of smallpox, after an illness of two weeks, aggravated by his severe overwork in Congress. John Adams in his autobiography writes: "In this gentleman, who died of the smallpox, we lost an honorable, a conscientious, a benevolent and inflexible patriot." His physician (Dr. Young) wrote to Henry Ward, Secretary of State of Rhode Island, on the subject, and says: "So full, so firm, so capable, so industrious was Mr. Ward, that his loss will be severely felt in the Congress. One at least of the mighty advocates for American Independency is fallen in Mr. Ward, to the great grief of the proto-patriot Adams." Congress attended the funeral as mourners, and imposing solemnities were observed on the occasion. His native Colony repealed the oath of allegiance in May, and in a little over three



months after his death Congress passed the immortal Declaration of Independence, the foundation of our liberties, a declaration to be hallowed by the blood of thousands during the long and terrible war that followed this action of the Continental Congress.

O wondrous days of the American Revolution! A spirit of the purest patriotism inspired the people under the leadership of mighty statesmen and warriors. Whatever sufferings were to be experienced, whatever losses to be endured, were met in a noble, magnanimous manner that has immortalized the Fathers of the nation. While we honor their memories, let us follow their high-minded example, treasuring the recollections of our own unparalleled contest to preserve a wonderful inheritance, and then our career as a people will be assured; for, like those true patriots, we may prove worthy of Heaven's blessing on our renewed national prosperity. But should our career be once more triumphant, we must keep that example before us in our onward progress, nor lose sight of those great deeds in the attractions of the present hour. The traveller in distant Lombardy, entranced with the loveliness of Lake Como and her sister lakes, whose transparent waters reflect the hues of gorgeous sunsets in amazing beauty, might be tempted to linger forever in the charming scene, a type of the delights of modern culture and æsthetic improvement; but he raises his eyes to the eternal Alps, and there alone he traces the grander outlines of true sublimity. Like that majestic chain stand the Fathers of the nation, a wonderful brotherhood, and as the rising sun of memory illumines each bold outline and noble feature, we bow in reverence, feeling that their mighty deeds and names remain forever. Like the snowy Alps, robed in the pure mantle of our veneration, they stretch boldly across the horizon of history—beacons and watch-towers of fame and example for all succeeding ages. The storms of the revolution beat wildly upon them, the lightnings of tyranny flashed, and many a valiant hero fell, like the avalanche loosed from its native crags. But immutable firmness prevailed over the storm, and the stars of peace shone once more on the immortal leaders and their heroic countrymen, equally patriotic, who may be likened to the lesser ranges that unite the sublime past with the smiling plains of modern prosperity; while, like the rosy sunset on the highest Alp, a peculiar glory above his brethren irradiates the noble memory of Washington.

JOHN WARD

## COL. PETER FORCE—THE AMERICAN ANNALIST

The War of Independence calling the husbandman from the plough, the artizan from the workshop, and the student from his book, and interrupting for eight years the regular action of civil life, left, at its close, hundreds of penniless veterans uncertain whither to direct their steps, or to what form of industry to apply the impaired and waning strength which had survived the hardships of the camp and the dangers of the battlefield. Long after the last roll of the drum had died away you might have recognized, in the erect form and measured tread of the farmer at the side of his oxen, the lessons which he had learned of Steuben on the parade ground of Valley Forge or Morristown; or in the prompt, brief greeting of the landlord as he met you at the door of some wayside inn, tones formed in the daily exercise of unquestioned command. It was under the humble roof of one of these veterans, William Force, and in a farm house not far from the Little Falls of the Passaic, in Essex County, New Jersey, that Peter Force was born on the 26th of November, 1790. The maiden name of his mother was Sarah Ferguson, and he was the second of her six children. Neither his father nor his mother lived long enough to know how important that event, which for the moment seemed to interest them alone, was to become in the literary annals of their country. Peter's birthplace was not destined to be his home. While he was yet an infant his parents removed to New Paltz, in Ulster County, New York, and before he had completed his fourth year, to New York city.

It was not in wealth and population alone that the New York of that day differed from the New York of this, and by none was the difference so keenly felt as by those who knew the importance of giving a good education to their children. That admirable system which, beginning with the Free School, leads with regular progression to the Free College, had not yet been formed, and the parent's first duty was often too great a burthen for his purse. The more expensive private schools were beyond the reach of the retired soldier, and William Force was compelled to content himself with sending his son to one of very moderate pretensions, under the charge of Samuel Grantor. Plato tells us that it cost Socrates much laborious examination of himself and of others to discover why the Delphian oracle had called him wise, and the discovery, briefly summed up, amounted only to this: that human


wisdom is a consciousness of ignorance. It cost Peter Force but a short time to become convinced that whatever knowledge he might have started with, he was adding nothing to it at school, and taking his destiny into his own hands, he engaged himself as a journeyman in the printing office of William A. Davis. It was a happy choice. The printing press and the anvil have inspiring associations for the young American. Franklin was within seven months of the grave when Peter Force first saw the light, but when the boy of twelve took the types in his hand the thought of the part which those simple little instruments of good and of evil had borne in the growth of Franklin's mind and fortunes, took possession of his own mind, and elevated and strengthened it with a noble emulation. So rapid was his progress, and so remarkable the development of his character, that before he was turned of sixteen he was made sole director of the office.

Among the works which passed through his hands in those laborious days was the second edition of the renowned "Diedrich Knickerbocker." Bloomingdale, where the office stood, was full of Dutch associations; Dutch names on the doors and the signs and the corners of the streets, forcing themselves upon the attention of the observant young printer in his daily passings to and fro. In one of his chapters, Irving had inserted, somewhat, perhaps, at a venture, a few family names of genuine Dutch euphony to round off a descriptive sentence, as a painter throws in an additional figure, or a tree or two to preserve the harmony of his composition. The young printer, whose historical instincts were already beginning to work within him, thought that the addition of two or three local names would heighten the verisimilitude of the picture, and accordingly inserting them in the text, he sent the proof to the author. Mr. Irving, upon whom a good thing was never lost, wrote his approval in the margin, and the sonorous if not euphonious patronymics have held their place with characteristic dignity in every subsequent edition. It was not until many years afterwards, and when far advanced in his "Life of Washington," that the master humorist learnt that the guide on whose unerring accuracy he had so confidently relied during a part of his labors in real history, was the journeyman printer who had entered so heartily into the spirit of his imaginary annals.

Meanwhile the direction which his teacher had failed to give to his studies, was given to them with more force than mere preceptive teaching would have given, by the evening circle that gathered around his father's fireside. His father, as I have already said, had been a soldier

of the Revolution, and when he established himself in New York his house became a favorite gathering place for his former companions in arms. The conversation of those old soldiers naturally turned upon the scenes in which they had been so long engaged, and many a striking incident, many a characteristic action, many an adventure unknown to the professed historian, was related during the long winter evenings, and while the memory of the actors was still undisturbed by intervening associations. "Why," said the thoughtful boy, as he listened to the thrilling narrative, "why should things like these be forgotten?" And he resolved to write them in a book and call it "The Unwritten History of the War in New Jersey." It was a labor of love, filling up every leisure hour and training him for those habits of personal investigation and cautious study of tradition, which proved so useful to him in his subsequent career. But this mental discipline and the gratification of his taste were the only fruit that he reaped from his labors. The manuscript was lost when the work was already nearly completed.

While he was thus standing upon the threshold of the studies which were to be the studies of his life, another war, the war of 1812, came to claim his attention in another form, as an actor, not as a recorder. Faithful to the traditions of his family and obedient to the call of his country, he entered General Ebenezer Stevens' division of detached militia as a volunteer, and served through two campaigns of three months each; first as private, and then from the 6th of May, 1812, as sergeant, and in the following year as sergeant-major. The service, it was true, was not severe, the first three months of duty having been passed at the Narrows, and the second in the city; but if "the campaign of the Hampshire grenadiers was not useless to the historian of the Roman Empire," neither were the practical lessons of the 115th Regiment of the 10th Brigade lost upon the future author of the "American Archives." One of the greatest difficulties of the mere author lies in forming—not lively, for imagination will give them—but accurate conceptions of things he has never seen; and there are few historians who would not write a better narrative of a campaign after a month in the field, or see more clearly into the workings of political machinery after a term in the National or State Legislature. The forms of office are a burthen, and routine contracts and enfeeble the mind; but there is a certain knowledge of them which is essential in order to enable us to give them their proper place, and the ignorance which despises them is more dangerous than even the undue reverence which makes itself their slave.



It would be an error, however, to attribute Peter Force's entrance into active life solely to his desire of fitting himself for the study of history. A vigorous frame, an active temperament, a quick perception of character, a keen appreciation of humor, combined with a rare strength of purpose and energy of will, led him to regard the study of human nature and that kind of excitement which is found in acting with men and upon them, as a pleasure in itself. And the same inward admonition which led him, when a boy of ten, to abandon the school in which he was not learning what he knew he wanted, for a printing office in which labor was to lead to independence, kept him through all his active years, and in the midst of engrossing cares, keenly alive to all the duties of an American citizen. His fitness for active life was recognized by all who saw him in it. None knew him better than his brethren of the Typographical Society, and they chose him for their President at the age of twenty-two. In 1815 he received from the Governor of the State the commission of Ensign, and in 1816 that of Lieutenant.

But now a new path was opened for him, a path which was to lead him directly to the goal towards which his thoughts had constantly been directed from the moment when he first heard the story of the Revolution from the lips of men who had seen what they told. His employer, Mr. Davis, had obtained a contract for the printing of Congress, which made it necessary for him to establish a printing office at the seat of Government. One of his first steps was to secure the services of the foreman who had conducted the business of the office in New York so skilfully, and in fulfillment of this engagement Peter Force removed to Washington.

In this new field he soon became known as a public-spirited, just-minded, industrious citizen, who had the welfare of the community at heart, and the honest ambition to do his duty as a member of a commonwealth fully entitled to the best services of all her children. Continuing his military career he was commissioned by the President of the United States, on the 21st of September, 1824, as Captain of Artillery in the Washington militia; on the 26th of February, 1830, as Lieutenant-Colonel of the Militia of the District of Columbia; on the 23d of December, 1840, as Colonel of Artillery, and in May, 1860, as Major-General in the same body; offices of which he scrupulously fulfilled the duties, setting a luminous example, during a life filled with other labors and checkered by many cares, of what the American citizen owes to the military system of his country.

In civil life his services were equally faithful and far more laborious.

In June, 1822, he entered the City Council as Councilman, was soon chosen President, and though absent when his term of service expired, was re-elected. After several years' service in the Council he was raised to the second branch of the Municipal Assembly as Alderman: became President of this board also, and closed his municipal career by presiding over the city government as Mayor from 1836 to 1840. And even then, although he might, both from his advancing years and the absorbing nature of his literary engagements, have claimed exemption from other duties, he accepted what in his eyes was a place of labor and responsibility, an appointment as one of the inspectors of the Penitentiary, and fulfilled its duties till near the end of his life with punctual assiduity.

I have entered into these details of his official career, not merely because they serve to illustrate the character of the man, but because I believe it to be good for us, as citizens of a republic, to dwell upon this picture of a life in which public and private duties were so harmoniously blended. It is a lesson which has its moral for us all, and more especially for those of us who make the engrossing nature of our individual pursuits a pretext for refusing to bear our part of the responsibilities of freemen. Let us ponder it well, and we shall not only become better citizens ourselves, but shall render our country still more worthy of our love.

Meanwhile, and within four years after his removal to Washington, he had taken the first decisive step in his literary career by the publication of the "National Calendar and Annals of the United States," a work full of important material for the history of the organization of the central government and of the material progress of the country year by year, and which was continued annually from 1820 through 1836. In 1823 he established the *National Journal*, in which he advocated the election and subsequently supported the administration of Mr. John Quincy Adams, but in a style partaking rather of the candor of the historian than of the injustice of the political partizan. In his intense love of truth he shrank from every form of misrepresentation. On one occasion his party was so dissatisfied with his manner of narrating an incident which told somewhat more favorably than they would have wished for the opposite side, that some of the leaders resolved to propose to him to accept the assistance of a committee for conducting the political column of his paper. Not venturing, however, to express their wishes directly, they sent a member to sound him about it. Those of you who knew Peter Force, who remember the firm bearing of his well-knit frame, the dignity of his expansive forehead, the calm and thoughtful penetration of his clear,


grey eye, and the prompt decision that sat upon his lips, will easily conceive how the ambassador felt when that searching eye fell full upon him, and from those compressed lips came in clear, emphatic tones, "I do not suppose that any gentleman would make such a proposition to me."

Meanwhile his great conception, "The American Archives," was growing and maturing in his mind, and gradually assuming form and substance and definite proportions. The germ lay in his "Unwritten History of the War in New Jersey," to which he always loved to trace his passion for historical research. But in his mind, as in all vigorous and independent minds, the seed bore but a faint proportion to the fruit. Revolving in thought the legendary history of the Revolution as he had received it from the lips of subordinate actors, he felt that the printed story had lost half of its power by losing more than half of its reality. As he listened to the narrative of what the narrator himself had seen and done, and what most of the listeners had seen and done with him, he felt that there is a kind of knowledge in history which can be obtained only by looking, as it were, with the eyes of contemporaries, seeing things as they saw them while the event was still uncertain, and learning to feel as they felt, while the decision was yet in suspense. The truest history, therefore, would be a literal reproduction of past doubts and discussions, of the acts of legislative assemblies, of the resolves of popular meetings, of rumors gradually settling into facts or dying away into silence, of characters unfolding and taking their definite form, and events shaping themselves by degrees in accordance with that universal law, which from the most varied and apparently disconnected elements evolves an all-prevading unity of design and growth. To obtain this he saw that it was necessary to let the past tell its own story, and in so far as the general ideas which underlie all great events had been definitely expressed, to give them in the words in which they were first uttered. Three elements appear in the history of the Revolution—or to speak with greater precision, three classes of actors, sometimes distinct, sometimes working in union, but always starting from the same point and intending to move in the same direction—public assemblies, the army, and the people. The public assemblies were, in England, the two Houses of Parliament; in America, Congress and the Provincial Assemblies, under their various names of General Court, General Assembly, House of Burgesses, Provincial Congress, Committee of Safety, Town meetings, and all the other appellations by which local usage has designated the organized instruments of the popular will. The record of their

discussions and acts forms a vital portion of the history of the period. The history of the army is contained in the official reports and correspondence of the officers, and in the private letters both of officers and men. The opinions and sentiments of the people are to be gathered from their votes at elections, from the greater or less readiness with which they complied with the requisitions of Congress and the local assemblies, and in part from newspapers and pamphlets and letters. Going back, therefore, and arranging these various materials, each in its proper order and place, day by day, month by month, year by year, we reproduce the past and put it in the power of every reader to live through past events as if he had been an actor in them.

It was in 1820 that this plan first presented itself to his mind in outline, and he devoted two years of meditation and study to the elaboration of its details. Then applying it to the "Proceedings of the British Parliament and of the Colonies in relation to the measures which occasioned the first Continental Congress of the North American Colonies, held in New York in October, 1765,"—he published the result in the Calendar for 1832. From such a specimen it was easy to see what a firm basis American history would stand upon if it could all be illustrated with equal fullness of evidence and accuracy of arrangement.

This appeal to the country was followed in the same year by an appeal to Congress, in which he unfolded his plan for the treatment of American history in six series, from the discovery and settlement of the North American colonies to the final ratification of the Constitution in 1788. It was a national work, and as such he claimed for it the support of the nation. I shall not attempt to enter into the history of the discussion to which his proposition gave rise, of the opposition which it encountered, or the arguments by which that opposition was met. The limits of a single discourse do not admit of such details; but the substance of opposition may be given in a few words, and words unhappily not less applicable in 1877 than in 1832. It arose from ignorance of the true office of history, which rightly studied, unfolds the relations between past and present, and shows how they are bound together in the indissoluble union of cause and effect. How dearly we have paid for that ignorance, the experience of the last eighteen years tells us in language that cannot be mistaken. In 1775 Congress might have raised by the asking an army of seventy thousand men for the war. The moment of enthusiasm was allowed to pass, and it was only by great efforts and extravagant bounties that a body regularly decreasing from 46,000 to 13,000 was raised and held together from year to year. In two years the 70,000





would have been veterans, and what Washington might have done with 70,000 veterans may be conceived from what he did at Trenton with less than 10,000, not half of whom were really veterans. Had the Congress of 1861 accepted as soldiers for the war the thousands upon thousands who entreated for acceptance, the Treasury would not have been drained for bounties, nor the States embarrassed for recruits. Had the British Ministry been convinced from the beginning of the contest that the American people were soberly in earnest, they would never have carried the contest to a second campaign. The knowledge that an army of 70,000 men had been raised for the war would have convinced them of it. Had the leaders of the southern rebellion been convinced from the first that the north was seriously in earnest, and the embodying of an army of a million of men would have convinced them of it, how many desolate hearths would still be lightened by familiar faces. The people in our first national contest were unwilling to be taxed, and Congress afraid to tax them; repudiation and the loss of credit were the inevitable consequence. You have but to open your daily paper to see how imperfectly we have applied the lesson. Let the men to whom we entrust the office of statesman weigh these facts, and they will see that both for the saving of money and for the saving of blood, the statesman's first duty should be the history of his country. There is need of Chambers of Commerce and Boards of stockbrokers, and all the various forms of corporations by which material industry guides and controls the growth and wealth; but Historical Societies have a duty and a responsibility beyond them all.

It was with this truth profoundly impressed upon his heart that Peter Force laid this plan of the American Archives before Congress. After a long and searching discussion it was accepted, Government assuming the expense, he the labor. At his own suggestion a clause was inserted by which the materials for each volume were to be submitted to the examination of the Secretary of State before they were sent to the press.

The Secretary of State at that time was Mr. Livingston, a man who had borne too large a part in the making of history not to feel its value. Still, when the plan was first laid before him, he received it coldly, simply promising to take it into consideration. Confident that if examined it could not but commend itself to the approval of so intelligent a man, Mr. Force left his papers, etc., and let a whole fortnight pass before he returned to the Department. The moment that he entered he was told that the Secretary wished to see him, and after a conversation of two

hours, in which the subject was discussed in all its bearings and from every point of view, he had the satisfaction to be assured of the full approval and hearty concurrence of that eminent statesman.

Before the publication began Mr. Livingston was sent to France, and the Department of State passed into the hands of Mr. Forsyth, who, in the Senate, had been one of the warmest opponents of the work; even going so far as to propose that it should be stopped after the preliminary labors had been begun, but not without making a fair compensation to the author for the expenses which he had already incurred. "I opposed you in the Senate, sir," were his first words to Mr. Force at his first official interview, "and I still think you would have done well to have accepted my proposition." "I think not," replied the author, with that firm tone of earnest conviction which shakes the faith even of the most persistent adversary. "Well, sir," resumed the new Secretary, "it is now my duty, as head of this department, to examine the subject anew. Have the goodness to leave me your papers." "I have examined your papers," was his salutation at their next meeting; "it is a noble enterprise. What can I do to help you? Would you not like to have copies from the English archives? If you would, I will request our Minister to apply for them immediately." He did apply, and although the application was unsuccessful—for the English Government had not yet thrown open its documentary treasures to the historical student as it began to do a few years later—he continued throughout the whole of his term of office to give the full weight of his official and personal influence to what he had learned to look upon as one of the noblest monuments of the administration with whose history his own name was to be connected.

Mr. Force, as we have already seen, divided his subject into six series, the fourth of which contained the first period of the War of the Revolution. It was with this that he resolved to begin. No sooner was his contract with Government completed than he commenced his studies in the public offices of the original thirteen States. It was a laborious task; for the complete and accurate system of arrangement which makes reference so easy in some of them now, was not to be found in any of them then. Files were heaped upon files without method or order; bundles of print and bundles of manuscript were found thrust in helpless confusion into pigeon holes and corners, visited only by mice or protected, like Mahomet's cave, by the subtle web of the spider. Few of those to whom these treasures were entrusted felt or comprehended the responsibility which that trust imposed. When they saw the unwearied man poring day after

day over letter-books and old files and carefully untying the red tape which had slumbered for half a century undusted and undisturbed, they thought that he was wasting a great deal of precious time in a kind of industry that was not much better than idleness. But, when gathering all the results of his researches together, he told them that he wanted copies of them all, they felt that except in the form of their hallucination, there was very little difference between him and the Knight of La Mancha. If Don Quixote took the barber for a knight, his ass for a dapple grey steed and his bason for a golden helmet, did not Peter Force take these musty papers for history? And thus when he laid out some large pile to be copied, and charged them earnestly to take heed that the copy was exact in the minutest details, they gravely shook their heads.

"What; copy all?" "Yes, all; for when I get home I may find that the paper you omit is the very paper that I need to fix a date or decide upon a doubtful name. Copy all." "But I must correct the orthography?" "Not a single letter of it. I must see everything just as it came from the pen of the writer." It was not easy to contend with the prejudice that springs from ignorance. But he persevered and overcame it.

At Washington a room was assigned him in the Department of State in which his copyists could work without fear of interruption. As the true nature of his enterprise became known, private collections were thrown open to his inspection, and books and pamphlets and manuscripts sent to him from all parts of the Union. And soon he had spread a network from the Gulf of Mexico to the St. Lawrence; had correspondents in every town, agents in every State, copyists in every office, all receiving their impulse from his will and their guidance from his instructions. Omit nothing, alter nothing, was the law for all; and thus aiming throughout at completeness and accuracy, sparing no pains, hesitating at no expense and shrinking from no labor, he brought together a mass of well arranged materials, which went as nigh as documents can go towards making him a contemporary of the events which he had undertaken to record.

It was from the collection of these materials that grew up that great library which has recently become a part of the library of Congress; making it as the means of studying American history, the completest of all libraries. A small recess in a small room held for years the germ of this vast collection. From time to time a volume was added to it, and when they numbered fifty the recess was full. It was pleasant to stand with him in after years, before that narrow opening in the wall, and hear him tell how those fifty volumes had gradually expanded to sixty thou-

sand : and we may say of him as Gibbon said of himself, that no volume was allowed to pass to its place on the shelf of whose contents a distinct idea had not first passed into his mind. "More than once" I have heard him say, "did I hesitate between a barrel of flour and a rare book ; but the book," and his eye would gleam and his face lighten up with a singular mixture of enthusiasm and humor as he said it, "the book always got the upper hand."

Libraries are solemn places for those who give themselves up to the genius of the spot, and feel the centuries look down upon them from the silent shelves, and to my mind no library was ever fuller of solemn thoughts and ennobling inspirations than the library of Peter Force. There were no ornaments there, neither statues nor pictures, nor the embellishment of rich binding. The cases were of plain wood, the writing table of common pine, the two or three chairs equally plain. But the atmosphere was fragrant with the memory of great thoughts, and hallowed voices came whispering their appeal from every venerable tome. Washington was there in pages written by his own hand. There were the two volumes in which Greene had recorded, day by day, the eventful story of the reconquest of the South. There, in twelve folios, were the original reviews of the adventurous life of Paul Jones. There were maps of marches made while the army was still on the road, and plans of battles drawn before the earth had drunk in its tribute of blood. Ah! truly was it a place wherein to tread reverently, and speak in whispers full of awe and feel the heart throb with noble aspirations. For him it was the scene of many pleasures and many pains of more than thirty years of labors lightened by hope, and fourteen years of disappointment and care.

The sunshine came first, and let us dwell first upon it as it lingers lovingly around his whitening locks and reverend brow. You all know how rare many of the most important tracts relative to American history have become. There were upwards of thirty thousand of them on his shelves, and selecting the rarest he published them at intervals, in four quartos. "Whenever I found a little more money in my purse than I absolutely needed," he once told me, "I published a volume of tracts." How important the service which he thus rendered to our early history was, every student of American history knows. Like the miscellaneous volumes of Muratori, the great illustrator of Italian history, these were pleasant episodes in a laborious life.

It was a happy day for him when he began to select and arrange the materials for the first volume of the "Archives." A happier still when the last sheet came from the press. "We now submit to the peo-

ple of the United States," says the grave and dignified preface, "the first fruits of our long and arduous labors. We offer the present volume as a specimen of the manner in which our work will be accomplished. The undertaking in which we have embarked is emphatically a national one; national in its scope and object, its end and aim."

This volume was published in December, 1838. A second followed in October, 1839; a third in December, 1840; and by January, 1853, he had covered the whole period from the 7th of March, 1774, to the 31st of December, 1776, in nine closely printed folios.

The materials for the tenth volume were already selected and arranged, and in compliance with the article which he himself had inserted in his contract with Government, he carried them to the Secretary of State for approval. But the day of appreciation and sympathy was passed.

"I don't believe in your work, sir," said Mr. Marcy. "It is of no use to anybody. I never read a page of it, and never expect to." "But it is published, Mr. Secretary, in virtue of a contract with Government, and that contract requires that the Secretary of State should examine it, and if it conforms to the contract approve it. Here is the manuscript of the tenth volume. I bring it for your approval. If there is anything there which you think ought not to be there, have the goodness to point it out to me." "You may leave the papers, sir."

The papers were left but not examined. Month after month passed. Again and again he returned to the Department, but received no answer. The Secretary had not yet found time to examine his manuscript. The administration of Mr. Pierce ceased. The administration of Mr. Buchanan began. A new Secretary, General Cass, filled the seat of Mr. Marcy. The historian's hopes revived. Mr. Buchanan had favored the work while Secretary of State. He will surely favor it as President. General Cass professes to be the friend of literature. He must be a friend to history. Well would it have been for Mr. Buchanan and his advisors if they had consulted the pages of history more and trusted the columns of party papers less. They would then have seen that great truths cannot be evaded, that great principles cannot be defrauded of their development.

To them also Mr. Force vainly appealed for justice. On the first day of each civil year he addressed a new letter to the Secretary of State. But no answer came. For seven years this moral torture lasted. Then came the war of the rebellion, and he ceased to hope.

I have hurried over this melancholy story. It is one of those trag-

edies of which the biography of literature is so full: the tragedy of a noble heart, a strong will, and a pure ambition contending against ingratitude and selfishness and indifference to good. Ah! if the story of all those who have fallen by the wayside could be told, if every hour devoted to those labors which enrich the world by preserving for the instruction of the future the memory of the great thoughts and truths and actions of the past could give up its secrets, what a record of suffering and sorrow we should find there.

Never shall I forget Peter Force's part in the story as I heard it from his own lips. It was towards the close of a day in June, and we were sitting together in his library, he behind his writing table, I opposite to him, the mysterious twilight falling with a tender glow upon his massive head and gradually deepening into darkness as it touched the walls. His table was covered with papers, and on another table close by lay the manuscript of the tenth volume of the "Archives." Through a half open window came the odor of the shrubs and flowers which he daily tended with his own hand, and loved with a love second only to that which he bore his books. It was then that he told me how his thoughts had been drawn toward the history of his country. He called back to that second life which a faithful memory and apt words give, the evening circle of his father's fireside, traced the growth of his historic sense, painted with contagious humor the scenes through which he had passed in his search for documents, and with now and then a smile, and still oftener an indescribable sadness upon his face, brought his narrative down to the first prophetic interview with Mr. Marcy. And then the sadness of his brow deepened, and his clear, grey eye seemed to be looking out upon me from immeasurable depths of sorrow, and as I listened I felt my heart sink within me, and the tears that had refused their relief to his eyes came gushing irresistably from mine.

The rest of my story may soon be told. When he saw that he had nothing further to hope for the "Archives," he began to grow anxious about the final disposition of his library. Speculators had fixed their unsympathizing eyes upon it and made him alluring offers. But he would not permit the treasures which he had spent so many years in bringing together to be scattered by the hammer of the auctioneer. At one time it seemed probable that it would come to his own early home, and become on the shelves of the New York Historical Society a part—and by much the most precious part, of the literary wealth of New York. But this hope was not realized, and the opportunity of giving to this library a completeness which neither time nor money can ever give it

now, was suffered to pass unimproved. At length a negotiation was opened with Congress, which ended in the purchase of it for the National Library for one hundred thousand dollars.

The aim of life was now gone, the honor which he had won could not be taken from him, but he could no longer hope to add to it. I have been told that while his strength lasted he made a daily pilgrimage to the rooms which had been set apart for the books in whose company he had lived so long. I know that he found comfort in the reflection that they would still bear his name, and that with their aid some more favored student of American history might yet complete the work which he had begun. His garden, too, he loved to the last, and long found pleasure in walking with a faltering step through its narrow paths. I felt that I had never known him until I stood with him there under the shade of the trees that he had planted, and saw with what an answering smile he met the smile of every familiar flower. For it was in this that the poetical element of his nature manifested itself: that element without which no great and far-reaching purpose is ever accomplished. His library and his garden were his two loves, or rather his two lives; one of them a communion with the dead through books and manuscripts, whose pages he diligently turned by the dim light of his library; the other, a daily contemplation of the ever renewed life of nature amid flowers and trees and under the open sky. At last death came, neither unexpected nor feared, preceded by a gradual decay of strength and a few weeks of illness. The last living tidings that I had of him were in a letter written at his direction on the 10th of January, 1868, to thank me for a book which I had sent him, and say that he hoped to read it and thank me for it with his own hand. But the task of that hand was over. It had worked faithfully while the day lasted, and now the night was come and it rested from its labors.

GEORGE W. GREENE

NOTE.—Col. Force died at Washington Jan. 23, 1868.

VISIT OF THE MOHAWKS TO  
FORT PENOBSCOT, 1662

Communicated by B. Fernow, late Keeper of the  
Archives of the State of New York.

A TRUE RELATION OF THE MAQUE COMING  
TO PENOBSCOTT FORTT, AND WHAT  
THAY DID, BY THOMAS GARDNER,  
COMANDER OF THE SAME.

THE 5TH OF AUGUST,  
1662.

The Last of Avril, one Thousand Sixe hundred Sixty twoe, the Maques came to Niagero howse belonging to the sayed Fortt, & sent thre men befor them to tell the English that the Maques their frinds wear Coming, & desiered to trade with them, but whilst they wear speaking about two hundred & sixty men of them had incompassed the howse, pulling downe the fence, entered into the sayed howse, & filled it full of men, thear being but fowar English men in the howse (& then as the three men they sent) so now these desier trade with the English & promis that thay would do them no harme nor theyr goods or Cattell, & gave vnto the Trade Master fowar or five girdles of Peage, teling him that thay weare theyr Asured frinds, & after a fayer Trade for what thay desiered, contrary to theyr former promises compeled the Trade Master to go downe the River with them. The thre men then left in the howse, fearing to Stay when theyr Master was Caried Away in the Night, thought to have come downe to the fort to have Informed vs of theyr Coming, but wear surprised by the way by the Maques & kept thre dayes prisoners.

The third of May Sixty two the sayed

Maques Came to Penobscott fort, bring the above sayed fowar men, & setting them vpon A Roke in the River, it being in the twilight in the morning, whilst thay them selves went & surprised the Indians that wear vnder the Protektion of the sayed fort & near Comther to Trad, which wear to the Number of one hundred men, women and Children, & having ended theyr buisnes about the Indianes in theyr surprisysall, Thay Came & desiered Trade of vs as thay had done above at the howse: haveing before sent home our men thay had taken prisoners: Thoug with great discord About it Amongst them selves.

Now, although we well know thay had broken the peace made the last yeare at fort Orange by the duches helpe, we over looked the same, & Knowing that we could not recover the prisoners thay had taken, and that all our goods vp the River was at theyr disposl, thought it not fitt to ofend them Anye way, but to preserve the sayed howse & Tradeing goods, & therefore According to the Maqueses desier we Traded with them for provition & goods in frindly maner, the Maques Sagimors in the mene time promising great frindship to vs, and giveing us a present of Moose skines & Peage, & we in requitall gave the Maques the Vallue in Cloth, Bread, & pruines, Flower, Pease & Corne. Butt in most fallse & Perfidious maner thay no sooner went of the fort in Pease but killed ten of our Cattell that were in sight of the fort, and went vp the River & Robed our of All in it to the Value of 400 lbs. Builtt a strong Fortt in a quarter of a mile of the sayed howse & Taried ther A fortnight as we



suppose by what had passed before to surprise our men when they should come up to fetch our Goods.

This is a True relation by me.

THOMAS GARDNER.

EDWARD NAGLOR Trade  
Master at the howse.

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A COPY OF PROPOSITIONES MADE VNTO  
THE MAQUES, AUGUST THE 1: 1662, BY  
THOMAS GARDNER & NATHANIELL  
WALKER WITH THE ANSWERS TO  
THE SAME THE DAY & TIME  
ABOVE SAYED AT FORTT  
ORANGE OR FORTT .

The first Proposition made vnto the Maques was wheather the English had not allwayes bin theyr frinds which had more espeshaly Apered in three pirticulers—first, wheather that thes Thirty or forty yeares past the English had not bin theyr frinds not wronging them any way. Secondly, theyr frindship had appeared in Deniall the French a passage through the English Country to fight with the Maques.

Thirdly, it had Appeared in Laboring to make A Pease for the Mowhoks with the Northeren Indianes not helping the Northeren Indianes, though the Maques wares with them wear to the Englishes great Lose.

The Maques or Mohoks Answer was: it was true the English had so bin theyr frinds as Above sayed.

The second Proposition made vnto the Maques was why thay did then so breake the Pease with the Northern Indianes that was made for them by the English After the Indian was rune away that came to make pease and that the

sayed Pease was made at the Englishes Cost.

To this thay Answer, it was fals, theyr was no pease made for the Indianes at all, but the pease wase made with the English, & that thay had good grounds to war with the Northern Indianes, who at two severall times had helped the Canide Indianes; that by theyr meanes thay had lost near 100 men, and that som of the Duch should tell them thay might fall vpon the Northern Indianes Notwithstanding the former Pease, the Dutch in the meane time denieing the same & Afirming, as by theyr Records was made to Appeare, that theyr was an absolute & firm Pease with the English in behalfe of the Northern Indianes made the last year hear at fort Orange at A Solemn meeting with the names of Severall men to the same that wear Commanders at fort Orange.

The third Proposition was why thay did take the Northern Indianes under the Protektion & Command of Penobscott fort, it being Contrary to the former pease, & Contrary to the Customs of Nations & very Predgidishall to the English.

To this Nothing is Answered butt as Before thay wear ther Enymies & thay had ocation so to doe.

The fourth proposition was why thay did so falsly and Perfidiuously Breake the pease with the English at Neagero howse & at Penobscott fort most Solemnly made, & giufts being both given by them & requited by the English, yet Imeadeatly that thay Killed the Englishes Cattell & Robed the Above Sayed howse to the value of 400 lb. sterling, & Afterwards thay Built a strong Fortt by Ne-

agero howse, tarieing ther a fortnight, which we suppose was for nothing else but to surprise the English Coming for ther goods.

An to this thay Answer it is true thay Killed some Cattell, though not so many as we say, it being dun by youths & because the Cattell did Run so wildly when they ran after the other Indianes, & that it was but a small mater that which thay did vseually to the Duch, & for wrong dun to the howse thay profered A pil of Wampum, denieing ther was so much goods as we sayed ther was, it likewise being dune by youths, and if the English would not so be satisfied they could not helpe it.

A 5th query was why thay did threttn to Cutt off the English that live Eastward in the fall of the year vnder the Notion of french men.

An theyr Answer was: it was false; thay did not so thretten the English, for our men wear in theyr hands, & thay had power to have killed them if thay had bin french, but thay had Jealousies we wear french it was true, & our bands wear like french men's bands.

To A 6th query, which was wheather thay would now Return the prisoners that wear by them taken of the Northern Indianes, & give the Northern Indianes Satisfaction for those thay had Killed, it being Contrary to Articles of Pease made the last year.

Theyr Answer was we should then bring those men of theyrs the Northern Indianes had killed both heartfore & now of late, and that the Prisoners wear given by them to theyr frinds who former had lost theyr frinds by the wares.

These Above sayed things being thus

propounded & thus Answered, the Indianes Brake of in A Snufe, and went & told in the towne we wear no better then Hogges, and that thay Cared not for the English & if thay would not now manifest theyr satisfaktion In thre weeks time thay would set vpon the out most plantations of Connitiquett, burne them, & that thay would go ten or 12 men in a Company, firing remote howses and destroy what thay could. These things being dun in the forenoone. The Afternoone we meett Agayne, the Duch Governor haveing propounded this to them in the morning: wheather thay would Refrayne from fighting with the Northern Indianes vntill the Spring next year that some Northern Indianes might be brought to make peace with them; theyr Answer was thay would; we considering of All things tooke hold of this opertunity to prevent theyr present Incautiones and to gayne time to proceed farther with them. Therefore we made them this 3 folde Reply: first, that we had Considered of theyr Answers to the former pirticulers & theyr Peage profered in Satisfaktion, & that we should one & the other to the Governors in the Bay.

Secondly, we had Considered of theyr resolution not to fight with the Northern Indianes till some might Com to Conclude A peace. The which Resolution we liked well, & therefore gave them A parcell of Peage.

Thirdly, we told them it was our desier thay should do theyr best to let us have the prisoners thay had in hold, & therefore to Incoridge them hearin we gave them Another pil of Peage. The Mohokes liked very well this present, &

told vs thay would performe the first & do theyr best to performe the last.

That this is A True relation we ar wittneses whose Names are vnder written.

THOMAS GARDNER.

NATH: WALKER.

Vnto this Answer of the Maques the Duch reply is farther, that likewise the Maques sayed the English had betrayed the Northern Indianes into theyr hands, because thay had Killed ther Cattell, & that the English brought them to the fort, which was a truth the Maques had so sayed.

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#### LA SALLE'S ACCOUNT OF THE AMERICAN INDIANS.

*Translated for the Magazine.*

I learned in the month of June, 1672, of the arrival in Paris of a gentleman by the name of M. de la Salle, who had returned from Canada after living there many years, who was well known to the late Mr. Gallinée, and greatly esteemed by him, who was himself so estimable because of his intelligence, his life, his piety, his great knowledge of ecclesiastical affairs and his incredible skill in all mechanical arts.

I found means to make the acquaintance of this gentleman, and to have ten or twelve conversations with him, the most of them in company with several very intelligent friends of mine, many of whom were men of extraordinary memory. I wrote down at once and in detail the things which I heard from his lips that one would be most likely to forget, such as dates and names, and after preparing the following memoir I conferred with those of the persons who listened

to him with me and in whom I placed the greatest trust, and I have left nothing standing of which I have not perfect recollection, or which many of those who heard him with me especially assured me they well remembered.

While listening to the recital I studied the personage. I lay great stress upon the judgment I give of him on the opinion that the late M. Gallinée expressed of him to one of my friends, a man of extraordinary merit. All of my friends who have seen him find him to be very intelligent and of great good sense. He only speaks of matters concerning which he is questioned. He relates them in very few and well considered words. He draws a perfect distinction between what he knows with certainty and those things of which he entertains some doubt. He confesses without hesitation to ignorance of that which he does not know, and although I have heard him repeat the same things five or six times, because of the presence of some persons who had not before heard them, I have always heard him relate them in the same manner. In a word, I have never heard any person speak whose words bore more marks of truth.

He is thirty-three or thirty-four years old. For twelve years he has been traveling in North America, and his voyages have extended from the 33d degree of longitude to the 26th degree, and from the 55th degree of latitude to the 30th.

This is what I learned from him concerning the different countries, with which he is most familiar, of the manners, of the inhabitants, their origin, their history, their language, their government, and of the natural history, and the state of the

Christian religion in these countries, and also as to what happened to himself.

The customs of the people are the same in the Continent of North America as in the warm islands of America, although these people have very different languages.

They believe in the immortality of souls as well those of beasts as of men. Thus they believe that as men hunt beasts while alive, so after their death they shall hunt the souls of beasts.

They believe that they will be lucky or unfortunate in their chase according as they have been brave or cowardly in this life, and firm or feeble under torture.

They all hold in respect the chief of all spirits, whom they call the Master of life, but they pay him no regular worship, except that they obey him in all that is pointed out to them in their dreams if it be not a crime, such as the killing of one of their relatives or friends or allies, or of the nations with whom they are at peace, or other impossible thing. In these cases they content themselves with appeasing the Master of life by feasting their friends, which they call propitiating the Spirit of the Master of life.

They believe that this Spirit is the cause of all the good that happens to them, and that he is incapable of doing harm to any one, because, they say, he hates no one.

They are firm in this belief, but they do not find it at all strange that other nations believe otherwise; but as they observe their customs inviolably and act in precise accordance with their belief, they find it ill that others do not live in conformity with their own, and also

believe that those who live thus do not believe in what they profess; and thus they are persuaded that chastity and charity are not virtues among the French, because they have heard it said by those of their people who have visited the French that there are public places for debauch, and that there are in Paris persons who have so much bread that they are compelled to put it into the street, their houses not being large enough to contain it, and that there are other persons who have so many clothes that their houses are full to the very doors; that the one refuse bread to those who are dying of hunger, and the others clothing to those who are entirely naked. A Savage, hearing a sermon upon charity, said to the missionary: "Why do you preach to me the duty of charity since I am already charitable and you are not?"

All these nations, distant as they may be one from the other, unknown the one to the other, have the same respect for the dead, the same care in their funeral rites, the same continance as regards their wives, the same love for their children, their friends and those of their nation, the same manner of assemblage and warfare, the same moderation and the same respect for one another, the same hatred for their enemies, the same cruelty for those they have taken prisoners in war, and the same patience in the endurance of the most horrible torture when taken themselves. So that what I am about to say of the Iroquois may be understood of all the countries and islands which I have referred to.

They never lose patience in the longest and most severe fatigue; they never

fall into rage, not even when they are beaten, believing that it is to their honor not to appear to suffer even when suffering, saying to those who strike them: "You may go on if you choose; that is very good, I thank you for it; you may destroy me if you wish, etc.," and they never revenge themselves for private injuries upon those with whom they are not at war, unless they have lost their reason because of some dream in which they are commanded to revenge themselves, when they believe it to be permitted to them. If any one of them kill another, those of the family of the murderer appease those of the family of the slain by gifts, and if the dead man be of another canton, those of the family of this canton, the tribe of which bears the same name as the tribe to which the murderer belongs, join his family in appeasing the offending family, and their quarrel ordinarily ends thus. But if it happens that the same murderer commit another crime of the same nature, the old men assemble, condemn him to death and depute one of the warriors present to kill him in a given manner. The warrior seeks the criminal, and having announced to him his death sentence, the criminal consents, and the other performs the execution.

They are great gamblers, and sometimes rapidly lose all that they possess, sometimes even a thousand pounds of beaver, but they never quarrel. Their game is a kind of dice, with six balls parti colored in two colors.

The women do not quarrel among themselves any more than the men. They perform the field labor; never are

they heard to dispute concerning the land limits assigned to them.

The men and the women never speak two at the same time; all listen to the speaker, even though he talk for an hour, and content themselves with saying from time to time: You say well. You are right. That is true, and other words similar, and for that they take time to breathe, and they give these marks of assent even to discourses which they consider of no importance, whether they agree or do not agree with them.

But in important meetings they dispute without raising their voices or growing angry, and they interrupt even on these occasions not with haste, but to know what answer they may have to make.

Thus M. de Frontenac, speaking at too much length to some deputies on several subjects upon which they had reply to make, as they felt their memories sufficiently laden, they said to him: "If you continue to talk we shall forget all that you have already said to us."

They pay each other frequent visits, and the visitor is received with all kinds of amiabilities and civilities. They offer him the best of everything they have to eat, and he is obliged to taste it. After which he talks if he wish to talk; if he wish to sleep he sleeps; if he wish to smoke he smokes, and though the smoke of the tobacco incommode the master of the house, he never shows it by any sign.

They notice each others faults; for example, that such a one is a miser or a braggart—that is, he pretends to be braver than he is. They consider this despicable, but they never rail or reproach him for it.

Their doors are never so closed that all those who choose to see them may not enter in.

The poorest among them are held in the greatest consideration. The more honored a man is the more he prides himself on giving away all that he has. He assembles his neighbors when he returns from the chase, and distributes all that he has taken. They never, however, want for anything, because they are continually giving to each other, and their pride is to give more than they receive, even to those whom they know to have given to them from interested motives. Thus, ——— seeing a Savage clothed in a very handsome beaver garment which he was desirous of possessing, spoke to him and made him a present. The Savage, though he had never seen this Priest, was surprised, and asked him why he made him this present; the other replied that it was in friendship. I thank you, said the Savage; then thinking over what he might give him in return, he asked the first person whom he saw if his coat would be a fit present by which to acknowledge that which he had just received, and carried his coat to the Priest.

The men have no other occupation than hunting and war; the women work in the field, sow, cook, seek wood in the forest and carry burdens when they accompany their husbands to their wars.

As soon as a woman finds herself pregnant, she quits her husband without leaving his habitation, and so also during the whole of the time of nursing the child, which is for two years. During all this time she does not discontinue

even the hardest labor, such as working in the fields, going for wood, etc.

The husbands repudiate their wives when they desire to change, and the wives repudiate their husbands; all this without any quarrel, and often because the women do not find their husbands chaste enough. This continence is found in the warm islands as well as in North America.

They are very fond of their children. M. de Frontenac asking for some of them, they said to him: "You imagine that our women are like French women, who are like hedge hogs, which get rid of their children by putting their mouths to the sap of a tree as soon as they are born."

They love proportionately their own nation, their allies, their friends, and when two Savages have professed a friendship for each other, and one of them is killed in war, the survivor has no rest until he is killed himself or has killed some enemy.

When they are reproached for their cruelty when absolutely masters, they say that we would treat our relatives with equal kindness if we were as fond of our relatives.

They undertake war neither to extend their rule, nor to enrich themselves with the spoils of their enemies, nor to make slaves, nor to eat human flesh, but from the single passionate desire to avenge the death or the tortures which their relatives have undergone, or from a passion to show their valor by attacking strange nations.

Their wars rarely finish except with the entire destruction of one of the two parties. They do not fight in line of

battle, but without any order, each attaching himself to his man, unless they seek to carry a strong position; for on these occasions they have been seen after being repulsed by musket shot returning to the charge in close rank, covered by pieces of timber. Sometimes they leave four or five hundred together when about to carry some village or fort, but often they go in parties of twenty-five or thirty only, and sometimes singly. Thus they have been seen to leave their homes to cut off the head of the first man of the hostile or stranger nation they meet, even at a distance of one hundred and fifty leagues from the place of their habitation, either to secure their reputation for courage or out of spite to some one of their nation who had suspected them of cowardice. For example, an Iroquois went to kill a man, and brought off his wife and a small boy prisoners, leaving his hatchet in a place of which he took careful note, and this journey served as a challenge to the person who had suspected him of cowardice: for on his return he said to the person who had wounded him by his suspicion: "I said to you that I would carry a hatchet to a place so dangerous that you would not dare to go in search of it. It is one hundred and fifty leagues from here. Here are two prisoners who are my witnesses. Go and bring it if you dare."

Sometimes parties go as far as fifty days journey from their homes—that is to say, more than five hundred leagues.

Swords are not carried in that country, as much because they embarrass the march through the woods as because they are a useless defence against the hatchets which they carry, the Savages

having the strength to hurl their hatchets thirty paces, and with so much address as to fasten the iron of the hatchet in the head of the person with whom they have to deal. They carry besides a bow and arrows and a gun. With these arms they provide themselves by hunting during their whole march, except when they draw near their enemies, for then they march with great precaution, making the least amount of noise possible, and contenting themselves with water and a small ration of flour, which they bring from their homes in a long narrow sack which they carry on their shoulders.

When they have taken a few prisoners, they carry them off in all haste without stopping day or night to hunt for game, so that they are sometimes seven, eight or ten days without food, making fifteen and twenty leagues a day. The prisoners permit themselves to be led, partly because it may happen that their lives will be spared and partly because they believe that a man who would kill himself for fear of torture would be held a coward in the spirit land.

When they stop at any place they tie the prisoner stretched on his back to four trees. One of them sleeps on his stomach, another on each of the limbs.

When the Huron nation existed, and they made prisoners, they fastened their legs between the two splints of a young tree, cut in halves lengthways.

The prisoners are wholly at the mercy of the chief of the expedition. Whoever is condemned to death is led across the people ranged in line the distance of a quarter or half of a league, and as he passes is beaten by those opposite to him, who either give him slashes or cut

out a piece of his flesh or drive sharp points into it. It is even quite common to make two cuts on the two sides of the tendons of the wrist and passing a short stick under the tendon, to twist the stick several times to tear out the tendon. When he has endured all these sufferings he is brought back to the tent of his master, when he is put upon a high place and exposed to view of all who wish to insult him. Sometimes his master has mercy upon him, but ordinarily he is taken the next day to the middle of the village to a place where there is a scaffold always ready for these executions, and there is he burned with all kinds of hot instruments, which he endures without a tear or a cry, even arranging to increase his pain in order the better to show how much he despises it.

The whole execution takes place without noise or any sign of rage. The spectators of the torture approach, when so inclined, to burn the victims, but with order and gravity and without ceasing to smoke, apply to him fire brands or the iron of red hot hatchets. I heard M. l'Abbe de la Vergne say that he had learned from a missionary that a savage having girdled the scalp of one of those sufferers from the forehead to the back of the head on the line of the roots of the hair, tore off the entire scalp and threw it at the feet of the victim. Another savage approaching in his turn and holding a fire brand to a part of his body, the victim stooped down and seeing the savage who was burning him attentive to his movement slapped the scalp on his head and laughed at him.

They burn the women and little child-

ren as well as the men. M. de la Salle saw them burn a woman with her nursing child. The women sometimes cry, but they never weep.

A prisoner not enduring his sufferings with sufficient fortitude to satisfy the savages who were putting him to torture, a savage said to him, "I will show you how to endure," so tying his leg to that of the victim he caused a great torch well on fire to be given to him, and placing it between his leg and that of the victim endured it without giving the slightest sign of pain until the wood was extinguished by the grease which flowed from his leg or that of the prisoner.

The victims make it a point to make no recommendation as to such increase of their pain as might hasten their death. One of the prisoners saying to those who were burning him that they did not understand what they were about, and that to cause him to suffer such pain as he had himself inflicted on many of their relatives they should put a hot iron on the pit of the stomach, and dying instantly on its application, he was considered to be a coward.

They never change color when they go into a fight, and as long as the fight endures they are nearly as cool as at other times.

They hold in little esteem the bravery of such European nations as they are acquainted with, but they despise the French much less than other nations. A Dutchman said to a savage that the French were slaves of their king, but that each Dutchman was master in Holland. "If that be so," said the savage, "the slaves are worth more than the masters."



then lain down near the gate of heaven, which was at the spot now filled by the globe of the sun, ordered his wife to bring him something to eat. The fish, who saw her drop, assembled in deliberation as to whether they should burn her or grant her her life, and determining to have mercy upon her, they gave the turtle the mission of receiving her. Pending these deliberations the woman accomplished her fall, was received upon this turtle, to whom others joined themselves, and weary at having no other support than this floating platform, she desired that the Earth should exist—and it did exist. After which a Spirit descending from the heavens with three arrows, passed two of them over her body. She conceived two male children, one of whom became a great hunter, and was greatly beloved of his mother; the other being unfortunate in the hunt and killing only lean beasts, his mother despised him. This one afflicted by his misfortune and losing heart, the Spirit, his father, visited him and consoled him by promising to give him fortune in the hunt and to teach him besides the art of building and agriculture. In fact, he showed him the park where the fat beasts which his brother killed in the hunt were shut up, and led him under the waters, where he showed him a house built neatly and commodiously. He gave him the seeds of melons, corn, &c. He then built for his mother a house on this model, gave her fruit and very good venison to eat, and began to grow so much in her good graces as to cause his brother to be jealous in his turn—I do not know how these brothers peopled the world—M.

de la Salle was interrupted as he was telling me these things. He made me understand simply that it was in a manner that it is difficult to relate with decency. A serpent of enormous size having destroyed all the men who sprung from these first, one of the two—that is to say, the favored one of the Spirit, having invoked the aid of his father, the Spirit gave him the third of the arrows which he brought to his mother, and showed him how he must use it to kill the Serpent, and what he must do with this Serpent. To renew the human race he did one and the other, and after several adventures, his father, who had become a wanderer in the woods, being changed into a . . . ; this was in turn changed into a beaver. From him sprung the Nation of the Iroquois, and it is for this reason that the beavers understand building so well. This is what I heard said of their fabulous history, which they all relate in the same manner, except some unimportant circumstances. For instance, there are nations who believe that this fallen woman was received by beavers, and not by turtles, but the base of the stories is the same everywhere.

They count the period of their actual history by transmigrations—that is to say, by seven years, for they never remain longer in one place. They count about eighty transmigrations, that is from five to six hundred years. They pride themselves on knowing what has happened to them during this period. Thus each nation knows its wars, its losses, its gains, and they preserve the recollection of them, without writing, in two ways. One is by making certain necklaces with marks

to designate the most important events of a certain period. They enclose these necklaces, which serve as registers, in a box. Another manner is to depute each year one to another, the oldest of each canton, to relate this history in the presence of the assembled canton, and to verify it by the necklaces, the significance of which the youths learn to teach in their turn to those who come after them, and thus to preserve from generation to generation the memory of the most important events. I heard no details of this history, except that the Iroquois have destroyed in the last [—] more than one hundred thousand men, comprising more than fifty nations, and that the last which they wholly destroyed was that of the Gandastogué, to which belonged the brave Savage whose adventure I have related. It is not known what became of the Savage. The whole nation was utterly destroyed, those who escaped death being brought home prisoners by the Iroquois in 1672.

*From the Récit d'un Ami de l'Abbé de Gallinée in Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale &c., par Pierre Margry. première partie. Paris, 1878.*

EDITOR.

## NOTES

DU SIMITIÈRE'S MEMORANDA OF PAINTINGS IN BOSTON, NEW ENGLAND, 1769.—“At Dr. William Smibert is a large collection of original Drawings of the best masters. Prints mostly italian, Pictures. Several of them originals and some done by his father John Smibert, a good painter, chiefly portraits, and a good col-

lection of casts in plaster of Paris from the best antiques, besides basso relieves, Seals and other curiosities.

“At Mr. Peter Chardon in New Boston there is a small collection of Pictures, amongst which there is a landskip by Berghem and another which I take to be by the same, but not in so good preservation, a picture representing the deluge, having a great number of figures and very good; a madona with the child asleep, done by *Demina*, an italian painter, in England about 40 years ago, and some others.

“At Mr. Shrimpton Hutchinson there is some pictures done by Sir Peter Lely, one certainly is by him.

“At Capt'n Cary, living in Charlestown, there is several curious picture, a ceres head, an italian piece by Batista, a small head in oyl of Oliver Cromwell, some little battle piece done in a ruff manner, but have a fine effect at a distance, a still life of game, &c.

“At the town House in the council chamber the pictures of Charles the 2nd, James the 2nd and George the 2d at full length, and the copies of the pictures of Governor Winthrop, Governor Endicot, Governor Leveret, Governor Bradstreet, Governor Burnet, and the picture three-quarters of Governor Pownall; in the representatives room the picture of Admiral Russell betwixt the windows above the speaker's chair. There is carved above the door the ancient arms of the province, and in the middle of the ceiling hangs a carved wooden cod fish, emblem of the staple of commodities of the province.

“At Faneuil Hall the picture of Peter Faneuil, the Donator, and of Govr.



Wm. Shirley, both by John Smibert, and at full length, the picture of George the 2nd also at full length, these three indifferent, and two three quart's pictures lately come over from England, one of Henry Seymour Conway, Secretary of State, and the other of Colal Barre. Both asserters of the liberties of America in relation to the Stamp Act; the frame of these two last mentioned is both rich and Elegant, having at the top the respective coat of arms of the gentlemen represented in their proper colors. Above the entrance Door in the inside of the said Hall is a carving painted according to heraldry of the arms of Peter Faneuil.

"At Harward Hall, Cambridge, in the dining room, over the chimney, the picture,  $\frac{3}{4}$  length, of Governor Francis Barnard, who gave the plan for the rebuilding the said Hall after it had been consumed by fire in the month of Jan'y, 1764; in the same room, on each side of the said picture, two others of full length of Thomas Hollis of London, merch't, and of Thomas Hancock, Esq., of Boston; both benefactors to this college. They are inclosed within folding doors, and their frames very elegant. They are all three painted by John Singleton Copley of Boston. There was a picture of Thomas Hollis before this, but it was burnt with the Hall. Pelham scrap'd a mezzotinto, of which I have a copy."

LOGAN.

MAKING HISTORY.—A writer in Harpers' Monthly for March frankly confesses that he does not know "the origin or meaning of Letete" as applied to "Big and Little Letete" near St. An-

draws, at the mouth of the Bay of Fundy; but though badgered by Great and Little Head, he has no difficulty in connection with the story of a resident of Grand Menau respecting Champlain's anchor, found on the beach at Menau in 1842, which the said resident "reasons must have been left" by that famous navigator. "The shank of this anchor was eleven feet long, and one part of the shank seven inches in diameter, dimensions which would give it an original weight of at least fourteen hundred weight." It does not seem to occur to our antiquarian friend that Champlain never landed at Menau, much less left an anchor there. Besides, his vessel was simply a little shallop built for shoal water, which carried no fourteen hundred-weight anchor. Wouldn't it be best to stop making history? QUIS.

BAPTISM OF A SAGAMORE.—In the *Merçure François* for the year 1610, appears an account of the first royal baptism in Canada. The Sieur de Poitrincourt stood sponsor for American royalty in the name of the Grand Monarque; his son assisting in that of his son Louis (Louis XV.) "The French never took pride in making slaves, as other nations do. Thus the Sieur de Poitrincourt, returning this year (1610) to Port Royal in Canada, instead of capturing and reducing the savages to slavery, endeavored by every means (according to the orders he had received from the late King) to instruct them in the Catholic Religion; in the which he labored so successfully that the Grand Sagamo of the savages, his wife, his children and his children's children, to the

number of twenty, were baptised the day of Saint Jean Baptiste last, and he and his son held them in the name of the late King and of the present King (not having yet received the sad news of his death)."

J. A. S.

HISTORIC COINCIDENCE.—*Montpellier, July 9, 1831.* Dear Sir. Your favor of the 4th, communicating the death of Mr. Monroe, was duly received. I had been prepared for the event by information of its certain approach. The time was so far happy as it added another to the coincidences before so remarkable and so memorable. You have justly ranked him with the heroes and patriots who have deserved best of their country. No one knew him better than I did or had a sincerer affection for him, or condoles more deeply with those to whom he was most dear.

With the thanks which I owe you, be pleased to accept, Sir, the tender of my esteem and my cordial salutations.

JAMES MADISON.

Doctor John W. Francis. T.

A MEMENTO OF ISAIAH THOMAS.—*Printing Office, Worcester, Nov. 8, 1781.* Whereas, a number of persons are indebted to the Printer of this paper, who neglect to pay him: He requests that all such would consider the great disadvantage he labours under on this account; although the sum due from each person is so small, that payment would scarcely be felt by those who are in his debt, yet there are so many persons in arrears that if they would all be so generous as to make immediate payment (and not put it off untill some future time), it

would be of essential service to the Printer—whose Press absolutely "wants oyl." In fact, he has some Loud Calls for that universal reliever of temporal difficulties—Cash—which must be obeyed.

Those gentlemen who owe me Butter, Wood, or any kind of Country produce, will please to take notice that I am in great want of their assistance. ISAIAH THOMAS.—*Massachusetts Spy, Nov. 8, 1781.*

ONCE MORE!—The Printer is again put to the disagreeable necessity of calling upon all those who are in his debt for newspapers, as his former advertisements have not had the *desired effect*. He now informs those who are in arrears that their accounts are all drawn out; and a settlement of those trifling, though numerous debts must take place.

N. B. I, Thomas, takes this opportunity to present his sincere thanks to those of his customers whose punctual payments have been the means of supporting his Press. Several persons have given the Printer their notes of hand for Newspapers, which Notes he requests may be discharged without further delay.—*Massachusetts Spy, Feb. 7, 1782.* PETERSFIELD.

REMARKABLE INCIDENT.—On the 4th of July, 1812, General Chandler gave as a toast at Augusta: "The 4th of July, 1813—May we on that day drink wine within the walls of Quebec!" On this same 4th of July he was within the walls of Quebec (a prisoner), and from the known hospitality of the citizens of that place, we have no doubt his wish was literally gratified.—*Columbia Centinel, July 7, 1813.* W. K.

CONGRESS OF CANADIAN INDIANS.—*Extract of a Letter from Montreal, dated May 9, 1764.* "Capt. Claws, the Director of Indian Affairs in this Province, arrived here lately from Johnson-Hall. Hearing that a numerous Congress of the different Nations of Indians settled in this Government was to be held at Coghawaga, the 5th Instant, in Presence of Brigadier General BURTON, our worthy Governor; I had the Curiosity to follow thither, where He went, attended by all the Commanding Officers of the different Corps in this Government, and others, Officers of the Garrison. At the Approach of his Barge, the Indians, who had hoisted up in several Parts of their Fort Union Flags, and Red Flags, saluted Him with a Discharge of Pateraroes and Volleys of Small Arms. The whole Village, Men, Women and Children, shewed the greatest Demonstrations of Joy at his Landing, at which Time a Company of Warriors, with English Colours flying, and Officers at their Head, formed a double File, through which the Governor, attended by Capt. Claws, the Indian Director, and other Officers, marched, and went to the Council-Hall, where, after the usual Compliments, I saw, with the highest Satisfaction, the Chiefs of the different Tribes and Nations assembled take up the War Belts with great Readiness, and heartily promise for their Tribes to join our Indian Friends, so that Numbers of them are soon to set off for Sir William Johnson.—*N. Y. Gazette, May 28, 1764.* H. S.

GEORGIA CRACKERS.—"Letters from Silver Bluff, on Savanah river, dated on

Tuesday last week, inform us that a number of people called Crackers, who live above Augusta, in the province of Georgia, had gone in a hostile manner to the Indian town and settlement at Okonee, where on their arrival, finding only one old Indian man, all the others being out hunting, they plundered the village of every thing of any value they could carry off, and burnt every house in it. The same letter adds that this is like a formal declaration of war, and that dreadful consequences might be apprehended should the Indians take it in that light, in which case those people that committed such a violent outrage would be the first to run away. Letters from Augusta say that the pretence for this violence was that those who committed it had lost several horses, which they suspected were stolen by the Indians of Okonee; that they went to that town in search of them, but found none, and seeing the place defenceless, all the men being from home, they resolved to plunder and burn it.—*New York Mercury, September 21st, 1767.* W. K.

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#### QUERIES

THE CARROLLS OF CARROLLTON.—What relation were Charles and John Carroll to one another?

In the magazine for February Mr. Carpenter in an article on Charles Carroll at page 101, says: "these broad acres descended through four generations of only sons, the third of whom was Charles Carroll of Carrollton."

Bancroft in History of United States, vol. viii. p. 423, says: "John Carroll the brother of Charles."

Hildreth in History of United States, vol. iii. p. 124, says : "accompanied by Carroll's brother."

Parton in Life of Franklin, ii. p. 116, says : "Mr. Carroll was \* \* \* to prevail upon his brother John."

Appleton's Cyclopaedia iv. p. 488, says: John "accompanied \* \* \* his cousin Charles."

Now who was the father of John Carroll ; how was he related to Charles ; and how shall we get the above authors to tell the same story ? G. B.

GREEN HOUSE OF THE UNITED STATES.—Can any of your readers explain what was the Green House of the United States mentioned in the following item from the N. Y. Packet of March 14th, 1782.—"*Fishkill, March 14.* On Tuesday the 5th inst., was married at the Green House of the United States, in this place, Mr. John Brown to Miss Hannah McKensey, a lady endowed with every accomplishment necessary to render the marriage state completely happy." W. K.

BULLS AND BEARS.—The following explanation of this familiar term, was written by Dr. Warton in 1807. "He who sells that of which he is not possessed, is proverbially said to sell the skin before he has caught the bear. It was the practice of stock jobbers in the year 1720, to enter into contract for transferring South Sea stock at a future time for a certain price ; but he who contracted to sell had frequently no stock to transfer, nor did he who bought intend to receive any in consequence of his bargain ; the seller was therefore

called a bear, in allusion to the proverb—and the buyer a bull, perhaps only as a similar distinction. The contract was merely a wager to be determined by the rise or fall of stock ; if it rose, the seller paid the difference to the buyer proportioned to the sum determined by the same computation to the seller."

When was this system of stock speculation and the appellation of Bulls and Bears first used in America ?

PETERSFIELD.

THE LONG LOW BLACK SCHOONER.—Reading a letter from Baltimore, dated August 24, 1784, I find that one Whaland, formerly a noted refugee, was at that period the terror of the Chesapeake, committing daily depredations on the coasting vessels and murdering or plundering their crews.

"We are informed [the letter reads] that the vessel which Wayland employs for the above infamous purpose is a top sail schooner with *black sides and bottom*, full of men, and draws but three and a half feet water. He has also several boats well-armed, so that it is dangerous for any vessels to go within sight of him."

Was this the prototype of the famous bug-bear of a quarter of a century ago ?

COOPER.

## REPLIES

FALL OF THE ALAMO.—(II. 1.) In his very interesting paper on this event, Captain Potter refers only to the narrations of Yoakum the historian, Francisco Ruiz and Becero. I presume therefore that he has not seen another account published in the *New York Tribune* of

March, 1877, which differs somewhat from his own.

The *Tribune* account was related, so the correspondent of the paper says, by Francisco Buerra, a Mexican soldier in the storming party of the Alamo, and "now an honored and aged citizen of Brownsville, Texas." He differs from the other narrators, in giving the number of the Mexican forces at 6,000 men; 4000 under Santa Anna, and 2,000 under Talza, and in stating that the corpses of 2,000 Mexicans were buried after the assault. But the most important difference between his account and that of Captain Potter is in his description of the death of Travis and Crockett. He says that these two were found living, yet exhausted by death dealing, and lying among the dead. "When Travis was discovered he gave a Mexican gold, and while conversing with him General Cos, with whom Travis had dealt most generously when San Antonio was captured by the Americans, appeared. Cos embraced Travis and induced other officers to join him in asking Santa Anna to spare Travis's life. The President General sternly refused. Then Crockett, from among the corpses stood up, utterly exhausted by weary sleepless days and nights, and by five hours constant fighting.

"Santa Anna was enraged beyond measure that his orders were not executed. He directed the soldiers near him to fire on the two Texans. Travis was shot first in the back. He folded his arms across his breast, and stood stiffly erect till a bullet pierced his neck. He fell upon his face, while Crockett's body was riddled with bullets." This is given as the statement of an eye witness

on the Mexican side, with the promise on the part of the correspondent of another account from one of the women who survived the assault, and who now lives at Austin, Texas. I know not if he fulfilled his promise, but I venture to give Buerra's narration, in the hope that Captain Potter may correct the error wherever it may be.

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN.

WRECK AT THE ISLES OF SHOALS.—(II. 57, 188.) C. W. T. says the Sagunto arrived at New York, Feb. 2, 1813, while the *N. Y. Commercial Advertiser* of Feb. 2 and 3, distinctly reports "no arrivals" for those days. The *Price Current* of Feb. 6, however, says that on the 2d, a ship called the "Regunto" was "down Sound." Will C. W. T. show how the recorder at the Isles of Shoals made the blunder? REVIEW.

#### MARCH PROCEEDINGS OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The regular monthly meeting was held in the Hall of the Society, Tuesday evening, March 5, 1878, the President, Frederic de Peyster, LL.D., in the chair.

After the usual table business the Rev. Dr. Charles W. Baird, of Rye, described his recent visit to England in a paper—"A Month among the Records in London." The Doctor laid great stress upon the uniform courtesy with which investigators are treated by the custodians of the various repositories of the public records. Remarks were made by the President and by Messrs. Morse, de Lancey and Osgood, after which the Society adjourned.

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

**CENSUS OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK FOR 1875.** Compiled from the Original Returns under the direction of the Secretary of State by C. W. SEATON, Superintendent of the Census. Folio, pp. 465. WEED, PARSONS & Co., Albany.

The study of statistics, while of all the least popular, is to the political economist the most important, the most replete with information, and the only certain basis for projects of social amelioration and civil reform. But to be of any real value their accuracy must be unquestionable and unquestioned. The only figures that do not lie are true figures—not figures which have been "cooked," as the vulgar phrase describes the process of alteration or false presentation by suppressions of any kind. Of all tables of statistics the most difficult of preparation are those which concern the human race, because they affect either real or fancied interests. In countries where a civil list exists, and every resident is at all times expected to be provided with an "Act of birth," the counting of population is easy. In the United States the census taker has always found insuperable obstacles to accuracy.

We have never yet known, for instance, with any degree of certainty the number of the slave population of the South, where the interest of the States of that section was clearly in a magnifying of the number of slaves, because of the three-fifths rule in representation; and in the cities of the North, where a large part of the population resides in tenement houses, there is an equal difficulty in ascertaining the numbers of this class, because of their ignorance or from fear of the demands on their citizenship, which they suppose may result from an answer to the call of the agent of authority. Still, as these difficulties have always existed, the comparisons of each decade may be nearer correct than the precise figures established at each period of count.

The Constitution of the State of New York of 1846 provided for an enumeration of its inhabitants in the year 1855, and every tenth year thereafter. The present is the census of 1875, taken at a cost to the State of \$263,054.99, and compiled at a further cost of \$100,000.

The population of the State has increased twenty-three per cent. since 1865, against an increase of nearly twenty-four per cent. in the decade ending in that year. If the rate of increase continues on the basis of the official returns, Mr. Seaton estimates that the population of the State at the close of the century will be between six and seven millions.

The total population is shown to be 4,698,958, classified according to nativity as follows: na-

tive born, 3,503,300; foreign born, 1,195,658. By sex: males, 2,320,188; females, 2,378,780. By race: white, 4,642,837; colored, 56,121.

Examining the supplementary tables, we find that of the increase of population 301,240 were born in other States of the Union; a contribution of six and one-half per cent. (in round figures) of these Pennsylvania contributed, a little over one per cent. Massachusetts, and New Jersey a little less than one per cent. respectively. The additions of persons born in foreign countries reached the sum 1,195,658. Of these 73,340 came from Canada, 119,090 from England, 367,351 from Germany, 27,364 from Holland, and 91,176 from other foreign countries.

Turning attention to the distribution of this increase, we find that it has been almost wholly realized by cities and their suburbs. While the cities and suburbs have increased at the rate of nearly 35 per cent., the rural districts have not increased even two per cent. This is in accordance with the experience of all countries at the present time. The comforts and advantages afforded by city residence are an irresistible attraction of modern life.

Of the entire population of the State, 1,267,522 were of the voting age—twenty-one years and upwards, and 956,874 between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, the period of military service.

The compiler for obvious reasons, such as want of uniformity in returns, considers the tables of Mortality as merely approximate. The total mortality for the year ending March, 1875, was 53,860, or about 1.15 per centum of the total population; of this number 10,441 were of foreign birth; 5,249 of these of Irish and 2,711 of German origin. The mortality among the Irish, as compared with the German, is disproportionately large, being 100 in every 10,000 Irish to 74 in every 10,000 of German. Perhaps the cause of this enormous difference may be found in the mooted question of Whiskey versus Beer.

The social statistics present some interesting features. Those upon Education deserve special notices. The number of persons of what is known as the school age, between five and twenty-one years, was returned by the School Census of 35th September, 1875, at 1,583,022, and the number of school attendants during the year then closed 1,193,882, or 93.31 per cent. of the whole. These figures the Report considers overestimated, but with all deductions they amply demonstrate the attention paid to education in the State under its liberal legislative provisions.

A series of maps, showing the percentage of increase or decrease of population and products



of each county, contributes to the value of this interesting volume. In the midst of the rapidly moving stream of life we hardly take note of the rapid changes which go on about us. It is only when we pause, and look back upon the progress which has taken place in our own generation, that we can form any estimate of what is to follow, and even then, such is the incredulity of the human mind, we cannot reconcile ourselves to the magnitude of the figures which a statistical retrospect gives certain promise of in the near future.

**THE NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL RECORD.** Devoted to the interests of American Genealogy and Biography. Issued quarterly. January, 1878.

We take great pleasure in commending to our readers this unusually lively number of our bright and sparkling contemporary. Rev. Beverly R. Betts contributes a biographical sketch of the Rev. Robert Bolton, the Westchester antiquarian and historian. Dr. Purple follows with some account of the Ancient Families of New York. These are supplemented by continuations of the Records of the First Presbyterian and Reformed Dutch Churches.

We notice with a little surprise the exception taken to our calling the narrative by Captain John Stuart, printed in the Magazine last year, an "*original document*." We were aware that the Virginia Historical Society had printed the narrative from a copy furnished by his son, and corrected by him. The excessive rarity of the volume, however, induced us to print the narrative *verbatim* from the *original document*. Our painstaking friend has added to the value of his note by appending to it a few extracts concerning the Stuart-Lewis family from *The Virginia Historical Register* and Gilmer's Settlers of Upper Georgia.

**MEMOIRS OF SHAUBENA, WITH INCIDENTS RELATING TO THE EARLY SETTLEMENT OF THE WEST.** By N. MATSON. With full page illustrations. 16mo, pp. 269. D. B. COOKE & Co., Chicago, 1878.

An account of interviews held by the author, in the fall of 1836, with this famous Ottawa Chief, who was a contemporary of Tecumseh and Black Hawk, and often represented the interests of the western tribes at Washington, where he was especially in favor because of his constant amity with the whites and the lives he had saved during the Black Hawk War. Those curious in scandal will find an amusing sketch of a dance at Prairie du Chien, where Colonel (afterwards President) Taylor was quartered with his regi-

ment, an occasion on which Lieutenant Jefferson Davis made himself conspicuous by too gallant attention to an Indian squaw, which would have brought on a general massacre or fight but for the presence of mind of Colonel Taylor. This scene is illustrated with a characteristic picture. The book is written in an extremely bright and pleasing style.

**CEREMONIES AT THE UNVEILING OF THE MONUMENT TO ROGER WILLIAMS ERECTED BY THE CITY OF PROVIDENCE,** with the Address by J. LEWIS DIMAN, October 16, 1877. 8vo, pp. 52. Providence, 1877.

In 1636, more than two centuries ago, Roger Williams founded the prosperous city, the second in New England in wealth and importance, which last year erected in a park a monument to his memory.

The site of the statue, which was executed at Rome by Mr. Franklin Simmons, and of which a photographic picture in the present volume gives an excellent idea, is in a pleasure park, the ground of which—the residence of Roger Williams—was bequeathed by Miss Betsy Williams, a lineal descendant of the colonial worthy, to the city of Providence for public uses. The monument is of bronze, twenty-seven feet in height, the statue seven and a half feet, and that of History, which stands at the base in the attitude of inscribing the name of Roger Williams upon the supporting, six and a half feet.

The address of Mr. Diman is a modest and graceful tribute to the memory of this most worthy man, whose memory as the bold asserter of liberty of conscience will be ever cherished by the American people.

**BRICK CHURCH MEMORIAL, 1699-1877.**

**THE DAYS OF OLD AND THEIR COMMEMORATION, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1877.** Compiled by Rev. THEODORE W. WELLS, Pastor of the church. 8vo, pp. 96. Marlborough, 1877.

This is an account of the proceedings at the semi-centennial celebration of the dedication of the Brick Church at Marlborough, Monmouth county, New Jersey, formerly known as the Reformed Church of the Navasink. The Historical sketch was by the Pastor, and gives a careful narrative of the history and perturbations of the congregation. The old church was founded in 1699, and its records run back to 1709, when the preaching was done in Dutch. In 1785, Dutch singers giving out, the pastor was authorized to have English if he chose, but the preaching was to be in the language of Holland.

**A HISTORY OF THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF CARLISLE, PA.** By Rev. CONWAY P. WING, D.D. 8vo, pp. 263. Carlisle, 1877.

This is much more than a church history. The reader will find in its well-written pages an account of the Kittatinny Valley and its Scotch-Irish settlers, from the first immigration in 1829-30. Carlisle, it will be remembered, was occupied by the Confederate troops under General Ewell during the invasion of Pennsylvania, and the first church was then under the Rev. Dr. Wing's pastoral care.

**THE ANNALS OF HEMPSTEAD, 1643 TO 1832.** Also the rise and growth of the Society of Friends on Long Island and in New York, 1657 to 1826. By HENRY ONDERDONK, Jr. 8v, pp. 107. LOTT VAN DE WATER, Hempstead, 1878.

The town could not have found a more earnest and careful chronicler than the well-known gentleman who edits this compilation from the records of this ancient and famous town. Hempstead was first settled, as many of the towns on Long Island, by a New England colony. The records are not very exciting reading, but supply details valuable as collateral history.

**WILLIAM BLACKSTONE, BOSTON'S FIRST INHABITANT.** 12mo, pp. 36. Copyrighted by ROBERT CHURCHILL. Boston, 1877.

In this little monograph we are informed that William Blackstone occupied the greater part of what was later called Boston, but then known as Shawmut, all by himself—monarch of the eight hundred acres, which later comprised the city limits. A slight sketch of the individual is followed by a poem in his memory, wherein we find the true Mayflower aroma.

**AN AMERICAN ALMANAC AND TREASURY OF FACTS, STATISTICAL, FINANCIAL AND POLITICAL** for the year 1878. Edited by AMSWORTH R. SPOFFORD, Librarian of Congress. 8vo, pp. 420. The American News Company, New York and Washington.

This volume, the able compiler informs us, aims to supply a want long felt for a compact and comprehensive reference book, giving the statistics of all nations, and especially of the United States, at the latest date, and at a moderate price.

In its preparation all of the well-known sources

of statistical information have been drawn upon. The merit, and a very great one, in Mr. Spofford is his admirable condensation. We find also an interesting table of the ages of notable persons, and a charming chapter on the curiosities of statistics.

**AN ACCOUNT OF THE DESTRUCTION BY FIRE OF THE NORTH AND WEST HALLS OF THE MODEL-ROOM IN THE UNITED STATES PATENT OFFICE BUILDING ON THE 24TH SEPTEMBER, 1877.** Together with a History of the Patent Office, from 1790 to 1877. (Illustrated.) 8vo, pp. 38. Washington, D. C.

The history of the building is of considerable interest, and is supplemented by a table, showing the names and numbers of the models destroyed by the disastrous conflagration.

**GENEALOGICAL NOTES: CONTAINING THE PEDIGREE OF THE THOMAS FAMILY OF Maryland and the following connected families: Snowden—Buckley—Laurence—Chew—Ellicott—Hopkins—Johnson—Rutherford—Fairfax—Schieffelin—Tyson, and others.** Illustrated by views and coats of arms. By LAURENCE BUCKLEY THOMAS. 4to, pp. 197. LAURENCE B. THOMAS, Baltimore, 1877.

This volume is well printed, and arranged in the most thorough manner, the separation by groups being admirably marked by the typography. The coats of arms are well engraved. The family of Thomas is claimed to be Welsh, and of great antiquity, as every thing and body in Wales is. All the collateral branches are traced back to an early origin.

**LESSONS IN THE HISTORY OF LOUISIANA, FROM ITS EARLIEST SETTLEMENT TO THE CLOSE OF THE CIVIL WAR,** to which are appended Lessons in its Geography and Products. By JOHN DIMITRY, A. M. 8vo, pp. 216. A. S. BARNES & Co., New York, 1887.

This capital youth's history, in the usual form of questions and answers, supplies a want long felt in a carefully digested history of the State of Louisiana, suited for educational purposes. Beginning with early explorers, De Soto, Father Marguerite and Joliet, successive chapters bring the student to the close of the civil war, the chapters of which are treated in an excellent and praiseworthy spirit. Part II treats of the geography of the country, and Part III gives an excellent account of the products of the soil, and of the animal life on land and water.

**THE SEWARD MEMORIAL. THE CEREMONIES OF THE UNVEILING OF THE STATUE OF WILLIAM H. SEWARD** in Madison Square, New York, September 6, 1876, with description of the Statue and list of subscribers. 8vo, pp. 23. D. APPLETON & Co., New York, 1878.

The title explains the purpose of this handsomely printed volume. The ceremonies include addresses by Mr. Martin, President of the Park Commission, and Mr. Evarts, the orator of the day. The sketch closes with the statement that the statue is much admired by the public generally, a statement which, fortunately for the taste of New York, must not be taken too literally.

**HISTORY OF McDONOUGH COUNTY, ILLINOIS, ITS CITIES, TOWNS AND VILLAGES, with early Reminiscences, Personal Incidents and Anecdotes, and a complete Business Directory of the County.** By S. J. CLARKE. 8vo, pp. 692. Springfield, Ill., 1878.

A full and elaborate account of this county, which was first settled in the spring of 1826, previous to which it had been a broad prairie, the home of the savage. Local histories rarely repay the general reader for a thorough perusal, but we find in this chapters of more than special interest; of such is that on the Mormons and the Mormon war, in which many of the citizens of McDonough took active part. The services of the county in the civil war are related in detail, in chapters which are a desirable addition to the military records of the struggle.

**THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM OF THE UNITED STATES.** A Critical and Historical Exposition of its Fundamental Principles in the Constitution and the Acts and Proceedings of Congress enforcing it. By DAVID A. MCKNIGHT. 8vo, pp. 433. J. B. LIPPINCOTT & Co., Philadelphia, 1878.

This volume, the author informs us, "was not made—it grew naturally and rationally; it does not seek to sustain a theory—it establishes a system." In the course of his investigation Mr. McKnight claims to have unearthed many new and important facts, and he announces his confident opinion that the electoral scheme is a clear and beautiful system, which only requires to be understood. The object of the volume is to explain to the reader what is so clear to the writer's mind. There is a vast amount of inter-

esting information—indeed, the whole ground is covered in the fourteen chapters which make up the work, and an appendix supplies the constitutions of several of the States.

**COLECCIÓN DE DOCUMENTOS INÉDITOS, para la Historia de España, por El Marqués de la FUENSANTA DEL VALLE, T. D. JOSÉ SANCHO RAYON.** Tomo LXVI. 8vo, pp. 560. Imprenta de MIGUEL GINESTA, Madrid, 1876.

We extract for the information of our readers the "Advertencia Preliminar," or preface of the volume.

"With the present volume, which ends the third and last book of the 'Historia de las Indias, de Sr. Bartolomé de las Casas,' we close our task. We shall not delay, God willing, to print part of the 'Apologetica Historia,' and some other incidental Tract by the same author; and in due season his Biography, written by our dear friend, the learned 'Academico de la Historia,' D. Antonio Maria Fabié. This, enriched by new data and current notes, will occupy a volume. We have not been able to publish it in the present volume, as we had only fifteen or twenty pages at our disposal.

"We have placed in the Appendix 51 chapters selected from his 'Apologetica Historia,' and preceded them by the title and prologue of the book, as much that our readers may form an opinion of this work, as because its author thought proper to make intercalations in that which we have just printed; which may be seen by what he says at the close of chapter 67 of Book I in the original enumeration of the chapters, 'Apologetica,' the first of which was 68. From this mss. we propose to publish in brief if not all that to-day remains unedited, that part which refers to Mexico and to Peru, which is the greater part of it. In chapters 197 and 203 two large digressions have been suppressed, the one on the polygamy of the ancients, the other upon the custom already most ancient, of slaying or burning the women when their husbands or lords died, or of burying them alive with them; both to excuse these nations and to prove that the Indians were less barbarous and cruel in general than themselves."

Among other interesting chapters the present volume contains the agreement of the King with Diego Velasquez, an account of the Indians called Cigayo y Tamayo; a refutation of what Fernandez de Oviedo relates of the Indians and Father Casas in his "Historia;" and in the Appendix a description of the natural products, climate, etc., of Santo Domingo, and of the intelligence and characteristics of the inhabitants of the Indies in general.



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# MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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No. 5

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## THE VOYAGE OF VERRAZANO

MY previous essay was occupied chiefly in considering the text of Verrazano's Letter. The present will be devoted to the Voyage which the Letter describes. It may be necessary, however, at the outset to notice a theory, to which attention was called sometime since in a review not specially devoted to historical questions.

The theory in question supposes that the voyage of Verrazano was never made, but was framed out of the map of Ribero, 1529, by some Florentine forger. This theory may be stated briefly as follows: The Carli version of the letter makes the total extent of Verrazano's exploration upon the American coast 700 leagues, a distance included between a point 50 leagues south of latitude  $34^{\circ}$  N. and  $50^{\circ}$  N., embracing nine courses, stated in round numbers as 50, 50, 100, 80, 15, 150, 50, 50, 150 leagues. Then, repairing to Ribero's map, the author of this theory, by a system of measurements, endeavors to make it appear that the divisions between the corresponding points,  $34^{\circ}$  N. and  $50^{\circ}$  N., amount to the same sum, less only five leagues, and declares that the courses sailed according to the Letter agree with the latitudes and courses on Ribero's map. In a refutation of this theory, Mr. Major, the Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society, curtly observes: "As a matter of fact, we find no such 'divisions' on Ribero's map;" which is perfectly true, and the assumed divisions might be left to take care of themselves. The attention of the reader may nevertheless be directed to certain facts, as, for instance, to the fact that while the Carli version gives the length of the fourth course as 80 leagues, Ramusio makes it only 50. The latter also declares that the distance run was *more* than 700 leagues, while the total of his figures is only 670. But the integrity of such a computation depends not alone upon the correctness of the measurements. There must be the employment of all the factors. In this case, however, a crucial point in the discussion is omitted. Reference is here made to the fact that a third latitude given by the Letter




is not mentioned at all, though this is the latitude especially to be relied upon, as it purports to have been fixed during a stay of two weeks. Respecting the two extreme points of the voyage,  $34^{\circ}$  N. and  $50^{\circ}$  N., which the late Buckingham Smith supposes, properly enough, "to have been guessed at rather than ascertained," no question is raised, but the middle and exact latitude,  $41^{\circ} 40'$  N., which must be the middle term in any attempt to deduce the Letter from Ribero, is suppressed. To illustrate this point, a sketch is given from the Ribero map, which was based upon the Voyage of Gomez, accompanied by one from the map of Verrazano. Upon the Ribero map is seen indicated the course of what the theory under consideration holds as a fancied voyage reduced to the form of a Letter after a study of the map. In connection with this course the latitude  $41^{\circ} 40'$  N. is not given, only the two extreme latitudes appearing. This middle latitude, however, has been marked by the present writer, and a glance shows that all is solid land west of that point. Yet the Letter declares that latitude to have been reached by sailing from west to east. Thus a true comparison of the Letter with the Ribero map proves that the Voyage was *not* deduced from the map, as the Voyage according to the map was simply an impossibility. What is more, if the author of the Letter knew of Ribero's map at all, he discredited it as worthless. For convenience, the two sketches have been given upon the same sheet. The nine courses sailed by Verrazano are indicated on the Ribero map by dotted lines. By a careful measurement it will be found that the fifth course, instead of ending where it would if the theory were correct, that is, in  $41^{\circ} 40'$ , terminates near the beginning of parallel  $44^{\circ}$ . If the courses described in the Letter had been deduced from Ribero's map, the port of Verrazano, or Bay of Refuge, would have been sought near the Bay St. Antonio.

Glancing, however, at the Verrazano sketch which accompanies that from Ribero, it will be seen that no such contradiction appears. It is true that the latitudes of Verrazano are incorrect, which is also true of Ribero, though in a lesser degree. By some misunderstanding Hieronimo placed the Cape of Florida eight degrees too high, and the error extends up the coast, not being fully eliminated before reaching the latitude of Greenland. This particular feature of the Verrazano Map, however, will be spoken of more fully in the concluding chapter. It will be necessary here simply to point out the fact that the coast is quite distinctly delineated by Verrazano, and that the point laid down in the Letter as in latitude  $41^{\circ} 40'$  east of Block Island, or the Island of Luisa, may be reached, as Verrazano states, by sailing from west to east.

The Harbor of Giovanni da Verrazano, in  $41^{\circ} 40'$ , is marked in the map of Hieronimo as the Gulf of Refuge (*G. del Refugio*). The Letter, therefore, deliberately rejects the Ribero map and agrees with that of Verrazano. And why? It was simply because the Letter was written from an exact knowledge of the coast, such as Ribero did not possess; for while the Italian map shows the coast with tolerable plainness, from Sandy Hook to Cape Cod and the neighboring shoals, the Spanish map shows no knowledge of the existence of Cape Cod, but exaggerates Sandy Hook so enormously that many have fancied that the Hook was intended to represent the Cape. Notwithstanding the comparative rudeness of Verrazano's outline, it required nearly a century to improve upon it. It is this outline that is indicated in both Map and Letter, by adhering to which, and by rejecting Ribero, both Letter and Map earn the right to be considered authentic. If the true character of the Verrazano Map had been understood and pointed out earlier, the adverse theory under review never would have had existence.

Thus by the simple method indicated the assumed divisions of the Ribero are broken up and dissipated. Besides, it may be remembered, a forger, who was so exact as to ascertain the fact that during the period occupied by the alleged voyage no lunar eclipse took place, would not be so dull as to blunder and miscalculate a simple latitude with the map before him; much less would he give the latitude with such particularity. Nor is it likely that a forger, engaged in framing a voyage out of the map, would say that the country was *rich* in gold, while the map says that it is *poor*. Again, he would not be so bold as to give an island of the size of Rhodes where Ribero indicates nothing of the kind, nor would he place the archipelagoes where Ribero has placed none at all. This theory is, therefore, based upon a misconception of facts, and cannot for a moment be entertained. Besides, as will be shown elsewhere, the influence which Ribero has been supposed to have in Italy never existed, while Ribero was repudiated by his fellow countryman, Oviedo, in 1534. In this connection it may be proper to give the full text of Mr. Major's remarks. He says:

"As a matter of fact we find no such 'divisions' on Ribero's map; but since the contour of the country is the same on both maps, it is obvious that if the courses and distances in the Verrazzano letter tally, as Mr. Murphy says they do, with the Gomez [Ribero] map, they will do so also with the Verrazzano map, which is exactly what we should have a right to expect; and it is equally clear that we must look for evidence outside of the maps to trace the source whence their cognate geography is derived. And what do we find? That, whereas we do






possess a lengthy narrative, full of minute detail, of Verrazzano's voyage, which could bear the minute examination of Dr. Kohl by the light of our knowledge of to-day, and which it would be simply absurd to suppose to be constructed on the mere skeleton basis of a map, the following is the learned Doctor's comment on the Gomez voyage: 'We are unable to designate the track which Gomez followed on the ocean. No kind of ship-journal or report, written either by himself or any of his companions, has been preserved; and the Spanish historians Oviedo, Herrera and Gomara, who may have seen such a journal, are extremely brief in their accounts of this expedition, although it had a particular interest for Spain, being the only official expedition sent out by that country to the northern parts of our eastern coast.' In short, the Verrazzano letter contains details which could not have been gleaned from any previously existing accounts or maps. We must therefore differ from Mr. Murphy, not only as to the fraudulent fabrication of Carli's letter, but also as to the statement that without it Verrazzano's letter would fall through."

Let us now proceed to examine the Voyage of Verrazano. According to Ribault, Verrazano originally sailed from Dieppe, though considerable time appears to have elapsed before he was able to carry out his original intention respecting a voyage to Cathay. This undertaking was projected in 1523. Andrade (*Chronica de Muyto alto, Lisbon, 1613*) says that the Portuguese King was informed by some of his merchants residing in France, that Verrazano had offered his services to Francis I., nominally for a voyage to the Indies by a new route, but really for the purpose of plundering Brazil. The Portuguese Ambassador accordingly remonstrated with Francis, but as the latter had just contracted to marry his son to the daughter of the King of Portugal, it is not reasonable to suppose that the object of Verrazano's expedition was the plunder of the Portuguese possessions. Francis simply replied that with respect to the fleet he would arrange all to the satisfaction of his royal brother. April 25, 1523, Silveira, the Portuguese Ambassador, wrote to his master: "By what I hear, Maestro Joas Verrazano, *who is going on the discovery of Cathay*, has not left up to date for want of opportunity, and because of differences, I understand, between himself and men. . . . I shall continue to doubt unless he takes his departure." (Murphy's "Verrazzano," p. 163.) That he left there can be no doubt. About the time Andrada wrote, there were, according to Pinello, two versions of Verrazano's narrative accessible in Spain. Escaping from the embargo laid for the time by Spanish spies, the fleet of four ships went to sea. Being overtaken by a storm, Verrazano was obliged to enter a Breton port with the "Normanda" and "Dalfina," two others

apparently being lost. After making repairs he sailed to the Spanish coast, and eventually departed upon his discovery with the "Dalfina," the Captain of the other ship leaving Verrazano to go alone. This was doubtless the final result of the quarrels between Verrazano and his men reported by Silveira. The affair appears to be alluded to by Carli where he says: "Brunelleschi, who went with him, and unfortunately turned back, unwilling to follow him farther, when he hears of it [the voyage], will not be well pleased." In this curious and unexpected manner does the concurrent testimony of widely separated writers attest the authenticity of the voyage.

January 17th, 1524, Verrazano sailed from a barren rock southeast of Madeira, though Carli says, "at the end of January last he went from the *Canary* Islands in search of new countries," an error which may be accepted amongst other things as an indication that the Carli Letter did not proceed from the same hand that penned the narrative of the voyage. Verrazano steered westward until February 24th, when he met a "hurricane, and afterwards veered more to the north." March 7th he saw land "never before been seen by any one either in ancient or modern times," which he readily fancied to be the case, as he wished for an excuse for entering upon Spanish ground. Here a significant fact may be pointed out, namely, that in crossing the ocean he took a direct course. In 1562 Ribault was proud of a similar achievement. The custom for a long time afterward was to sail to Newfoundland and coast southward, or the West Indies and thence northward. Verrazano was on forbidden ground, and as a well-known agent of France his life was sought wherever the Spanish flag was unfurled. He therefore took a direct course, holding towards the west amidst sunshine and storm, until the shores of the new continent rose above the waves. This is something that would not have occurred to Italian forgers, or if the bold conception *had* entered their minds, they would not have allowed the fancied achievement to be stated by Carli without applause. Rhetoric would have been summoned to tell the story of a second Columbus. Verrazano ran down the coast fifty leagues without finding a suitable harbor. He probably made this exploration for the purpose of ascertaining whether or not the land seen was connected with Florida, the existence of which country was known to all the world. In this unstudied statement is found the work of an honest and intelligent explorer, who would make it certain that his own line of observation began far enough south to avoid missing any opening to India in the unexplored region represented conjecturally in the Ptolemy of 1513. Returning north-



ward, he landed and met the natives. The landfall is placed in 34° N., near Charleston. Evidently the calculation was a rough one. The land "stretched to the south," which is true, though the coast trends southwest. In this and similar statements there is no effort made to be perfectly exact. All the distances are given on the decimal system, showing that they were rough estimates, not indeed of the length of straight lines from point to point, but approximate estimates of distances sailed while coasting between given points. The country is distinctly described as it appears to-day—the shore bordered with low sand-hills, the sea making inlets, while beyond were beautiful fields, broad plains and immense forests.

Sending a boat to the shore, the people fled, but by friendly signs were induced to return. They exhibited the greatest pleasure upon beholding the strangers, wondering at their dress, "countenances and complexion." Thus in the same region, in 1584, Barlow says, "They wondered marvellously when we were amongst them at the whiteness of our skins." The color of the natives is described in the Carli version as black and not much unlike that of the Ethiopians, while Ramusio's version speaks of them as brown and not much unlike Saracens. That Ramusio did not draw his version from Carli has been demonstrated already, and the explanation of this variation is therefore the more easy. We may suppose that Verrazano made two draughts of the Letter, couched in different terms, and if so, the variation need not be attributed to the translators. It, however, must be noted distinctly that the natives are *not* described either as Ethiopians or Saracens. Still again, the original by Verrazano may have been, and probably was, written in French; in which case, writing in a foreign tongue, he may have used terms that misled his Italian translators, calling the natives "Maures" or "Mores," which formerly included both the African and Asiatic races. This being supposed, one translator may have rendered the term "Saracens" and the other "Ethiopians." In neither instance, however, is there any valid objection to the terms. The supplement to the French dictionary by Barré (Bruxelles, 1838, p. 635) shows that the Greeks spoke of the "Moors of Asia," and the term is still used in a very comprehensive sense. Italian dictionaries use the word *moro* indiscriminately in speaking of the people of Africa. In the journal of Parmentier, 1529, the inhabitants of Madagascar are called Moors, though the island has a black race and handsome olive-colored tribes. This journal also speaks of a "white Moor" (*More blanc*) as appearing with the black-moors. (Vitet's *Histoire de Normandie*, vol. ii, pp. 77 and 80.)

The hypercriticism that has been bestowed upon this subject is, on the whole, remarkable. The language of other writers has also been overlooked; for Gosnold's scribe (1602) says that some of the New England Indians were "black, thin bearded;" Lok calls Frobisher's Indians "tawny Moors," and Weymouth (1605) says that the Indian women in Maine were "well favored in proportion of countenance, though colored black." Peter Martyr observes that there are "divers degrees of blackness" as respects the races. Columbus in his first letter made known the fact that the people of the New World were not black, which would have been attended to by a forger. Belleforest makes Verrazano say that the people were like the "*Mores de la Barbarie*." Herrera, in describing Verrazano's voyage, probably out of one of the versions mentioned by Pinello, says that their color was the same as that of other Indians (*otros Indios*) Dec. III. L. VI, c. 9. These two authors did not follow the same text, as has been hastily assumed. The Japanese who visited Rome in 1615 are described of a color which borders on black (*qui tire sur le noir*. *Archives des Voyages*, I, 59). Thevet, also, (*Les Singularitez*, p. 54), speaking of the natives of America, says that he will leave it to the philosophers to say why their color "is not so burnt (*aduste*) as that of the Blacks of Ethiopia." With Martyr, he recognizes "degrees of blackness." It is time to stop trifling with the subject, for if there were any error in the Carli Version, the text that follows would supply the correction, since even a slight attention to its statement would convince the reader that Verrazano was not describing negroes. Some were "beautiful," and others were fairer or whiter than the rest, and were *straight haired*. Here we have portrayed the characteristics of Indians, not Negroes. Verrazano says that "the only exception to their good looks is that they have broad faces." Here is the Indian described with his enormous cheek bones, though it is added with reference to their faces, "we saw many that had sharp ones, with *black eyes*." This is plainly a description that the greatest blunderer would not apply to the black man of the Ethiopian type. We repeat, therefore, that the general description forbids us from straining any special phrase to suit the Ethiopian theory.

In describing the forests, he speaks of them as he actually saw similar forests at a later period. The descriptions may be exaggerated, but what early descriptions are *not* exaggerated? The *variety* of the forests might well impress any European mind, as they did that of Chateaubriand; for in France, the adopted country of Verrazano, only about forty species of trees attain to a height of thirty feet, while in North America

there are one hundred and forty that reach this height, a fact that gives the key to the peculiar wealth of color which marks the spring time and attends upon the dying year. From the previous chapter we have already seen that Barlow, who had Verrazano's Letter in his hand, adopted his language in describing the forests, which were not like those of "Hercynia." Verrazano says that the forests "send forth the sweetest fragrance to the greatest distance," while Barlow says that before they reached the land "we smelt so sweet and so strong a smell, as if we had been in the midst of some delicate garden, abounding with all kinds of odoriferous flowers." (Hakluyt III, 246.)

Southward the harbors were poor, and northward they saw none, yet the coast was not dangerous, "being free from rocks, and bold," a description practically endorsed by Ribault, who was, however, more successful in finding harbors. Northward Verrazano's experience agreed with that of Barlow, who found the region harborless. Henry Hudson and Captain Dermer met with the same experience.

Verrazano continues the description, and says that the coast appeared to stretch toward the west, thus apparently indicating the entrance to Chesapeake Bay. Some have supposed that "west" was written by error for "east," yet such an inference is by no means necessary, especially as the Chesapeake appears to be indicated upon the Verrazano Map. The language is very general. It is said they continued to coast along the shore, which "we found stretching out to the west." Barlow, speaking of Wohokon, says, "this lande lay stretching itself to the west." It is not said, however, that they *followed* the coast westward. Verrazano probably means to describe only the general direction of the course, not delaying to speak of every inlet seen. Everywhere they saw "a multitude of fires." Barlow says the same, and observes that they were intended by the natives to show the English their numerical strength. Hudson also saw the fires, and named one place "Barnendegat," the modern "Barnegat." Nor must we omit what Father White says on this point (Force's Tracts, Vol. IV), observing as he does that upon the arrival of his ship at the head of Chesapeake Bay, "fires were kindled through the whole region." Verrazano states that in all this region he saw no stone of any sort," while the coast is actually free from stone. This is remarkable information for a Florentine forger to possess. Perceiving nothing promising in this region, Verrazano went northward, where he found beautiful forests. He was now passing the shores of Maryland and Delaware. Delaware Bay is not mentioned, though it would seem to be indicated upon the map of Hieronimo.

Verrazano could find no harbor, and remained three days "riding at anchor on the coast." He was probably sheltered under Cape May, in the mouth of Delaware Bay, which Dermer passed without mentioning it in 1619, when sailing from New York to Virginia. He says: "I stood along the coast to seek harbors, \* \* but being a harborless coast, for aught we could then perceive, we found no succor until we arrived betwixt Cape Charles and the Main, on the east side of the Bay *Chesterpeak*, where in a wilde road we anchored." The people at this place fled from Verrazano, but in the grass, which, according to Ingram (1568), accumulated from year to year, they found an old woman, and a girl of eighteen, "very beautiful;" also two boys. The people made their canoes of logs, as described by Barlow and Father White (Maryland Coll., 1874, p. 35). Verrazano saw the grapevines in profusion climbing the trees, while Barlow, when describing the vines at Roanoke, with the Florentine's description before him, says that they climb towards the top of high cedars. Though writing of early spring, he says in the Carli version that the grapes were "very sweet and pleasant," while Hudson (1609) says that the "dried" currants which the Indians brought were "sweet and good." Ramusio's version says that the grapes were dried. Which version may be the more correct is not of the slightest consequence. That the grapes were dried is perfectly consistent with the language of Carli, as shown in the previous chapter. Possibly the language was originally exaggerated. Cortez makes Montezumas drink wine from cellars in a country where wine and cellars were unknown. Cartier's "*Relation Original*" (Paris, 1867, p. 39) describes figs in Canada, while Hakluyt (III, 209) mentions dried plums. The critic's deep concern about the grapes and the color of the natives is really a case of much ado about nothing.

Passing along the coast of New Jersey, this course being roughly put at a hundred leagues, the navigator next reaches the Bay of New York. Verrazano says: "We found a very pleasant situation amongst some steep hills, through which a very large river, deep at its mouth, forced its way to the sea. From the sea to the estuary of the river any ship, heavily laden, might pass, with the help of the tide, which rises eight feet. But as we were riding at anchor in a good berth, we would not venture up in our vessel without a knowledge of the mouth. Therefore we took the boat, and entering the river, we found the country on its banks well peopled, the inhabitants not differing much from the others, being dressed out with feathers of birds of different colors. They came towards us with evident delight, raising loud shouts of admiration,

and showing us where we could most securely land with our boat. We passed up the river about half a league, where it formed a most beautiful lake, three leagues in circuit, upon which they were rowing thirty or more of their small boats, from one shore to the other, filled with multitudes, who came to see us. All of a sudden, as it is wont to happen to navigators, a violent contrary wind blew in from the sea, and forced us to return to our ship, greatly regretting to leave this region, which seemed so commodious and delightful, and which we supposed also must contain great riches, as the hills showed many indications of minerals."

In 1619, Dermer was also driven away from this harbor, where he fancied, from the account of the Indians, that he should find a passage to the Western Sea of Verrazano. He says: "We were forced back with contrary and overflowing winds, hardly escaping both [with] our lives. Being thus overcharged with weather, I stood along the coast to seek harbors." (New York Coll., 1 ser., Vol. I, p. 353.)

Of the Western Sea Verrazano makes no mention while describing the coast between latitude 34° N. and New York, though its existence is taken for granted in his cosmographical appendix, as will be pointed out. Respecting the descriptions thus far, Mr. Buckingham Smith frankly admits that "the general character of the land and its vegetation could have been so correctly described only from actual observation." This being the case, who except Verrazano could have written the description, since it is known that Gomez (1525) did not? With respect to the correctness of the description of New York Bay, nothing needs to be said, as the sketch is easily recognizable. On the map of Hieronimo this part of the coast is associated with St. Germaine, the splendid residence of Francis I. The Bay of New York is exaggerated as respects its size.

The next course of the Navigator was eastward. Ramusio's version makes the distance fifty leagues, while the Carli version says eighty, though both are exaggerations. Sailing this course along the shore of Long Island, distinctly indicated on the map, Verrazano reached a triangular shaped island, said to be ten leagues from the land, and about the size of the famous Island of Rhodes. This must have been Block Island, though the latter is too small, and cannot be compared to Rhodes in size, notwithstanding the similarity in shape. As this subject will come up in the following chapter, in connection with the Map of Verrazano, we may simply observe now that we have no right to deny that a man ever saw a certain island, because he erred in his estimate of its size. The terms throughout the Letter are the loose terms often employed by sailors.

At this point, evidently, Verrazano had reached the waters of Narragansett Bay. This triangular island, which, after the mother of Francis I., he called Luisa, occupies the same position in the map of Hieronimo da Verrazano that Block Island holds on modern maps. Passing this island without landing, he went on fifteen leagues more to a place in latitude  $41^{\circ} 40' N$ . It is worthy of notice that the old interpreters of the Letter had no difficulty in recognizing the places described. In 1583 Captain Carlisle urged the establishment of a colony near latitude  $40^{\circ} N$ ., while, as noted in the previous chapter, Gosnold sailed to this place in 1602, with Verrazano's Letter in his hand. The Explorer did not land upon the island of Luisa, but went forward, and found an excellent harbor. The distance of this island from the land is set down as ten leagues, though Block Island is not more than five. Verrazano wrote, more or less, from recollection, and thus goes wide of the mark. Brereton and Archer, the historians of Gosnold's voyage, also misstate the distances, and some of their statements are unintelligible.

Entering the harbor of Newport, Verrazano was met by twenty canoes, full of astonished savages, who kept at a distance while they viewed the structure of the ship and the dress of the strangers. Finally they seemed to be satisfied with what they saw, and expressed their feelings, Indian fashion, by shouting in chorus. By the distribution of trinkets and toys, some of them were induced to go on board the *Dal-fina*. Evidently they had never seen Europeans before, and did not know the value of arms nor implements made of iron. The "looking-glasses" shown them caused a smile, and they returned them as soon as they had looked at them. Thus the Maine Indians "laughed" when mirrors were presented them by Weymouth, 1605. Verrazano says that these people had "two Kings, more beautiful in form and stature than can possibly be described. One was about forty years, and the other about twenty-four." The elder wore around his neck a large chain, ornamented with many stones of different colors, which may have been wampum. Their complexion is described as tawny, and "greatly resembling the antique." If Verrazano had happened here at the time of the annual mourning, he might have found them black and so described them, as the New England Indians, as well as others, painted themselves black at regular intervals.

Respecting the "two Kings" found by Verrazano presiding over the people, it may be observed that the Narragansett Indians were living under this kind of government when the English came, a century



later. Roger Williams (Key, 120) says: "Their government is monarchical; yet at present the chiefest government of the country is divided between a younger Sachem, Miantunnomoh, and an elder Sachem, Canonicus, of about four score years old, this young man's uncle; and their agreement in the government is remarkable." Here we find the same order indicated by Verrazano, Canonicus and his nephew being no doubt descendants of the Sachems who received the Florentine with the kindness which Roger Williams declared to be an eminent characteristic. The Letter states that "one of the two Kings often came with his queen and many attendants to see us for his amusement; but he always stopped at a distance of about two hundred paces, and sent a boat to inform us of his intended visit, saying that they would come and see our ship. This was done for safety, and as soon as they had an answer from us, they came off, and remained a while to look around; but on hearing the amazing cries of the sailors, the King sent the queen with her attendants in a very light boat [a bark canoe?] to wait near an island, a quarter of a league distant from us, while he remained a long time on board."

It has been suggested that this was analogised from Peter Martyr (Sec. 1, Lib. IV), where he describes the visit made to the brother of Columbus by the Cacique of Xaragua and his sister, a suggestion disposed of in the "Church Review" (July, 1878). If, however, such had been the case with reference to the language, it would prove nothing, since Martyr's descriptions of the West Indies were published twelve years *before* the Letter of Verrazano was written. To show that the Letter was not the composition of 1524, it must be shown that the Letter quotes from some work of a *later* date than 1524. There is no proof whatsoever that the author of the Verrazano Letter derived any aid from Martyr, though if he had it would not reflect upon the authenticity of the Voyage; otherwise we should have to conclude that Barlow made no voyage, because he plagiarized Verrazano. This brings us to the narrative of Barlow once more, who speaks of the degree of state observed by the savages. At Roanoake, he says, "the King is greatly obeyed, and his brothers and children revered." Again, the "King's brother's wife" when "she came to visit us (as she did many times), was followed with forty or fifty women always; and when she came to the ship, she left them all on land, saving her two daughters, her nurse, and one or two more."

Verrazano and Roger Williams agree respecting the state maintained by these savage potentates, and the same testimony is borne by Dermer


and Levett. The declarations of the Letter, that the savages "imitated us with earnestness and fervor in our acts of worship," agrees with the experience of navigators and the known politeness of the Indian (Hakluyt III. 221, and Herrera IV. 248). The Indians guarded their women carefully, according to Verrazano, and Martin Pring (1603) uses Verrazano's Letter in speaking of this characteristic.

Verrazano relates that "on entering the woods, we observed that they all might be traversed by an army ever so numerous," having also noted that farther to the south the "woods are easily penetrated." "Mourt's Relation" (1620) says that the woods are for the "most part open," and "fit either to go or ride in." The "New English Canaan" of Morton (1632), speaking of the country in 1622, says, "the trees grow here and there, as in our parks, and makes the country very beautiful and commodious." Wood, in his "New England Prospect," says that the natives kept the forests clear. Having now entered up a rocky region, the material of the arrow-heads changes; and Verrazano notes that instead of using bone, the chief material employed on the coast southward, they used for the most part "emery, jasper and hard marble," meaning white quartz. Brereton in 1602, with Verrazano's Letter in his hands, speaks of "emery stones" and "alabaster very white," which perhaps was nothing but quartz, as true alabaster does not occur.

The fruits of the country appeared to be different from those of France and Italy, while species of trees unknown in Europe were observed. Verrazano also mentions that the natives took the deer in traps, one of the first facts noted by the Pilgrims when they came into the country.

The Letter says that their dwellings were circular, and that sometimes twenty-five or thirty lived in the same house. Roger Williams confirms the statement; while, upon the other hand, whoever wishes to know how Indian houses were represented in Italy, should consult Bordone's *Isole del Mondo*, (Ed. 1528, Book I. 6); and for France, Thevet's *Cosmographie*, (Ed. 1575, II. 1007), where a solid Romanesque architecture, takes the place of the pointed style of Bordone.

This is the place where, according to the Letter, any fleet might ride in safety. In the sketch which accompanies this chapter, it is marked as the gulf of Refuge (*del Refugio*). Here Verrazano notices that the Indians are long-lived, which is confirmed by Williams, Gosnold and Lescarbot. (Nouvelle France, Ed. 1612, p. 770.) The manufacture of mats, mentioned by the Florentine, is confirmed by all writers. There is also abundant confirmation for the statement that the natives were



"kind and charitable towards their relations, making loud lamentations in adversity," and at their death join "in weeping, mingled with singing for a long time." One of the most curious pieces of information given by the Florentine, is the fact that they had a way of curing sickness "by the heat of the fire." Roger Williams describes the process, which consisted of putting the patient in an underground oven intensely heated. (R. I. Coll. I. 158.) This was another curious fact for a Florentine forger to know. Those who wish to learn what was actually taught in Italy on this particular subject, may consult Benzoni. (*Mondo Nuovo*. 1565, p. 55.) This "forger" appears to have indulged in a wholesale correction of standard Italian authorities.

The Letter is characterized by various omissions, it is true, and there is no positive description of the aboriginal money called "Wampum," a currency that did not become of interest to Europeans until long after 1524. Ribault (1562) says nothing about wampum, nor does Ingram (1568), nor Barlow (1585), Pring (1603), nor the Popham Journal (1607). Worse than all, Marco Polo, in his account of China, says nothing about *tea*; a melancholy way of writing history, the critic thinks. Verrazano also fails to mention the use of tobacco, but this is the case with Ribault, Barlow, Ingram and the Popham Journalist. Various writers, after the example of Verrazano, fail to give any specimens of the Indian language. So, likewise, nothing is said about bark canoes, unless indeed the "very light boat" already referred to, was of that character, which is not improbable. This failure to refer to the bark canoe has been considered the "most remarkable omission of all," and the critic says that "this light and beautiful fabric was peculiar to the Algonkin tribes." We shall see, however, that it was not so peculiar to the New England Indians. The truth is that the omission forms a proof of the authenticity of the voyage. We have at present no distinct proof that the bark canoe was used at all on the Rhode Island coast in very early times, while the log canoe was used all along the Atlantic coast nearly as far east as the Bay of Fundy. It is probable that even on the Maine coast, the bark canoe was not often used at the time of Verrazano's voyage farther north; where the trees were small, the use of bark was a necessity. In Maine and Massachusetts the trees were large, and *fire* would build a canoe, a process of naval construction which doubtless prevailed until the introduction of steel knives and hatchets. Then the use became divided, and where canoes were required for inland portages they were made of bark, while for more or less of the rough coast work the log canoe was used. Lescarbot (*Nouvelle France*, Ed. 1612, pp. 561, 576)

describes their manufacture; and, speaking of the visit of the French to Saco, Maine, he says, "presently the sea was seen all covered over with their [the Savages'] boats, laden with nimble and lusty men holding themselves up straight in them, which we cannot do without danger, those boats being nothing else but trees hollowed out." (Purchas IV. 1633.) The original reads, *des arbres creuses*. Champlain describes the log canoe at Cape Ann, and the mode of its production (*Œuvres*, III. 59-60). The log canoe, the primitive canoe of all nations, was still the representative canoe of New England in 1604, and was the canoe of the Rhode Island coast in 1524. The allusion to it by Verrazano was correct.<sup>1</sup> Altogether the amount of curious and exact information which he gives is remarkable, and it goes far to substantiate the authenticity of his Letter, the curious points of which have been brought out the clearer by adverse criticism.

Of the Harbor of Newport, Verrazano gives an exaggerated yet tolerable description. The wrong latitude given to it in the map will be explained elsewhere. He describes the harbor, properly, as opening towards the south; and "in the midst of the entrance there is a living rock (*pietra viva*) formed by nature, and suitable for the construction of any kind of machine or bulwark for the defence of the harbor." The island referred to is probably Goat Island, where the lighthouse now stands; while the "shining stones, crystals and alabaster" are referable to the brilliant lime-rocks many years ago cut away to the water's edge by General Cullum, to build the modern forts that protect the city and harbor.

Verrazano left the Bay of Refuge May 5th (16th, new style), and proceeded on his cruise, sailing a hundred and fifty leagues along the coast in sight of land, and without delay, as the wind was fair. He perhaps went outside of the island of Martha's Vineyard, and upon reaching the northern end of Cape Cod, shaped his course for the heights of Plymouth, both to learn the character of Cape Cod Bay and to keep in sight of land, through which he may have hoped to find a strait. In the Letter no mention is made of Cape Cod, but that remarkable place is depicted upon the map, together with the neighboring shoals of Nantucket. Verrazano probably was the first navigator in the sixteenth century who saw Cape Cod, which he rounded, and thus reached a point eastward from the Harbor of Refuge. The highlands of Plymouth and the Blue Hills may have been sighted, after which the course would lie outside of Cape Ann to the borders of Eastern Maine. Here the people appeared rude. Like the country, marked on the map, "much

*gente.*" The natives bartered from the rocks, and gave the French a shower of arrows. Verrazano nevertheless forced a landing, and examined the country. In treating the eighth course he seems still to be describing the Maine coast, and is repeating himself, as he may have done elsewhere. The region reminded him of the Adriatic Gulf, and a comparison of the charts of the two regions will show that the resemblance is striking. Buckingham Smith applied the description to Maine, and conceded that it was admirable. Oddly enough, however, Botero (*Relatio Universale*, 1640, p. 172) confounds this region with the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and says that Verrazano counted thirty-seven instead of thirty-two islands, as the Florentine states, while Herrera speaks of fifty-two.

Mr. Smith in his "Inquiry" (p. 17) says: "How any one, following the shore to Nova Scotia—in this instance a mariner on the lookout for a strait opening the way to Cathay, and discovering the series of islands extending along Massachusetts Bay eastward to Cape Sable—should fail to get into the Bay of Fundy, is certainly beyond explanation"; while Mr. Murphy, in his "Voyage of Verrazzano" (p. 56), says that in running this course the Florentine would have "been finally locked in the Bay of Fundy." This might seem to prove conclusively that Verrazano was never on the coast, since he says nothing about the Bay of Fundy. The same argument, however, would apply to Gomez and many others, and thus nearly all the explorers might also be banished. With respect to Verrazano, it may here be explained again that his description was general. Thus neither his Letter nor the Map shows any indication of the Bay. The same is true of Gomez, who explored the coast the year after Verrazano. The map of Ribero, as the reader will perceive by examining the outline, shows the Penobscot River, but eastward, beyond that point, where the peninsula of Nova Scotia should appear, the coast is unbroken. The so-called Gulf of Maine would seem to be represented, yet this is not so, since the cape, which many have supposed to be Cape Cod, is simply Sandy Hook. Dr. Kohl, notwithstanding his intense desire to find the Gulf of Maine, was obliged to concede this point, as Cape Cod is wholly wanting in Ribero's Map. On the other hand, Verrazano gives this famous cape, and beyond it eastward is an indication of the gulf, with two openings still farther east, one of which may be supposed to indicate the mouth of the Bay of Fundy. The first unmistakable attempt to delineate the bay upon a map was that by Homem, who made maps at Venice in 1358. This individual had obtained tolerable ideas of the geography of the region

but he failed to put them in the proper form. The termination of Nova Scotia is indicated upon his map (Maine Coll., s. 2, Vol. I) by the "*beu Sablom*," now Cape Sable, but the Bay of Fundy is greatly exaggerated. The entire coast line between the Penobscot and the St. Croix is abolished, and the space which it represents is devoted to the enlargement of the bay. Speaking of this period, Dr. Kohl says: "None of the great official explorers, so far as I know, had ever seen or described Cape Sable or the Bay of Fundy." After Homem, no map appeared showing the peninsula of Nova Scotia, until Lescarbot published his rude map at Paris in 1612. Champlain's draught of this peninsula, published in 1613, bears a striking resemblance to Homem's, showing that both were influenced by an original map. Those who think that it must have been a very easy task for the first navigator upon the coast should consult Lescarbot, and observe how poorly it was done by him.

The earliest printed description of the peninsula of Nova Scotia which the writer has found is that by Thevet, who purloined the information from some French navigator, and gave it as his own. This description appears to have escaped notice hitherto. At least it is not referred to by Dr. Kohl. Writing of this country, Thevet says: "The coast of Canada, from the Cape of Lorraine [Cape Breton] turning towards the south, projects into the sea, as Italy does between the Adriatic and Ligurian Seas, forming a peninsula." This gives an exact picture of Nova Scotia, yet the knowledge this conveys does not appear to have been utilized until the opening of the seventeenth century, when the expedition of De Monts led to the improvement of the maps of the coast. It may appear remarkable that this prominent feature should have been neglected, but such is the case. Verrazano paid no more attention to the Bay of Fundy than Gomez, Allefonsce and many others. One reason for this possibly is found in the fact that no romance or mystery was ever associated with that bay, while the Penobscot, indicated on nearly every map, was credited with being the seat of a large and wealthy city, the City of Norumbega, which held its place in the imagination of navigators until the dream was dispelled by Champlain. There is, however, no such explanation for the neglect of Cape Cod, which, after being depicted on the Map of Verrazano and described by Oviedo from the now lost map of Chaves, almost disappeared until the opening of the next century. Homem, who came very near making a valuable map, knew that such a cape as Cape Cod *ought* to be represented, but he gave only what he considered should be its name, "C. deserto." The cape itself was not delineated by him, though others,

under the influence of Verrazano, showed some knowledge of its existence. Dr. Kohl fancied that Cape Cod was indicated by "C. Muchas Isles," forgetting that this was a cape near the Penobscot, and overlooking the fact that this name was placed by Homem *east* of "B. Estevan guterres," the latter word being a misspelling of Gomez, whose Bay was the Gulf of Maine. From these and other considerations, the reader will perceive that the failure of Verrazano to describe the foggy Bay of Fundy, where only the most skillful navigator is able to feel his way, is not so remarkable after all. The wonder is that in so short a time he should have observed so much as he did upon a new and unknown coast. Whoever has been baffled for weeks together by the fogs of that region will have nothing to say against Verrazano.

Verrazano next sailed northward again, making, according to Ramusio's version, a hundred and fifty leagues, while according to the statement of Verrazano's Cosmographical Appendix he reached the latitude of 50° N. In the previous chapter the fact is pointed out that there is no real disagreement on the point between the two versions of the Letter. But whether or not he really went so far north as 50° is of little consequence. Nevertheless it is a surprise to find any one assuming that Verrazano meant to teach that the coast up to the limit of his voyage was seen by him for the first time. It is true that he speaks of seeing a land in 34° N. that was never seen before, a remark already pointed out as exculpatory, though by no means suggested by fancy. But the *real* grievance, in the eye of the critic, is found in Verrazano's statement that he had "discovered (*discoperto*) seven hundred leagues and more of new countries." The condemnation of this statement is followed by Mr. Murphy in the "Voyage of Verrazzano," (p. 57) with a disquisition proving that Europeans had a "prior knowledge" of those countries. This prior knowledge cannot and need not be denied. It is remarkable that any one should suppose this prior knowledge to be in the slightest degree inconsistent with the statement of Verrazano, that he had "discovered" more than seven hundred leagues of new countries. The facts were always perfectly understood. Ramusio' states that Aubert in the *Pensee* had visited Canada in 1508, from which time and long before, the region of Cape Breton, Newfoundland and Labrador was continuously visited by Basques, Bretons and Portuguese, the latter having gone to 50° N. and probably farther. To represent either Verrazano or Cartier as the first European who saw the country would be absurd. When Cartier, in 1534, explored the gulf of St. Lawrence, he was piloted to a harbor by a French vessel whose commander was

familiar with the ground. The next year, when he reached Quebec, the natives, who had already seen more Europeans than they wished to see, tried to frighten him away, and also used words proving that they had been in previous communication with the French. As early as 1527 there was a considerable fleet of various nationalities that for a long time had been accustomed to visit St. John's. These things were well-known in Europe, where no person of the commonest geographical information could be ignorant of what was so notorious. Every tyro knew of the fisheries of Newfoundland and Cape Breton, and of the fleets annually sailing thither; therefore to suppose that the author of the Verrazano Letter, whoever he may have been, was ignorant of the facts, and represented the navigator as opening up a country never before visited by Europeans, is indefensible.

The Letter, however, was written by a man conversant with science and with the progress of maritime discovery, who, as already pointed out, even knew that no lunar eclipse took place during the voyage of Verrazano. What, then, did Verrazano mean, by saying that he "discovered" more than seven hundred leagues of new countries? This brings us face to face with the truth which may not be forgotten in such a connection, namely: That the meaning of "discover" (*discoperto*) has changed and narrowed since Verrazano and other earlier writers described our coasts. Verrazano meant just what Barlow meant, when, in 1584, he said that his expedition "discovered part of the country now called Virginia." Again, he meant what the Dutch taught in 1614, by saying that they had "discovered and found" "new lands between New France and Virginia, the sea coast whereof lies between forty and forty-five degrees." (Holland Doc. I. 11.) All this region had been visited and mapped by both French and English, as the Dutch well knew. The word "discover," therefore signified to explore or survey. This was the sense in which Verrazano used the term, and it will be impossible to force any other interpretation of his words.

It is said by Mr. Murphy in the "Voyage of Verrazzano," (p. 39, *n*) that the "*Voyages Aventureux*," attributed to Allefonsce, and published in 1559, "gives almost a contemporary denial \* \* of the Verrazzano discovery of the country." The view is based upon the statement of the work in question, that the river of Norumbega "is newly discovered by the Portuguese and Spaniards." This work, however, is not the work of Allefonsce. Respecting the force of the terms, it may be said that "newly" signifies either "recently" or "anew." If the latter, then the declaration is that Norumbega had been rediscovered by the



Portuguese and Spaniards. If, on the other hand, it was intended to mean that in 1559 it had lately been discovered for the first time, the statement also gives a denial to the voyage of Allefonsce, who sailed on the New England coast, and wrote of Norumbega nearly twenty years before. It also discredits the voyage of Gomez in 1525, notwithstanding Norumbega was the region called by his name. The truth is that all the compiler of the work, incorrectly attributed to Allefonsce, meant was that Norumbega had been re-explored recently by the Portuguese and Spaniards. Still, even if the language in question *did* give a denial to the Verrazano discovery, such denial would have no force, in the face of the incontrovertible fact, that in 1529 the brother of Verrazano laid down Norumbega upon his map, which represented the navigator's voyage. On this map, a copy of which was presented to Henry VIII., some distance southwest of Cape Breton is found "Oranbega," simply a form of Norumbega, so variously rendered on the old charts.

Verrazano does not mention seeing any fishing vessels around Cape Breton, and in fact may not have seen any. Ships often steam from New York to the Irish coast to-day without sighting a sail. Yet Verrazano, like all the world, knew that fishermen were there. Such cheap information might well have been introduced by a forger devising an imaginary voyage, but it was not required on the part of a veritable explorer like Verrazano. Therefore it is that we find him making no effort to describe the northern regions, already so well known, while the regions to the south, about which Europe would desire information, he describes with the greatest particularity.

In his brief *resumé* of the voyage Verrazano makes a poor account of distances, which Humboldt assures us are of little use in such connections; while respecting the courses sailed he is hardly more exact, only three of the many are given between Newport and Newfoundland. To criticise such a general narrative with the measuring rod in hand, would be both unscientific and unjust. The author of the Letter teaches that his statements in this respect are of a general character, where he informs the King that accounts of his explorations would be found in the "book," which he hopes "may prove serviceable" to navigators, saying; "We therefore determined our progress from the difference of longitude, which we ascertained by various instruments by taking the sun's altitude from day to day, and by calculating geometrically the distance run by the ship from one horizon to another."

To recapitulate the points of the voyage of Verrazano would be to

repeat nearly the whole chapter. It must, therefore, suffice to remind the reader of the fact, that at every stage of the exploration we have the careful, yet unstudied narration of an actual voyager. Proceeding from south to north, the character of the country, the people and its productions, undergo their proper changes. This takes place without any effort on the part of the writer to indicate that his knowledge is superior. The most curious facts are stated without any triumph or ostentation. The spirit of the literary forger is nowhere to be found. In the description of the voyage is discovered a simple, plain and modest attempt to state in general terms what the navigator observed in passing along the coast of a new and unexplored country. The truthfulness of his narrative has been attested by witnesses of the greatest value, since no higher compliment can be paid to a traveler than to have his descriptions recognized as truthful, and copied by those who come after him. This, however, was done by successive writers and observers for nearly a hundred years, during which time the achievements of Verrazano exerted a marked influence upon American exploration. Thus the Dieppe Captain, Allefonsce, Ribault, Barlow, Archer and Gosnold all give the highest testimony to the authenticity of the voyage, which adverse criticism has assailed in vain.

B. F. DE COSTA

<sup>1</sup> See Steinitz on "The Ship;" Pinkerton's *Voyages* (XIII); De Bry's "*Pergrinationes in Americam*" (Pars I, ed. 1590, Plate 12).

<sup>2</sup> If Ramusio "worked over" the Letter of Verrazano, why did he not square the statements of the Letter with the voyage of Aubert and others, which he published in the same work with Verrazano's?

**AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF PHILIP  
VAN CORTLANDT**

**BRIGADIER-GENERAL  
IN THE CONTINENTAL ARMY.**

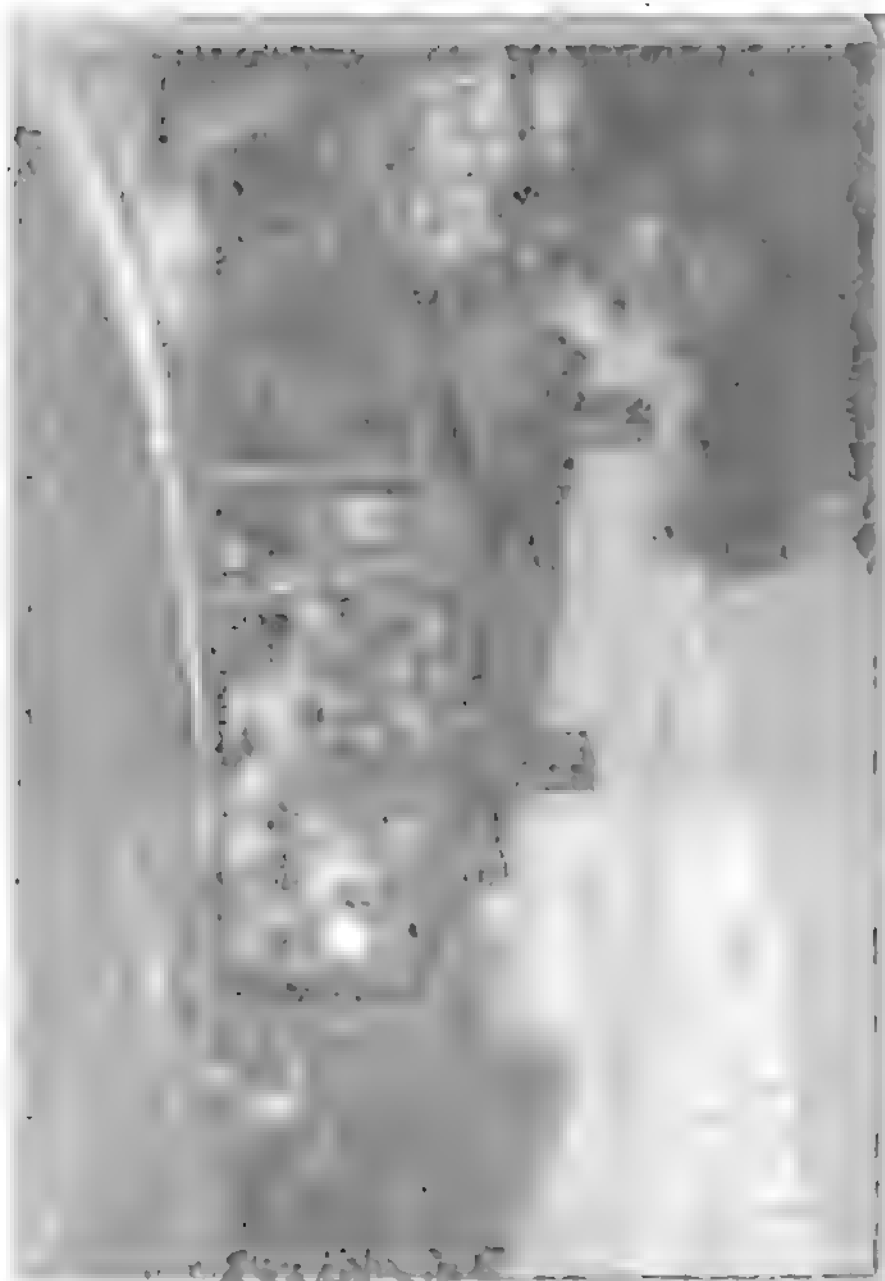
Communicated by Dr. Pierre C. Van Wyck.

This is to certify to all whom it may concern, that General Philip Van Cortlandt, of the Town of Cortlandt, in the County of Westchester and State of New York, eldest son of Pierre Van Cortlandt and Joanna Livingston his wife, was born in the City of New York in a house in Stone Street, near the Fort, on the 21st day of August, old style, 1749, which makes his anniversary birthday the 1st day of September, new style.

Shortly after the decease of his grandfather, the Hon. Philip Van Cortlandt, he was born, and his father and mother removed to their Manor of Cortlandt and possessed the house and lot at Croton, the house having been built, and together with the lot of land, given in entail to the said Pierre Van Cortlandt during his life, then to his eldest son. The above is as related to the son by the father and mother, who now certifies of his own knowledge and memory as follows:—I remember three sisters, Catherine, Cornelia and Gertrude; the last died when about eleven years old. I remember three brothers, Gilbert, Stephen and Pierre; Stephen died in the year 1775, after I left him at Croton when I went as Lieutenant-Colonel in the Revolutionary army. The youngest sister, Ann, was born at Croton, where all my brothers and sisters were born. My sister Catherine was married to Abraham Van Wyck, son of Theodorus Van Wyck, of New York, and has three sons; the

youngest, Philip G. Van Wyck, was born after the death of his father. Sister Cornelia married Gerard G. Beekman, Jr., son of Gerard G. Beekman, of New York, and has had three sons and one daughter, Gerard, Pierre Cortlandt, Ann and Stephen. Pierre Cortlandt was a very fine, good young man; he died in the West Indies. Her husband died at the Mills, where she now resides. Sister Ann married Philip S. Van Rensselaer, who was a long time Mayor of Albany; he died in the year 1824 at his house in Albany, where my sister now resides. My brother Gilbert died in New York in the 29th year of his age of a white swelling, which, by improper treatment through the ignorance of a doctor, brought on a mortification of which he died—a truly patient and penitent man. My Brother Pierre married Catherine Clinton, who died without issue. He then married Ann Stevenson, who died after leaving a son Pierre, who is a fine youth, and I hope will live and become a fine and worthy man.

In my youthful days my father had a small school-house built on this farm about half a mile from the house, where I was taught, in company with my sisters and brothers and a few children of the neighbors, by a common schoolmaster, to read, write badly, and something of arithmetic until the age of fifteen, when I was sent to Coldenham Academy, under the tuition of a young Scotchman whom Cadwalader Colden had employed to conduct the school. His name was William Adams, who afterwards became a doctor, and died in Mount Pleasant. I remained with Adams about nine months and applied closely to my



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CORTLANDT MANOR HOUSE, CROTON, N. Y.



studies, and learned arithmetic, surveying, mensuration, book-keeping, dialing, gauging and logarithms, &c., &c. On hearing of the death of my uncle and friend, Captain Samuel Livingston, my mother's brother who was drowned at sea, I left the academy and was frequently engaged with Nathaniel Merritt, a surveyor, who was mostly in the employ of my father and his friends, until I became a practical surveyor myself, and was frequently employed by heirs of my great-grandfather, Stephanus Van Cortlandt, surveying and disposing of lands in the Manor of Cortlandt. I was also engaged in the milling business by the assistance and approbation of my father, and also in keeping a small retail store.

During this period my father was a member of the Legislature, and one of the number opposed to the odious encroachments of the Crown, and when every art and address was made use of to seduce members to join their party, I remember Governor Tryon came on a visit, bringing his wife and a young lady, who was a daughter of the Hon. John Watts, a relation of my father's, and Colonel Edmund Fanning, his friend and secretary; and after remaining a night he proposed a walk, and after proceeding to the highest point of land on the farm, being a height which affords a most delightful prospect, the Governor commenced with observing what great favors could be obtained if my father would relinquish his opposition to the views of the King and Parliament of Great Britain, what grants of land could and would be the consequence in addition to other favors of immense

consequence, &c., &c. My father then observed that he was chosen a representative by unanimous approbation of a people who placed a confidence in his integrity to use all his ability for their benefit and the good of his country as a true patriot, which line of conduct he was determined to pursue. The Governor then turned to Colonel Fanning and said: "I find that our business here must terminate, for nothing can be effected in this place, so we will return;" which they did by taking a short and hasty farewell, and embarked on board the sloop and returned to New York; this was in the year 1774. Previous to this Governor Tryon had introduced the raising of companies of militia and granting commissions to officers as Tryon's Guards, and among them sent me a commission as Major, and as such I exercised the regiment in the Manor of Cortlandt, of which James Ver Planck was Colonel. I was also frequently taken by my Tory relations to dine at the Fort with the Governor, and at other times with their own families, hoping, perhaps, to prejudice me in their favor. But they were mistaken; for in the spring of the year 1775, observing that a crisis was fast approaching, when it would be necessary to take an active position either for or against our country, I did not hesitate, but immediately declared my intention of risking all my property and life, if necessary, in the defence of my country. I did so, and was elected in the County of Westchester, in which I lived, a member of the State Convention. The battle at Lexington and Concord having taken place, and Ethan Allen having taken Ticonderoga, and



Congress having determined to send troops to Canada, I was solicited to take a command as Lieutenant-Colonel under James Holmes, in the Fourth Battalion of New York Troops, to be commissioned by John Hancock, President of Congress, and Richard Montgomery to be the General in command. My assent was no longer withheld than to obtain the full approbation of my parents, which was immediately complied with, and I received the commission dated the 18th of June, 1775, and was ordered on command, without loss of time, to Albany, there to discipline, equip and forward on the troops, having left at my departure my two brothers, Gilbert and Stephen, at the point of death with the malignant sore throat, one of which I never saw afterward, as Stephen died a few days after my departure, in his fifteenth year. Thus I left my friends and all my property, among which was a store of goods and debts due me from an abandoned set of Tories, almost all of which became a total loss.

My anxiety and trials were, from the time I received the commission, many, considering my youth and inexperience. The first was at Newtown, on Long Island, where I mustered a company under command of Captain Abm. Riker; the men had enlisted under a promise of clothing, &c., and requested of me if they could depend on having them, when upon hearing the negative, they all walked off, said they were sorry but could not continue, whereupon I gave them my promise that I would furnish them out of my own purse, on which they returned with cheers of applause. My next business was to inform the

Convention in New York what I had promised, which produced the desired resolution, that not only that company, but all the troops should be provided with clothing, &c., as I had prescribed for them. My next trouble was at Albany, for on the arrival of recruits without arms or tents, I had first to detain the sloop that brought them, or hire houses to accommodate them all, which I had to advance pay for at a high price, and to keep them with me, to advance my own money and borrow of a friend sufficient to pay one dollar each to upwards of 350 soldiers. At length I took possession of what I found out to be the King's store, which I made use of as a barrack for the men, but want of more cash at length produced a serious mutiny, and at the time when I received the disagreeable news of my brother's decease. Having perused the letter giving the information, I dismissed the parade, consisting of about 400 men as yet without arms, and retired to my room, grieving for the loss of my favorite brother. In about one hour two of my officers came and informed me that 181 of the men had gone off, and that all the rest were preparing to follow them unless I could prevent them. I took my sword in my hand, and went with them to the barracks, where I found the men in great disorder; but passing that all might see me, without speaking to any of them, until I had resolved how to conduct myself so as first to alarm, then to soothe their passions in my favor if possible, I therefore enjoined it on the two officers to prevent, by seizing my hands, any injury to be done to any one with my sword, which I am happy to say was ef-

fects, and all in a few minutes became my friends, and volunteers brought back the deserters, who were pardoned by and with the consent of Colonel Van Schaack, who fortunately arrived to my assistance. All the troops having passed, I followed, although unwell, to Ticonderoga, where I was confined with a fever, and for some time at the point of death, and in my convalescent state, General Schuyler brought me to his house in Albany, after which he permitted me to return and visit my friends during the remaining part of the winter, and until I should receive further orders. During this period my Colonel, James Holmes, left our service, and Colonel Jacobus Wynkoop was appointed to take the command of the Fourth Regiment, and early in the spring of 1776, ordered to command at Ticonderoga. Not hearing from General Schuyler, I went to New York and waited on the Commander-in-Chief, General Washington, who expected the British Army from Boston intended to attack the City of New York, who gave me orders to go to General Schuyler, where I should be directed how the regiment should be disposed of, either to the north, or to join the grand army under his command. The result was, General Schuyler sent me to my regiment at Ticonderoga, when our army retreated from Canada. General Gates arrived and commanded at Ticonderoga, and sent Colonel Wynkoop to Skenesborough, myself being ordered on a court-martial continued for the trial of Colonel Moses Hazen, arrested by General Arnold for disobedience of orders. I remained time sufficient to discover the

vile conduct of Arnold, in procuring a vast quantity of goods from the merchants of Montreal, which he intended, and which I believe was appropriated to his benefit, and also for improper conduct before the court. He would have been arrested himself, but escaped by procuring an order from General Gates to send me, the morning after the court had adjourned, to Skenesborough, by which means the court was dissolved, Hazen released from arrest, and Arnold escaped censure which he ought to have had.

On my arrival at Skenesborough, I found my Colonel, Wynkoop, very unwell, and he directed me to command and forward on the troops arriving from Connecticut and elsewhere, also to direct and superintend the building of three row galleys on the stocks, at the time under the direction of three ship carpenters. I continued in command until taking the fever and ague, and Colonel Wynkoop recovered so as to command himself; I obtained a furlough from General Gates to ride south for the recovery of my health. I therefore left camp and proceeded on south until I arrived at the head-quarters of General Washington, near Kingsbridge, at the house of my kinsman, Colonel James Van Cortlandt, the day the British landed at Throg's Neck, where a partial engagement took place, and the General said he had lost about thirty men. I remained a few days as aid to the Commander-in-Chief, and paid a visit to Lieutenant-Colonel Weissenfels, of the Second New York Regiment, Colonel Ritzema being absent pretending to be unwell. Finding myself much relieved

from the ague, I took leave of General Washington and returned; but having been overtaken with rain the fever was renewed, and at Rhinebeck the landlord of the tavern gave me Port wine in which bitter herbs were infused, that was so powerful as to deprive me of understanding for ten minutes, which much alarmed my friend, Mr. Bell, and also the landlord, fearing I would never recover; but thank God I did recover, and have not been troubled with ague since that time. I then returned to Skenesborough in perfect health.

After I left General Washington, the battle of White Plains took place, and the Second New York Regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Weissenfels, was engaged, Colonel Ritze-  
ma being absent about four or five miles in the rear, either from cowardice or disaffection, perhaps both, for he shortly after, discharging many of the men enlisted for the war, absconded himself by going to the enemy in New York, soon after which an express arrived at Skenesborough with a commission from Congress. This commission was sent by General Washington by express, and was of his own direction, having been furnished with blanks from Congress signed by John Hancock, President, for him to fill up as he thought proper, appointing me Colonel of the Second New York Regiment, dated 30th of November, 1776. I then, after taking an affectionate leave of Colonel Wynkoop, set away in search of my Regiment. Passing through New Jersey with my servant and friend, Mr. Seabring, I was near being captured by the enemy at Pluckemin. I passed from a friend's

house, near Pluckemin, who sheltered me a night, to New Germantown, and saw my sister Catharine a few days before she lay in with the birth of her eldest son, Theodore. I then proceeded on, crossing the Delaware, and arrived at the cross roads in Bucks County, in the State of Pennsylvania, on the evening of the 24th of December. The next morning my horse was foundered in such a bad manner as not to proceed. In the course of the day Captain Benj. Pelton, of the Second New York Regiment came, and, suspecting that the capture of the Hessians at Trenton was contemplated by General Washington, I took my servant's horse, and with the Captain, proceeded towards Trenton. A storm of hail, snow and rain came on and I lost my way, but seeing, after some time, a light, I made a house where a Quaker lived, and he informed me that I was three miles from Trenton and perhaps might get lost again, but was welcome to remain with him. I did so, and at the break of day heard the firing, which soon terminated in the capture of the enemy. I saw the prisoners, and Colonel Weissenfels informed me that General Washington had ordered him to Fishkill in order to recruit the regiment, and was then on his march for that purpose. I told him to proceed, and after my horse recovered, I would follow and join him, which I did, after making a short visit in Philadelphia, and passing through Morristown, paying my respects to the Commander-in-Chief after the battle of Princeton, on which account, as well at the capture of the Hessians at Trenton, I had the pleasure to congratulate him, although I had not the good

fortune to be present. On parting from the General he directed me to use exertion to recruit and discipline my regiment, so as to be ready for active service in the ensuing spring. I then proceeded on to Fishkill and sent out several recruiting parties who enlisted several men, but not equal to my expectation; however, I was ordered in the spring of 1777 to Peekskill, together with the Fourth Regiment, now under the command of Colonel Henry B. Livingston, who was promoted on the resignation of Colonel Wynkoop. It was not long before a number of British ships and transports appeared, and landed a considerable force, much superior to our troops, when General McDougal, who commanded, ordered our troops to take post on Gallows Hill, about two miles in the rear, which movement permitted the enemy to effect their object, which was to destroy the stores which we could not remove, and burn a schooner which belonged to me and worth \$750, for which I could never obtain compensation. They remained until we received a reinforcement under Lieutenant-Colonel Willet, who made a successful attack on their advance guard, when they retired to the ships and went away.

Shortly after, on the arrival of parts of Colonels Chandler and Durkee's regiments from the eastern states, I was ordered with a select battalion to cross the Hudson and proceed on the west side to the town of Bergen, opposite to the City of New York, capture the enemy's guards, if any were found in my route, of which I did surprise one sergeant's guard, but captured only three men, in or near the town, and brought

off all the black cattle and horses, to a considerable number, out of the power of the enemy, without sustaining any loss, much to the approbation of General McDougal and Major-General Putnam, whose Aide-de-Camp — Colonel Aaron Burr—informed me that during my absence Colonel Livingston had been ordered on command to the White Plains with his regiment and many of my men, but had left our tents in charge of a small guard, and that General Putnam's orders were that I should take the remaining men, leaving our tents standing, as Livingston had done, and follow him. I answered, as I was the eldest in rank, it was using Colonel Livingston very unkindly to supersede him before he had committed any fault. He replied that the General would write a letter of apology, and, as I was better acquainted with the country, I must proceed. I collected the men to the number of about 150, and officers, and marched that afternoon, hoping to surprise a galley at Teller's point, which I should have accomplished that night if the man who was to have taken cattle on board had arrived in time; he did not, and I was disappointed. I then proceeded on, and after Colonel Livingston received the letter General Putnam sent, requested that he might go to headquarters and procure an order for a board of officers to settle our rank. I consented, and he left me in command of about 500 men, rank and file, and was soon reinforced by a Captain Webb and a troop of thirty-six horse, and a Captain's company of nine months' men, making my command about 600 effective men. During my command on the lines

opposing a line of redoubts, extending from Morrisania to the North River on the heights, contiguous to each other, amounting to five in number; and Fort Washington, about three miles nearer to New York, to about 2,500 men in all, and my nearest reinforcement twenty-five miles distant to Peeksville, and my command at no time more than ten miles distant from them, and frequently in sight of one of the redoubts, caused my duty to be exceeding severe. I shifted my quarters often, for if they could ascertain where to find me at night, they might surround me in a few hours and attack me with three times my number, but they could not find an opportunity. In daylight I always defied and thus kept them within their works. Thus, for seven weeks I remained guarding the neutral ground, once alarming all their redoubts at day-break and one of them at another time.

One morning a Mr. Williams, son of Erasmus Williams, came to me in East Chester; said he had been a prisoner in the New Gaol, New York, for several months, but was sent by an aid of General Howe on his promise to carry a letter to General Burgoyne, which he took from a fold where it was sewed in his coat, in the words following, on a small piece of silk paper:

TO GENERAL BURGOYNE:

Our destination is changed. Instead of going to S. D., we shall in three days sail for B. N. Regulate your conduct accordingly.

HOWE.

I asked if General Howe knew that his father was one of the State Convention of New York. He said he had informed him, but he gave no writing,

and his determination was to carry the letter to the first officer he found. I sent him to General Putnam, and never saw him after. Shortly after, I received an order to attend headquarters (at B——.) I set off immediately, crossed Kings Ferry, and met near it a person who informed me that headquarters was passing through Smith's Clove, but as I might find the road filled with troops passing, I might by a short road through the mountains arrive at Jones' tavern as soon as their advance could. I did so, and about sunset saw Generals Greene and Knox, who detained me; and before I retired to sleep I told them of Williams and the letter which I sent to General Putnam, who showed them the resolves of Congress as to York.

In the morning they both accompanied me to headquarters, where we found General Washington at breakfast with a great number of officers. General Greene sat with his Excellency some short time, and retired from the table. He then returned and sent me to the Commander-in-Chief, who made enquiry respecting my command in Westchester, on the lines, and if I had seen a fleet sail up the Sound. I answered that I had seen two or three hundred shallops, escorted by an armed brig and schooner, going to Lloyd's Neck for forage for the fleet destined to the Chesapeake, and then mentioned the letter of Williams, and wished that the Court of Enquiry respecting Livingston's rank might take place, as I was anxious to return to my command. He answered: "As to the rank it is already settled; I wish you immediately to return to your command;" which I

did, after taking leave of Generals Greene and Knox. On my return that morning I met Colonel Livingston, and to his enquiries I referred him to General Washington, who had sent me back to my command. So we parted; and the army, I soon heard, was marching towards Philadelphia.

Shortly after my arrival on the lines I received orders to march to Albany, which I performed by first marching by land to Fishkill, where we received a small supply of necessaries, and embarked on board sloops, having both the Second and Fourth regiments under my command, and passing Albany, encamped with the Hampshire troops above the Cohoes Falls, at a place called Loudon's Ferry, where I remained two days, and was ordered to advance to the relief of Fort Stanwix, now besieged by St. Leger, a British officer, and Indians. General Poor permitted me to take his wagons as far as Schenectady, when they returned to him. I then applied to Henry Glenn, the Quartermaster, but was detained almost all day Sunday before I could proceed; however, I marched on until information was received that the enemy had retired and General Arnold was returning—Lieutenant-Colonel Willett had made a sally from the fort and harrassed the rear of the enemy, &c. I then was ordered to join General Poor and the New Hampshire troops at Van Schaack's Island, and continued annexed to that brigade on our advance to Stillwater, where our army made a stand to oppose Burgoyne's army now approaching, but made a stand at Saratoga. Our army was encamped: our right on the river and

extending west, Morgan's Riflemen the extreme and Poor's brigade next, making part of General Arnold's command.

One day at dinner [Sep. 17] with General Arnold, we were informed that the enemy had a reconnoitering gun-boat, that proceeded every night down the river in sight of our advance guard and then returned; upon which I observed, if I was permitted to take a command of my men I would that night capture them, if a few bateaux with muffled oars could be fitted for me. He answered, "prepare your men, four boats are at your service." I proceeded as far up as Fish Creek, where I concealed my boats and waited the approach of the gun-boat, which did not arrive; the reason was the enemy had, the day previous, advanced from Saratoga and was encamped south west from blind Moore's, at whose house, about half a mile from me, they had an advance guard which my patrolling officer discovered. I then resolved to surprise that guard, not knowing that their army was near. I moved to the south-west in order to surround them, which brought me to a fence where I halted my men, and in order to ascertain the best place to make my attack on the guard, I advanced in company with Mathew Clarkson [since made a General] in the field. The morning being very foggy, I did not see the sentinels of the enemy until I had passed and was challenged, but an owl croaking deceived the sentinel, and we stood still until I discovered we were near the tents of the enemy, who were lighting up their fires as far as I could discover, and was certain all their army was there, with their right wing extending south west a considerable distance.

I then retired silently to the road I had just left, near the river, and stopped at a house on an eminence, which was empty, and sent a non-commissioned officer express to inform Generals Arnold and Poor and Colonel Morgan that the enemy were advancing, so that they might make arrangements immediately to check their advance, which was done, for Colonel Morgan had a skirmish with their advance guard the same day which had the desired effect, of forcing them to the left, nearer the river, and more in our front, which was a fortunate circumstance, for had they that day passed our left, they might, by a forced march, have proceeded to Albany, for they would have had possession of the heights all the way, and we must have approached them with disadvantage, but as it was, the next day we met their advance on equal ground, and a severe engagement was the consequence. I am happy to say that my discovery of the enemy's advance saved the capture of the City of Albany.

On the forenoon of the 19th of September, the enemy was discovered moving towards our left, and the action commenced first with Colonel Morgan's riflemen, and reinforced by regiments, one after another, as the enemy also reinforced, until the battle became very general, although conducted by the Colonels until about two o'clock. My regiment was ordered to march on, keeping to the left, in order to oppose their right, and to engage if I found it necessary, and if I did, that the regiment commanded by Colonel Livingston, who had joined me but two days before, should reinforce me; this order was given me first by General Poor on my

parade; and as I was marching also, by General Arnold. I discovered their advance far from their main body, and was determined to attack them and arrest their progress, and sent by the Adjutant Lieutenant Marshall to inform Colonel Livingston, and direct him to support me, which order he disobeyed and fell off to the right, leaving me to contend first with the Hessians' advance of riflemen which I defeated, and who run off; but their place was instantly supplied by the British light infantry, whom we fought upwards of an hour, at which time the Hessians had rallied and gained my left; and finding it necessary to fall back with my left, so as to prevent their gaining on it, and to oppose my front to both in case they persisted, the sun having now set, and my position a favorable one—on a foot-path which I had observed at the foot of falling ground, at least three feet lower than the level I had fought them on—and had time to direct my officers to wait their approach, it being now dark, and not fire until the enemy did, and then directly below the flash of the enemy's fire, which was done, and proved successful, as the enemy's fire went over our heads and our fire had full effect, they being very near before they discovered us—I suppose not more than four or five rods. My loss of killed and wounded was two out of eleven; Colonel Cilley's, of our brigade, by the field return made the next day, was one out of seven, and his was more than any other regiment engaged, except mine, and he fought from the first of the action, being near to Colonel Morgan when it commenced. After my fire had injured the light infantry we

soon parted, he [their commander] marched to his encampment and I returned to mine, so we informed each other at Albany, when I met him after the surrender (he having a parole and I leave of absence for a few days); and he told me the last fire injured him very severely, more than any all the day.

The enemy did not attempt any further movement until the 7th day of October, when they advanced and were met by our army, and a very severe engagement took place, I being yet with Poor's Brigade and advancing, the British retiring towards their battery, as the Hessians were towards theirs. General Arnold, now in the field and in sight of their nine gun battery, sent his aid to the right, ordering General Poor to bring his men into better order as we were pursuing; this order arrested our progress and prevented our taking the British battery in less than ten minutes, as we should have entered it almost as soon as the British, as Morgan did that of the Hessians, which Arnold discovered after sending the above order to General Poor, and as he had also sent another order to the left by his other aid, he now rode as fast as he could to counteract his own orders, hurrying on the left, and entered the Hessian battery, where he was wounded. Finding it too late after the British had gained their battery and rallied after their panic, and could again fire their cannon at us - which they could not do when they were running before us, we found it too late and had orders to retire to our encampment, it being near night. The next morning our brigade was ordered out at daybreak, and we found that the

enemy was gone from the battery and had retired towards the left, keeping possession of the highlands near the river, which were defended by works and mounted cannon, near which General Lincoln was wounded. The following night they retreated to Saratoga, where they surrendered a few days afterwards. As no further fighting could be expected there, I accompanied Adjutant General Wilkinson to Albany, and remained until the arrival of General Poor's brigade, who had orders to proceed down the Hudson, with two brass 24-pounders, to annoy the fleet and army which were burning Kingston and houses as far up as Red Hook.

The brigade marched near the river until we found that the enemy had retired; then we took the main road near to Kinderhook, and upon General Poor being taken sick and unable to command, I, being the eldest officer, marched to Fishkill, and delayed a few days for the men to cure for the itch in the barracks at that place with hogs fat and brimstone; the York troops in the upper and the Hampshire troops in the lower barracks. Going one evening to visit a friend, I had to pass the lower barracks, where the New Hampshire troops were stationed, when, coming within sight, I met several soldiers bearing in a blanket Captain Beal, one of the officers, who was wounded, of which he died the next day. On inquiry, I found he had attempted to stop the troops who had mutinied and were on the march, headed by a Sergeant, whom the Captain had run through the body with his sword, and the Sergeant, as he fell, fired and



shot the Captain ; so they both died. In the confusion I came and had the address to restore order by alluring them first back to their parade by the barracks, which was near, and then in a long harangue or speech pointing out the impropriety of their conduct, and promising pardon when the General should arrive. I succeeded in having my order obeyed when I sent them to their barracks. The General did not overtake me until we arrived in Pennsylvania, when we joined the army under General Washington. We remained at White Marsh until the enemy came out to Chestnut Hill, when, after some skirmishing and the loss of my friend, Major Morris, of Colonel Morgan's Riflemen, we marched and crossed the Schuylkill, and halted at Valley Forge. Shortly after our arrival it pleased his Excellency General Washington to send me with a battalion on the lines to a place called Radner Meeting House, nine miles from the City of Philadelphia, and about twenty-four miles in advance of the encampment at Valley Forge, where I remained a considerable time when relieved ; and as soon as it was ascertained that the enemy intended to leave Philadelphia, General Hand, the Adjutant General, came and informed me that I was to remain when the army marched, and to have the command of and superintend the encampment. This I told him could not be ; for the roster could not so soon, after my command at Radner on the lines, bring me again for duty, and informed him that I would go and make my complaint to the Commander-in-Chief. He smiled, and said "Do so."

I went ; but after saying what I thought sufficient respecting an engagement, &c., was convinced that it was his selection, saying to me : "Sir, this is an important command, &c." And the General further observed that it was not always convenient to have recourse to the military roster when a confidential officer was wanted for a particular purpose.

When the army marched there were upwards of 3,000 men left in the encampment and at the hospitals, of which number I sent off about 2,500, the rest being truly so unwell as not to be able. There I remained during the battle at Monmouth Court House ; my regiment was engaged and behaved well, and I could have been happy if present, but was doing what the General had directed, and of course doing my duty.

The fever raged violently, and I lost my friends Dr. Haviland and Captain Ryker, my old faithful servant and soldier, Mr. Lent, besides many others. The fever resembled the yellow fever. After forwarding my returns to his excellency, and being relieved by Colonel Craig, of the Pennsylvania line, I took a turn to visit the City of Philadelphia, on my way to join my regiment, which I found encamped with the main army at the White Plains (this was during General Sullivan's and General Lafayette's expedition on Rhode Island) ; and on our retiring, while we lay at Fredericksburg, I applied for a furlough to visit my friends ; the General said, when Colonel Livingston came to camp he would indulge me, and asked me to dine with him the next day. I went, and the General informed me that Colonel Livingston had

arrived, and although he had been absent almost all the campaign, came to ask leave of absence. When the General refused, he took his commission from his pocket and handed it to the General, who, although he felt indignant at such behavior, replied : "It is not my practice to receive resignations, but you are at liberty to go and resign your commission to Congress ;" and said, "he has just left me for that purpose." And on obtaining a furlough, I paid a visit to see my friends for a few days, when being informed by Governor Clinton, that he had requested of General Washington to send my regiment to guard the frontiers, where Brant, the Indian, was making depredations, having already burned and destroyed several houses, and murdered men, women and children, I immediately went to my regiment, then near Poughkeepsie, and proceeded across the North River as far as Rochester, in Ulster County, and placed a guard at Laghawack, where I had a block-house, and cautioned my men, so as to effectually guard the frontiers in that county during the winter of 1778 and 1779.

In the spring of 1779, having information that Brant was stationed at Coke house, on the Delaware, I took about two hundred and fifty men and set off to surprise him. However, on the march an express from General Washington overtook me with orders to proceed to Fort Penn, in the State of Pennsylvania, there to receive orders from General Sullivan. I returned, and was preparing for my march, first sending for the militia to take my place ; this was the third day of April. In the morning, as

I was about marching from my encampment, having called in my guard from the block-house at Laghawack, I discovered smoke rising from the village, about six miles south, and a lad sent from its vicinity informed me that the Indians were there burning and destroying. It was occasioned by two of my men deserting in the mountains when I had received the order to return, for they went to Brant, and informed him that I was ordered away, and he expected that I was gone, for it took several days before I had received wagons, &c., and for Col. Cantine to come on with the militia, who arrived in the course of that day. On my approach Brant ran off. He had about 150 Indians, and as I approached him, he being on the hill, seeing me leaning against a pine tree, waiting the closing up of my men, he ordered a rifle Indian to kill me, but he overshot me, the ball passing three inches over my head. I then pursued him, but could not overtake him, as he ran through a large swamp beyond the hill, and Col. Cantine being also in pursuit, I returned, not having any prospect of overtaking him. The second day after pursued my march to Fort Penn as ordered by the Commander-in-Chief, and there received Gen. Sullivan's orders, who sent me reinforcements to make a road through the wilderness to Wilkesbarre, on the Susquehanna, being thirty miles, and passing the Great Swamp, which duty was performed with 600 men in thirty days. On my arrival I took post advanced of the troops under the command of General Hand, and waited the arrival of General Sullivan, who marched on the road I had made with Gen. Max-

well's and General Poor's brigades. Our army proceeded up the River Susquehanna to Tioga Point, where I was ordered to meet Gen. Clinton, who was on his march from Lake Otsego, and joined him at Owego, and accompanied him to Tioga.

After some skirmishing with the Indians at Chemung, we arrived near Newtown, where Brant and Butler had determined to make their stand and oppose our farther progress if possible. The action commenced at sunrise, first with General Hand's riflemen, and reinforced by Maxwell and Poor's brigades, until about 9 o'clock, when General Clinton's brigade was ordered to the right of the whole, where he had to mount the hill, which was mostly occupied by the Indians. I requested of General Clinton to permit me to charge with bayonets as soon as I gained the height on the flank of the Indians. He consented, and ordered the charge to be made, he leading the first regiment himself, and I the second, which ended the battle in five minutes. They ran and left their dead, which they seldom do, unless obliged to leave them, and here they were. Thus ended the battle at Newtown, in which not a man of the New York Brigade was either killed or wounded, although several men in the other brigades.

The army then advanced through Catherine's Town and between Seneca and Cayuga Lakes, and forded the outlet of Seneca through Geneva, Canandaigua to Honoye Lake, where we encamped, and made a crossing over the outlet. Here I took nine catfish, which was a great relief, for our mess had our

scanty provision of three days stolen from us two nights before, which was truly a misfortune, as the whole army had been on less than half allowance long before we came to Tioga. Here the General sent Lieutenant Boyd to make discovery and take Nanyous, my favorite Indian, as his guide and a few men, but Boyd took also a sergeant, captain and sixteen men with him, and proceeded to a small town near the prairie flats, and the next morning sent two men back, but remained until the Indians began to appear, and Murphy, one of his men, killed and scalped one of them, and advised Boyd to return; but he remained too long, and at last was pursued until near our encampment. He met Butler with his party, who had been on the hill in our front expecting to ambuscade and fire on our advance after crossing the outlet. It was there I met Murphy, who had with him two scalps, which he had taken from two Indians he had killed that day—the first in the morning, the other, about five minutes before he met me, from the Indian who was pursuing him after we left Lieutenant Boyd, whose party Wendall killed and scalped on the hill, my friendly Indian being one of them, not a mile from where he met me; but Boyd and his sergeant they took prisoners, with the intent to sacrifice at night, which they did, and whom we found, killed, tomahawked, scalped and their heads cut off, lying on the ground where they had their dance. Here we found one hundred and twenty houses, all which we burnt, and destroyed; their canoes had been destroyed before we arrived there. The army then returned,

the enemy having fled to Niagara, where, we afterwards heard, they suffered greatly, many died. In short, our expedition was their complete overthrow. On our return I went to see the Cayuga Lake, and returned to Newtown, when the General sent me with a command up the Tioga River and passed the painted post, &c., and returned to Newtown; but the army had marched to a point where I came up with them, and we proceeded to Easton, when I was sent to Sussex and Warwick, then through Pompton to Morristown, where we halted. Colonel Gansevoort separated from the army near Geneva, and went to Albany. My regiment continued at Morristown all winter, first in tents, until the snow was deep, before we got into huts, which we made of logs.

General Arnold being under arrest for improper conduct in Philadelphia while he commanded there, I was one of the Court-martial, Major-General Howe, President. There were also on that court four officers who had been at Ticonderoga when Colonel Hasen was called on for trial, as before related, and we were for cashiering Arnold, but were overruled, and he was sentenced to be reprimanded by the Commander-in-Chief. If all the court had known Arnold's conduct as well as myself, how he and his Brigade Major had robbed merchants in Montreal, he would have been dismissed from serving any longer in our army, for he would have been cashiered. If so, he would never have had the command at West Point, and Major Andre might have lived until this day.

The regiment remained at Morristown

until the spring of 1780, and then was marched towards the northern frontiers in the State of New York; and having passed through the Manor of Cortlandt, saw my friends at Peekskill, and then to Nine Partners, where my father and his family were obliged to remove from Rhinebeck, as Colonel Livingston would not suffer them to remain any longer. I then joined the regiment and went to Fort Edward, on the North River, and was in a few days relieved by Colonel Warner. I then proceeded to West Point, and encamped on the west part in June, 1780; and as there was some expectation of an attack from the enemy, I took post on the mountain west of Fort Putnam. This was in June and July, when I was selected as one of the Colonels to command in a selected regiment of infantry, under Major-General Lafayette, who was returned from France, and had two brigades—the first commanded by General Hand, with Colonel Stewart of Pennsylvania, Colonel Ogden of New Jersey, and myself of New York; the other brigade by General Poor, with Colonel Shepherd of Massachusetts, Colonel Swift of Connecticut, and Colonel Harry Gimat, a French officer, together with Colonel Lee and his troop of horse, and a Major's command of artillery. Major-General Lafayette, with his Division, was stationed in front of the main army at Tappan, on the west side of the Hudson, where the British Adjutant-General Andre was executed as a spy. Our Division made a movement to Bergen, near Powles Hook, but the enemy kept close in New York and their ships; so that we had no opportunity of engaging them. We also

approached them towards Staten Island, marching and returning without effecting anything of importance, and so ended the campaign.

In the month of November, 1780, the Major-General Lafayette's division being ordered to join their respective lines of the army, of course the division was separated, and the General sent to join the Southern Army in Virginia, I proceeded to Albany, where my regiment was ordered by General James Clinton to be cantoned in the town of Schenectady, and where I went with them, and placed my men in the barracks, myself at Mr. Daniel Campbell's, and the officers at private houses with some difficulty, as the First Regiment had been there the winter previous, and their billeting not yet paid for.

In December the New York line of the five regiments was to be incorporated into two, the first and third to be under the command of Colonel Van Schaack, and the Second, Fourth and Fifth, John Livingston's, and that part of Spencer's belonging to this State, was to be under my command, and I was ordered to incorporate them, they being then at different places on the frontiers on the Mohawk river, the old Fourth being stationed at Fort Schuyler. I was ordered to that place, and my then Lieutenant Colonel Cochran permitted on furlough. There I remained until his return, when I returned to Albany, and while absent the barracks took fire and burnt up the fort, when General Clinton ordered me back, and although severely afflicted with sore eyes, I went and destroyed all the fort and brought off the cannon, &c., to Fort Harkimer,

and was ordered to build a new fort, having Major Villefranche as engineer; after looking out the place, clearing off the timber and brush, and a few nine months' men under Captain Schwarth joined me, I was ordered to repair to Albany and call in all my officers and men from the different stations, viz.: Fort Plain, Stone Arabia, Johnstown, Schoharie, &c., &c., leaving Captains Elsworth and Moody at Harkimer; and before I arrived at Schenectady I was informed of the death of Captain Elsworth, who was killed by a scout of Indians while he was out on a fishing party.

All my regiment having joined at and near Schenectady, I marched and encamped on the Patroons Flats. I had then the largest and most healthy regiment in America, not excepting French, English or Germans, and a fine band of music. Here I had to remain for the completing of thirty-four boats, now building there for the purpose, as reported, of taking our army from Elizabethtown to Staten Island as soon as the French fleet would appear off Sandy Hook in order to take New York.

Count Rochambeau, having marched from Rhode Island with the French forces, had advanced to the lines in Westchester County near Kings Bridge; some part of our army already in the State of New Jersey, and all things ready, the French fleet daily expected, I received orders to take the boats, regiment and baggage, &c., and proceed down the Hudson to Stony Point. Landed and encamped; remained there while the French passed and some time

after, until information came that General Washington himself was at the ferry and wished to see me. Upon approaching him he took me by the arm and went some distance on the road, and gave me his orders both written and verbal, which was to march to Chatham in New Jersey, take all the boats, intrenching tools, &c., and proceed with deliberation, informing him daily of my progress, for which purpose he sent a dragoon every day, as my command was of great importance, being the rear guard of the army. Upon my arrival at Pompton Plains he altered my route, but at my request permitted me to take a more circuitous one through Participany—the road being better passing Mr. Lott's and Beaverhout—but not to pass the junction of the Morristown road with the Chatham road until the next morning; then, instead of going to the latter, I must pass through Morris and make an expeditious march to Trenton; and enjoined secrecy for three days. I did as ordered, after dining with Mr. Lott and spending the afternoon with his family, my camp being near his house, and marched by day-break next morning twenty-four miles, instead of eight or nine as customary from Kings Ferry. Arriving about three miles from Trenton, I was ordered to encamp for all the army to pass me, and then took my boats to Trenton and embarked my regiment, and proceeded on the Delaware to Philadelphia, where I halted one day to accommodate my officers, who wanted some articles of clothing, &c., then proceeded to Markees Hook, where I remained a few days for the army to pass and my men to wash their

clothes; then proceeded on, passing Wilmington to the head of Elk, where I left the boats, and marched by land to Baltimore, where I encamped on the hill, being a part of Mr. Howard's farm, now a part of Baltimore City. After remaining a few days and moving to Fells Point on board of shallops, sailed to James River in the State of Virginia, and landed at College landing; then marched to Williamsburgh, where I was made exceeding happy by meeting my General Lafayette, who had a command of light infantry, and Colonel Hamilton and my Major N. Fish was selected to join his command, who with Colonel Scammel, my old and particular friend in his advance, proceeded to invest Yorktown, where the renowned and haughty commander of the British army had entrenched himself.

Colonel Scammel advanced in sight of their advance redoubts, which they abandoned in the course of the night; I being ordered out the next morning with a strong picket guard to relieve Colonel Scammel, I found his men and relieved them; but the Colonel had, before my arrival, observed that they had retired from the poplar-tree redoubt to the road in front, and mistook a British patrol of horse for our men, was under the necessity of surrendering, when one of their dragoons coming up, fired, and wounded the Colonel after his surrender, but whether the dragoon knew of the surrender, being behind him, I cannot say, but from all the information I could obtain, it was after his surrender. The Colonel was first taken to the town, then paroled to Williamsburgh, where he died in our hospital, and was buried with the

honors of war. That morning the Commander-in-Chief, with almost all the general officers, came to my picket, and was in my front. While I was seated on the platform of the poplar redoubt viewing their battery, about one mile distant, the enemy fired over their heads and cut the branches of the tree, which fell about me; but as the Generals did not move, the second ball struck directly in my front, and went in the ground about three rods before the Generals (had it raised it must have passed through the cluster, and have killed several), when they all retreated except the Commander-in-Chief, who remained with his spying-glass observing their works; and although he remained some time alone, directly in their view, and in my front, they did not fire again. The General then came toward me, observing which, I arose and met him, when, after some remarks and inquiries, he directed me to keep my men as they were at present disposed of, out of sight of the battery, until evening; then to surround the town with my sentinels from the redoubt, which was to the right all the way to the York River, and that Baron Viomenil, with the French pickets, should do the same on the left; and the next morning they found themselves completely surrounded by a chain of active and vigilant sentinels. Preparations were now made, and the following night the army made, in the range of the sentinels, a complete intrenchment, which covered our men, and gave facility to our preparing our battery of cannon, which, when in order, the first gun which was fired, I could distinctly hear pass through the town,

being on the line directly in front, near the poplar redoubt, and our battery being on or near the river on our right. I could hear the ball strike from house to house, and I was afterwards informed that it went through the one where many of the officers were at dinner, and over the tables, discomposing the dishes, and either killed or wounded the one at the head of the table; and I also heard that the gun was fired by the Commander-in-Chief, who was designedly present in the battery for the express purpose of putting the first match.

The enemy having two redoubts about three hundred and fifty yards in advance of the line, and batteries which surrounded the town, and which was an annoyance to our progress, it was determined to take them by storming. The one was assigned for General Lafayette's light infantry, the other, for Baron Viomenil, with the French grenadiers. Colonel Hamilton, with Major Fish and other officers and men of the American light infantry, advanced against the right one near the river, and took it in a few minutes, when General Lafayette sent to the French Baron for information, who returned answer, he had not, but would in five minutes, which I believe he did. Both the above were brilliant exploits, and crowned the assailants with everlasting honor, particularly as they extended mercy to every one who solicited it after entering the works, which was not the case when Bayler's horse were surprised. After the two redoubts were taken we advanced our lines in their range, and the next morning I advanced the York brigade, which I then commanded, with drums

and colors flying and carried arms up to the redoubt which Baron Viomenil had taken, which insulting movement drew on the resentment of our enemies, who fired an incessant shower of bombshells without doing any injury to us, only killing a French grenadier in my front and a Virginian retiring on my left. One of the shot, as I entered the entrenchment, cut its upper part and almost covered me and the Marquis Steuben, who was meeting me, when he directed me to stop my music, which I did, and the firing ceased. When I came to the redoubt, it was necessary to cut away a part to get a mortar to play on the enemy, when one of Captain Vandeburgh's fatigued party was killed the first stroke, struck by a nine pound ball, which carried off his thigh close to his body. On seeing this, a volunteer was called for, as the case was desperate, when a soldier who had been disgraced, as he told me, without cause, took the place and performed the work, although, during its execution, three balls were fired at him, all of which came within six inches, one almost covered his head with sand. His name was Peter Christian Vouch, and his brother is my neighbor at Peekskill. Another remarkable occurrence: Sergeant Brown was leaning over the embankment looking at the enemy's battery, when Captain Vandeburgh ordered him down; and as he slid down, the ball that was intended to kill him, and which would have passed through his body if he had remained, passed over his head; and either the wind or the sand, as it passed without breaking his skull or skin, produced his death in an instant, as he fell dead in

the trench—no mark but blood-shot head and face. Here one of my small drummers asked me if he might remove a vest from a dead British soldier, whom I had ordered to be buried, in which he found eleven guineas, so he was well paid for his attention to the dead soldier. The seige was now continued with cannon and mortars on both sides. I have counted thirteen shells flying in the air at night at the same time, going to and from the enemy.

One night the enemy (I suppose to save appearances as a point of honor) made a sortie on a French battery by surprise, killed some and spiked the guns, but was soon obliged to retire with some loss. They also attempted to cross the river at Gloucester with all the army and force their way by land, but a storm arising, they were obliged to return; but had they succeeded in crossing, they never would have been able to reach New York, so desperate was their situation; and at length the haughty Cornwallis sent out a flag, and asked a suspension to give him time for negotiations of surrender, which was agreed to by General Washington, on the like terms which General Lincoln had obtained at the surrender of Charleston from this same Lord Cornwallis; and the day when they gave up their arms, colors, &c., General Lincoln had the pleasure of conducting them to the field of deposit, much to their mortification. However, they performed it with more order than I expected. The prisoners were soon sent into the interior, and it fell to my lot (as General Clinton, who commanded the Division, and General Dayton, of the New Jersey Brigade, were



somewhat indisposed, and permitted to return by water) to command the Division, composed of the New York and New Jersey Brigades, to march them by land, and had the charge of 1,700 of the British and Hessian prisoners as far as the town of Fredericksburg, where I delivered them to an officer of the Virginia militia. I was asked at Hanover Court House \$500 for a bowl of apple-toddy, but was satisfied on payment of one silver dollar, and then continued my march through Alexandria, Georgetown, Bladenburg, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Trenton in New Jersey, where the troops of that State left me, and I continued my march with the New York Brigade to Pompton, where I commenced to make huts for our winter accommodations.

The troops being almost destitute of clothing, no money to purchase any, and often scant for provisions, and obliged to labor hard to make the huts warm, and the weather extremely cold, so that it was attended with difficulty and almost cruelty to keep them exposed in the open air to hear preaching from our worthy Chaplain, Dr. John Gano. I therefore permitted him to return to his family until called for, which I found was not necessary until the breaking up of winter, when he returned of his own pleasure, and informed me that he had received a lecture from one of the soldiers whom he overtook as he came near the encampment. It appeared that the Doctor made inquiry of the soldier how the commandant (meaning me), the officers and men had enjoyed health during the winter while he was absent, &c. The soldier answered: Dear Doctor, we

have had tolerable health, but hard times otherwise; we have wanted almost everything, scant in clothing, provisions and money, and, hardest of all, we have not had even the word of God to comfort us. The Doctor then gave as a reason why he was absent, it being hard to oblige the men, badly clad, to attend worship. True, said the soldier, but it would have been consoling to have had such a good man near us. That remark, said the Doctor, was unanswerable. Shortly after he pointed out the soldier, who was a reprobate fellow, and had diverted himself with quizzing the Doctor.

The church on the low ground being obtained for Doctor Gano to preach in on the following Sabbath, on the Saturday evening previous I let him see the Brigade return, and observed it would be more pleasing if all the men were for the war, but there were several six months and nine months men which I wished to re-enlist. On Sunday, in his introduction to the sermon, he observed that it always gave him pleasure to preach to soldiers, especially when he had good tidings to communicate, and he could aver of the truth that our Lord and Saviour approved of all those who had engaged in his service for the whole warfare. No nine or six months men in his service. This had a fine effect, for many re-enlisted shortly after to silence the pleasantry of their companions. This was in the spring of 1782, when thinking it more expedient to encamp the men, we moved to the flat fields, and there exercised and manœuvered to great advantage in the presence of Baron Steuben, who was delighted

with our performances during his visit of a few days.

I omitted to mention in the above that while we continued in the huts His Excellency General Washington came with his lady on a visit, and remained in my humble station from Saturday evening until Monday morning, when I sent an escort with him as a guard on his way to Newburg.

In the summer of 1782, after General Washington and his lady had left me for Newburg, and the French army under General Rochambeau was returning, my command was ordered to Verplanck's Point, where the army encamped, composed of the New England, New York and New Jersey troops, the latter on the right, when the French passed on to the Peekskill, and remained a few days encamped. The army at Verplanck's was reviewed by the Commander-in-Chief, accompanied by his French Generals. We were assembled in close column, under the command of Major-General Baron Steuben, and marched as if approaching an enemy, and under a supposed engagement. Had to display, when I discovered a mistake, and rectified it instantly in such a manner as to attract the notice of all the General officers attending, and gained more honor than any regiment engaged by my activity in rectifying the mistakes without causing a disorder under a presumed heavy fire.

This being the first and only period of the war that I was encamped and stationed near my own habitation,<sup>1</sup> I had the pleasure of receiving the visits of my friends, which in some measure made amends for the inactivity of the cam-

paign, which terminated by marching to the vicinity of New Windsor, and commenced the making of huts for our accommodation for the winter near the road leading to Little Britain, the residence of General James Clinton. The month of January, 1783, found us in huts, of our own making, as comfortable as troops could expect without pay, scant of provisions at times, and also in want of sufficient clothing; however, better than we had formerly experienced, and as the accounts of the termination of the war were gaining a belief, we were induced by the promises of Congress of future reward to preserve an orderly discipline to the end.

As the spring of the year came on, an anonymous letter made its appearance which caused much uneasiness, especially at headquarters, and the General came to camp and sent for the officers commanding brigades, and as I had command of the New York Line I attended with others, and was happy to find a unanimous determination to support order, and agreed with General Washington to suppress every attempt at disorderly conduct, which was subsequently confirmed in a full meeting of all the officers assembled together in a large hall, which had been erected near the Massachusetts line, with the full belief that Congress would ultimately compensate the army for their services and sufferings.

In the month of May the Society of the Cincinnati was organized; and in June it was resolved by the officers of the New York Brigade to present Governor George Clinton with the stand of colors and instruments of music belong-

ing to the Brigade, and I was requested to present them to the Governor at his residence in the town of Poughkeepsie, which request was attended to; and as I remained a few days in Poughkeepsie with the Governor, I found on my return to cantonment that almost all were gone, as only a few were left, and they wanted assistance—some unwell and others without the means of removal. I myself determined to go to Croton. In the first place purchased the barge or rowboat from the Quartermaster and some extra provisions, and hired a few soldiers, one of which, a mulatto with his wife and child, to act as cook. I set off, and arrived at the farm, at the mouth of Croton River, where I was joined in a short time by Captains Hamtramck and Vanderburgh, and also by Daniel Pryer, whom I had invited to stay with me until we could go into New York, and they were happily employed, sometimes gunning and fishing, &c., &c.

<sup>1</sup> A view of this house, from an original drawing, made for this Magazine by Mr. Hosier, prefaces this document.

## IRVING'S HISTORY OF NEW YORK

### A LETTER FROM DIEDRICK KNICKERBOCKER

(From the *American Citizen*, New York, January 23d, 1810.)

Mr. Editor :

As you seem to take very kind interest in the affairs of Mr. Diedrick Knickerbocker, I am happy to inform you that we have just received news of the poor old gentleman. The following letter from him was handed to my wife the

day before yesterday by a tall countryman, who had chalked the number of my house on his hat crown :

To Mr. Seth Handaside.

Worthy Sir—It is a matter of exceeding great surprise to me when by accident I learned this morning that after I had been for some time advertised in the newspapers as missing, my history was published, without receiving my last corrections, as also without my consent or approbation. I do not so much blame as lament this hasty measure, as the object of my mysterious absence was to collect some information of great importance to my work.

Not thinking to be absent long, I departed from your house without mentioning my intention, lest it should awaken the curiosity of your worthy spouse, who, between ourselves, my honest Seth, gives herself too much trouble about the affairs of those around her—poor woman—may heaven reward her for the same ! As the weather was fine I travelled a foot by easy stages through Manhattanville, by Spiking devil, Kingsbridge, Phillipsburgh, and so on, until I arrived at Dobb's Ferry, where I crossed over to the Slote, and thence proceeded to Coeyman's Patent, to the house of my esteemed friend, Judge Lott, where I have been ever since entertained with true patriarchal hospitality. This worthy gentleman is come of one of the most ancient Dutch families in this country, and has in his possession the papers of his late excellent kinsman, Mr. Abraham Lott, formerly Treasurer of this Colony. From this valuable collection I have selected much interesting matter, as well

as from frequent conversations with the valuable Burgers of Tappan, who have given me divers wonderful particulars about the great factions of the *Blue skins* and the *Copper heads*, which anciently raged with great violence among the Flodders, and the Van Schaiks, and other potent families on the banks of the Hudson, and even occasioned not a little bitterness among the Patricians of Albany. But all these curious and unheard of matters, which would have redounded so highly to the embellishment of my history, and the instruction of the world, with many others which it is useless to mention, your unfortunate precipitancy has buried I fear in eternal oblivion.

To account for my very long absence and apparent disregard of your advertisements, I must inform you ; as to the first, that I have been confined by a tedious and lingering sickness, the consequence no doubt of my intense studies and incessant ponderings ; and as to the second, none of your advertisements ever reached my retreat. Among the many laudable regulations instituted by the Sage Burgers of this very ancient and small town, they have banished all newspapers whatsoever, conceiving them to be mere vehicles of false politics, false morality, and false information, and, moreover, common disturbers of the peace of the community. Hence it is as rare a thing to see a newspaper here as a Yankee, and a politician is as uncommon a monster as a chattering whale or a dumb woman. This being the case, I should doubtless have still remained ignorant of the publication of my history but for the singular accident of a newspaper being smuggled into the town under the specious

pretext of serving as a wrapper to half a dozen pounds of sugar, which my friend Squire Van Loon had sent for to Albany. The appearance of this pestilent scroll occasioned much the same sensation as would the introduction of a bale of cotton, or a bag of coffee among our old women and medical editors, during the yellow fever. With much difficulty I obtained permission to read it, under a solemn promise to burn it and scatter the ashes to the four winds of heaven the next moment. From this paper did I first learn the advertisement of my disappearance, and the subsequent publication of my history.

I regret exceedingly this last premature step, and particularly its having been published by Messrs. Inskeep and Bradford instead of my much esteemed friend, Mr. Evert Duyckinck, who is a lineal descendant from one of the ancient heroes of the Manhattoes, and whose grandfather and my grandfather were just like brothers. As, however, I trust that Messrs. Inskeep and Bradford, though not Dutchmen, are still very honest, good sort of men, I expect they will account with me for my lawful share of the profits. In the mean time, as I am going to pass some time with my relations at Scaghikoke, who are amazingly anxious to see me, I request that you will direct the bookseller to transmit a copy of my book in my name to my worthy cozen, the Congressman, who is now at Washington, where I have little doubt but it will be of a marvellous edification to him in the discharge of his high duties. You will likewise present a copy to the City Librarian, to

whose friendly attentions I was much obliged in the course of my labours, and to whom I beg you will remember me in the most cordial manner.

The book, bound in vellum, with brass clasps, containing the correct records of the city, which you will find in my room, you will be good enough to return, with my hearty thanks, to Mr. Peter P. Goelet and his brother Ratsey, who were so kind as to allow me the use of it. You will likewise please to call on Col. Henry Rutgers, and return him a large roll of papers, written in Dutch, which lie on the desk in my room, giving at the same time my best acknowledgments for his kindness, and a copy of my work, neatly bound.

As to my saddle bags, you may keep them with you until my cozen, the Congressman, returns, who will call for them and bring them up to Scaghikoke. Do not fail to send several copies up to my relations, and one to myself, for I long most vehemently to pore over my excellent little history, which I make no doubt will furnish me with abundant reading for the rest of my life.

With kind remembrances

to your worthy help mate,

I am, my honest Seth,

truly yours,

DIEDRICK KNICKERBOCKER.

Such, Mr. Editor, is the letter I received, and I posted immediately with it to the Stuyvesant family, who have been very anxious about the old gentleman, and have made repeated enquiries after him. They were quite overjoyed to hear of his safety, and in the fullness of their hearts declared that the histo-

rian of their illustrious ancestor should never want. To make good their words, they have provided a snug little rural retreat on their estate for him, where poor old Diederick may end his days comfortably in the neighbourhood of his favourite city, and lay his bones in peace in his beloved island of Mannahata. I have written him word of this munificent gift; in the mean while I could not refrain from making known to the public a circumstance which reflects such great credit on this truly worthy and respectable family.

I am, sir, with great respect,

your humble servant,

SETH HANDASIDE.

The preceding amusing letter by Washington Irving has not been printed in any collection of his works that has come under our observation.—  
EDITOR.

## NOTES

NOTES FROM MAJOR CRAIG'S LETTER-BOOKS.—*Wheeling, West Virginia*. The following notes relating to this place are taken from the letter-books of Major Isaac Craig at the time acting as Deputy Quartermaster-General at Pittsburgh.

June 15, 1793.—“Wheeling was laid out in the Summer of 1792, and now has eight log houses with two small stores near the landing. The stockade Fort, built in 1774, is entirely demolished. The inhabitants are at present without any place of defence.”

August 2, 1793.—“I am just returned from laying out a store house, block-house and small stockade at Wheeling. I contracted for the materials and employed workmen who I expect will have

the store house completed by the 15th instant; but I am apprehensive the situation will not answer the purpose intended, as an Island opposite Wheeling, that is nearly two miles long, will prevent the Block-house guns from commanding the whole of the river. The principal channel however, is on the east side of the Island and the mouth of Wheeling Creek (immediately under the Block-house) forms an excellent harbour for boats."

December 26, 1793.—"The buildings at Wheeling consists of a Block-house, Store house and Barracks; the Block-house twenty-two feet by twenty-two feet, two stories high, in the upper story a six pounder is mounted; the lower story may be used as a store-house. The Barracks one story high, consists of five rooms, four rooms fifteen feet square, and one room fifteen feet by twelve; the whole is enclosed with a stockade."

The above extracts are from letters addressed to General Knox, Secretary of War.

Fort Randolph was the name of the works described; it was evacuated in May, 1797, by order of General Wilkinson as a useless Post, and the material sold, in November of that year, to Colonel George Striker. May 23, 1794, by a letter of this date to Timothy Pickering, P. M. General, I find Major Craig had just made arrangements by which "the mail will reach Philadelphia in seven days from Wheeling."

*Fort Franklin, Pa.*—Extract from a letter from Major Craig to Timothy Pickering, Secretary of War, dated August 14, 1795. "At Fort Franklin I found no safe place of deposit for stores

of any kind. Indeed the Fort, if it may be so called, is almost in ruins, the Block-house I am of opinion cannot stand another year. In this state of things it is Colonel Butler's opinion as well as mine, that a store-house should be immediately built at the mouth of French Creek where the old Fort stood. I presume Colonel Butler has written to you on the subject."

*First Mail to Erie, Pa.*—Extract from a letter from Major Craig to Colonel Rochefontaine, Commanding at Presqu' Isle, dated August 15, 1795: "It is found necessary to establish a regular communication between this Post and Presqu' Isle, and I am now making arrangements for a weekly mail to arrive at Presqu' Isle on Thursday the 27th instant, and on the same day every week afterward, unless it should be found from experience necessary to make alterations in this business." I. C.

*Alleghany City, Pa.*

#### FIRST MANUFACTURE OF VERMICELLI AND MACARONI IN THE UNITED STATES.—

"Augustino-Maury Bruino, from Genoa, in Italy; having obtained liberty from that Government, to export to America the machinery for manufacturing vermicelli and macaroni, (the first ever brought in this country) informs the citizens of New-York and the United States in general, that he has established his works at 371, Pearl-street, where these desirable articles will be sold wholesale and retail in their pristine state, it being fresh and free from must, and every disagreeable smell that it usually imbibes in coming over sea.—It makes of itself excellent soup, and is a preventive in

all warm countries from every kind of fevers; and is generally used in the South of Europe with the first class of people, as the first dish on the table; its principal ingredient being the first quality of wheat, which is wholesome and easy of digestion. Nothing can be better for lying-in ladies and sick people in general, and equally as good for those in health. No master of a vessel, supercargo or seaman should go to sea without it. Warranted equal to any made in Europe. It will be delivered in boxes to suit purchasers, or by the single pound, with directions how to use it. —*Mercantile Advertiser*, Dec. 14, 1802."

W. K.

WASHINGTON'S LONG ISLAND "TOUR" IN THE SPRING OF 1790.—There is an aged lady still living in this city, who has a distinct remembrance of seeing General Washington as he passed her father's door in Cold Spring, L. I., on that "tour," as he calls it in his "Diary." Mrs Sarah Mead, this venerable living link between that pleasant episode in the life of the first President of the United States in this city and the present time, is now in her 96th year, and although much enfeebled by age, retains in her mind a vivid impression of that interesting incident of her childhood. Her account tallies precisely with several particulars given by Washington himself respecting that journey from Brooklyn to Brookhaven, which was in his private carriage, and with but few attendants. It was on his return route, and on his way from Huntington to Oyster Bay, that she saw him, which, as we learn from the "Diary," was on Friday, April 23, 1790. The name of the

General's stopping-place at the latter place she recalled on a recent interview without difficulty, which we subsequently verified on turning to the "Diary," that records it as "the house of a Mr. Young (private and very neat and decent), where we lodged."

But another equally well authenticated fact, frequently rehearsed to Mrs. Mead by her friend, a much older person, not now living, Mrs. Temperance Jackson, present that evening at "Young's," to "help" in getting up a grand supper for Washington, was that when the great man, for whom nothing was justly deemed too good, arrived, he stepped into the sitting-room and simply asked his hostess if she could furnish him and his company with a dish of "*mush and milk!*" When this order was announced in the kitchen, "you should have seen those niggers!" as the old lady used to say. "They were struck dumb" with astonishment—a silence probably soon relieved by the noisy merriment common to the race. WILLIAM HALL.

THE TOUCH TEST OF MURDER.—The following extraordinary Attestation of the Coroner of Bergen County was communicated by a gentleman of such credit as leaves not the least doubt of its being genuine:

"On the Twenty-second Day of September, in the year of our Lord 1767, I, Johannes Demarest, Coroner of the County of Bergen and Province of New Jersey, was present at a View of the Body of one Nicholas Teurs, then lying dead, together with the jury, which I summoned to inquire of the Death of Nicholas Teurs. At that Time a Negro

named Harry, belonging to Hendrick Christians Zabriskie, was suspected of having murdered the said Teurs, but there was no Proof of it, and the Negro denied it. I asked him if he was not afraid to touch Teurs? He said No; he had not hurt him, and immediately came up to the Corpse, then lying in the Coffin, and then Staats Storm, one of the Jurors, said: "I am not afraid of him, and stroked the dead Man's Face with his Hand," which made no Alteration in the dead Person, and (as I did not put any Faith in any of those Trials) my Back was turned towards the dead Body, when the Jury ordered the Negro to touch the dead Man's Face with his Hand, and then I heard a Cry in the Room of the People, saying, "He is the Man;" and I was desired to come to the dead Body, and was told that the said Negro Harry had put his hand on Tuers' Face, and that the Blood immediately ran out at the Nose of the dead man Teurs. I saw the Blood on his Face, and ordered the Negro to rub his Hand again on Teurs' Face; he did so, and immediately the Blood again ran out of said Teurs' Nose at both Nostrils, near a common Table Spoonful at each Nostril, as well as I could judge.

Whereupon the People all charged him with being the Murderer, but he denied it for a few minutes, and then confessed that he had murdered the said Nicholas Teurs, by first striking him on the Head with an Ax, and then driving a Wooden Pin in his Ear; tho' afterwards he said he struck a second Time with his Ax, and then held him fast till he had done struggling. When that was done, he awaked some of the Family, and said

Teurs was dying (he believed)."—*N. Y. Journal, October 1st, 1767.* W. K.

AMERICAN SURNAMES.—I send some American surnames not found in any work on the subject that I am acquainted with: Africa, Allaback, Bearsticker, Brearypole, Carbon, Cry, Clownish, Crazey, Click, Cumberlock, Dangwell, Devorce, Dielt, Dross, Earlick, Feed, Fid, Foulfoot, Glue, Goodbread, Goodnight (probably a corruption of Good Knight), Grasshopper, Heelfish, Hoof, Hornfoot, Hogancamp, Hunkey, Handcleare, Hollyland, Hawser, Hogbeans, Ice, Ironcutter, Jerk, Livelong, Limeburner, Masthead, Offword, Overwinter, Pancake, Porcupine, Richland, Ravish, Redheffer, Redlion, Redhair, Savewell, Sommerkamp, Snail, Sledd, Skrimp, Talk, Tape, Terrapin, Vermillion, Wideback.

Most of the above are from Revolutionary muster-rolls and pension lists. Africa and Grasshopper are from Harrisburg; Masthead, is from Pittsburg, and Redheffer is from Philadelphia, and also from Kansas City. ISAAC CRAIG.

*Alleghany City, Pa.*

DUTCH SYMPATHY FOR AMERICA.—"In such high reputation is the American cause at Amsterdam, and so great is the avidity of the people to show their good will to it, that a ballad singer sold six hundred ballads in the streets in the course of one hour, because it contained some reflections favorable to the American revolution."—*Connecticut Gazette, Dec. 21, 1781.* A. T. S.

TRIAL TRIP OF FULTON'S STEAM BATTERY.—The N. Y. National Advocate of



June 2, 1815, gives the following account of the trial trip of the first U. S. Steam vessel of war called "Fulton the First:" "Yesterday was a very auspicious day for the U. S. The experiment of moving the new vessel of war by means of steam, has been made in a successful and highly satisfactory manner. At ten o'clock in the morning, the Fulton was propelled, by her own steam and machinery, from her moorings, near the Brooklyn Ferry on the east side of the City. Henry Rutgers, Samuel L. Mitchell, Thomas Morris, and Oliver Wolcott Esqs., the Commissioners of the Navy Dept. to superintend her construction, were on board. Mr. Brown, the Naval constructor, Mr. Stondinger, the engineer (the successor to Mr. Fulton) and Capt. Smith the inspector, were also in the vessel. A number of Scientific and distinguished gentlemen gave their attendance. The wharves were crowded with citizens, anxious to know the result. She proceeded majestically into the river, though a stiff breeze from the south blew directly ahead. She stemmed the current with perfect ease, the tide a strong ebb. She sailed by the forts and saluted them with her 32 pound guns. Her speed was equal to the most sanguine expectation. She exhibited a novel and sublime spectacle to an admiring people. The intention of the Commissioners being solely to try her engines, no use was made of her sails. After navigating the Bay, and receiving a visit from the officers of the French ship of war, lying at her anchors, the steam frigate came to near the Powleshook ferry, about two o'clock, without

having experienced a single unpleasant occurrence." W. H. NEWTON.

*St. Georges, Del.*

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ONE OF THE OLDEST INHABITANTS.—  
*Boston, July 13th.* From Somerset county Maryland we learn that one Francis Ange died there about three months ago, in a very advanced age. A Gentleman of that province, some years ago, having occasion to ride in the neighborhood where this man lived, and hearing of his great age, had the curiosity to go and see him. In a letter to his friend and correspondent in this Town August 9th, 1764 he gives the following account of him, as he had from the man himself: That he was born at Stratford-upon-Avon in Warwickshire England; that his father's name was John, a cutler by trade and his mother's name Eleanor; that he could remember King Charles I being beheaded, as he was then a pretty big boy; that he came to this country in a ship from Parkgate called the Great Bengal, and served his time with one Nicholas Demar on Rappahannock. The Gentleman says that at that time he was not less than 130 years of age, had scarce a wrinkle in his face, had thick black hair, with a few grey hairs interspersed, and that his wife, who was then about 80, had a son by him not above 27 years of age.—*N. Y. Journal, July 30th 1767.* W. K.

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THE HERO OF BENNINGTON.—*Detroit, May 26th, 1811.* Venerable General: On examining the fort in this place a few days past I perceived, in one of the embrasures, a handsome brass cannon with this inscription on it: "John Stark

taken at Bennington 16th of August 1777." This, together with the situation in which I found it, forcibly drew my mind not only to a retrospect of the revolutionary war, but still further back to the records of transactions too remote for my observation, and I could not but view the fortuitous circumstance of its being placed on these walls, as a sort of pledge for the future safety of this place, as well against those from whose martial hands you wrested it on the embattled plains of Walloomsack, as the descendants of those savages who felt the chastisement of your arms, near this fort, on the memorable ambuscade of the 31st July, 1768.

I have often contemplated the spot with horror, where fell by your side the brave Capts. Dalvell and Campbell, where the bridge, from the blood of 280 out of 300 British and 110 out of 200 provincials, is to this day emphatically called "Bloody Bridge." I was much gratified with the feeling relation of this transaction by a man of the name of Maxwell, who served under you in that campaign; who, while he reiterated the events, frequently attempted to wipe away the incrustated tears from his furrowed cheek, often exclaiming: "Ah! is my old Captain Stark still living?" But though death is a severe master, you have parried his stroke, till he has arrived at the very Z of the revolutionary alphabet, by which you have been enabled to view and contemplate vast portions of your native country freed from the savage knife and from civil tyranny, in effecting which, your having borne so conspicuous a part, must remain a fruitful source of consolation, even to the

very fragment of your furlough; at the end of which, when summoned to headquarters to join the main body of patriots and heroes who have long since marched for that station, that you may pass a good muster, and finally receive a pension which will support you through the war of elements, is the sincere wish of,

Dear General,

Your most obedient and humble servant,  
J. Witherell.

The venerable John Stark, Esq.

—*The American Patriot*, August 21st.  
PETERSFIELD.

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### QUERIES

HOUDON'S BUST OF LAFAYETTE.—In the third volume of St. John de Crève Coeur's *Lettres d'un Cultivateur Américain*, all of which have not as yet been translated into English, may be found an account of an interesting historical event. The whole is here given—

Extract of a letter addressed to *MM. les Prévôts des Marchands et Échevins de la ville de Paris*, by his Excellency M. Jefferson, Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States, Paris, the 27 September, 1786. "The Legislature of Virginia in recognition of the services of Major General the Marquis de La Fayette have resolved to place his bust in their Capitol. Their desire to erect a monument to his virtues and of the sentiments entertained towards him in the country to which they owe his birth, leads them to hope that the City of Paris will consent to become the depository of the second testimony of their gratitude. Charged by the Legislature with the execution of their resolution, I have the honor to

pray of *MM. les Prévôts des Marchands et Échevins* to accept the Bust of that brave officer, and to set it up in a place where it may forever attest this respectful homage and bear witness to the attachment of the allies of France."

Monsieur le Baron de Breteuil, Minister and Secretary of State of the Department of Paris, wrote to *MM. les Prévôts des Marchands et Echevins* that the King, who had been consulted, approved of the acceptance of this Bust by the city. In consequence whereof the City being assembled the 28 September, M. Short, former member of the Council of the Legislature of Virginia (Mr. Jefferson, Minister Plenipotentiary, being detained at home by an indisposition), appeared at the Hotel de Ville to present the bust, which had been executed by le Sieur Houdon, and to place in the hands of *MM. les Prévôts des Marchands et Echevins* a letter of Mr. Jefferson, together with the resolution of the Legislature of Virginia. M. le Pelletier de More-Fontaine, Councillor of State, Prévôt des Marchands opened the session by announcing its motive and object, and delivered to M. Veytard, Chief Register, all the documents to make reading thereof. After which M. Ethis de Corny, Advocate and Attorney of the King and Chevalier of the order of Cincinnatus, delivered a discourse, in which he recalled in an extremely interesting manner the services of M. de La Fayette in North America, the confidence of the army, and attachment of the people, for the General. As King's Attorney for the City of Paris, he made the requisitions and dispositions necessary for the reception

of the bust in conformity with the King's desire, in consequence whereof the bust was set up in one of the rooms of the Hotel de Ville to the sound of military music. This ceremony, the object of which was as novel as it was interesting, aroused a lively impression of pleasure and sympathy among the spectators. A literary gentleman, who was witness of the scene, happily applied to M. de La Fayette what Tacitus says of Germanicus: "*Fruitur famâ sui.*"

A note to the text states that the original of the bust was destined for Virginia, to be placed in the Capitol at Richmond, by the side of the statue of Washington, which Houdon was also commissioned to make. There is a marble bust of Lafayette in the Capitol at Richmond, no doubt the original of that presented to Paris. Appleton's and Johnson's Cyclopædias both record the fact, but strange to say neither of these nor yet Drake's Dictionary of American biography, under the caption of Houdon, mention the bust as from his hand.

Can any of our readers give information as to the fate of the Paris bust? Did it survive the revolution, the restoration and the Empire? or was its fate to perish by the flames of 1871, in the ruins of the Commune? EDITOR.

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ANCIENT MANUSCRIPT.—Can any of your readers inform me of the whereabouts of the ancient manuscript described in the *Gentlemen's Magazine* of June, 1823, as follows?

"A manuscript volume of three hundred and fifty pages has lately been discovered at Detroit, in the United States,

under the building of Col. Edwards. The book is in a good state of preservation, and the penmanship is beautiful. The characters in which it is written are unknown, being neither Hebrew, Greek, nor Saxon; the only parts intelligible are a few Latin quotations."

ANTIQUARIAN.

DANKER'S JOURNAL.—In his preface to Danker's journal of a voyage to New York and a tour in the American Colonies in 1679–80, published by the Long Island Historical Society in 1867, Mr. Henry C. Murphy states that the manuscript from which the translation was made came into his hands a few years previously in Holland. In a note to the edition of Knickerbockers' History of New York, published by Inskeep & Bradford, in 1809, Mr. Irving says the sketch prepared to his history was taken from Danker's View of New Amsterdam. Was Irving acquainted with the text of the journal as well as the View?

KNICKERBOCKER.

CORRESPONDENCE OF WASHINGTON AND BOUCHER.—"3443. Washington. Letter of Washington addressed to Rev. Doctor Boucher, dated Mount Airy, Aug. 2, 1773, with portraits. This interesting letter occupies two 4to pages."

The above is from the catalogue of books, &c., belonging to the late John Allen, of New York city, and was sold in May, 1864. Who is the present owner of the letter? Would he gratify a large number of your readers by furnishing a copy of it for publication at the present time?

In London "Notes and Queries" sev-

eral articles have appeared from a descendant of the Rev. Dr. in relation to General Washington, which have been replied to by Col. J. L. Chester.

Boston.

J. C.

NEWTOWN PIPPINS.—More than a century ago this delicious fruit was exported to Europe. In 1767 Mr. William Livingston sent two barrels to a friend in England. Early in this century the Golden pippin was the choicest apple of this variety. Are there any of these trees now to be found on Long Island?

DOBBS FERRY.

AMERICAN MODESTY OR ENGLISH VERACITY.—In "A Summary View of America, etc. By an Englishman," printed at London, 1825, occurs the following passage: "The Americans have a current saying, 'that they are the most enlightened people on earth,' and Congress actually passed a resolution to that effect many years ago."

What is the authority for the above statement?

PETERSFIELD.

THE FIRST BORN IN NEW AMSTERDAM.—I found the following cutting from a newspaper in an old scrap-book; it is without date. Can any of your readers give particulars of this interesting memento? "The silver tankard presented to the first born white child of the colony at New Amsterdam—Sarah (afterwards the widow Foley), daughter of Jan Joris Rapelje, on her marriage, is in the possession of Barnet Johnson. It is silver, and massive, and bears an inscription in Dutch. She was born June 9th, 1625."

A. H.

MISSING DOCUMENTS.—For the purpose of comparison application has been made by several persons to the Mercantile Library Association of New York, for a view of the original papers printed in a volume entitled "New York City in the Revolution." These papers, forming part of the Tomlinson Collection, purchased by subscription, are no longer to be found among its archives.

It is important that such documents be preserved, and restored to the institution to which they belong. EDITOR.

### REPLIES

DE CÉLORON'S PLATE. — (II. 129.) There seems to be a discrepancy between Mr. Marshall's interesting narrative of De Céloron's expedition and the accompanying chart, which the writer would like to have explained.

On page 146 he says, "The sixth and last of the leaden plates was buried at this place" — the intersection of the Great Miami with the Ohio.

On referring to the chart the Fort des Miamis (Fort Wayne) is marked as one of the places where a plate was buried, as well as where latitude and longitude were observed.

The writer is inclined to believe that this great gateway to the west—the portage place from the Maumee to the Wabash—would have been considered an important point for such a ceremony, and that one of De Céloron's plates must still rest in its grave at Fort Wayne.

If Mr. Marshall, or some one who has access to the records of the expedition, will kindly examine them upon

this point, and give the location, if recorded, the writer will institute a search for the plate.

R. S. ROBERTSON.

*Fort Wayne, Ind.*

RUNIC INSCRIPTIONS.—(II. 83, 188). In the autumn of 1872 the Maine Historical Society visited Monhegan Island for the purpose, among other things, of making examination of the so-called runic inscription alleged to be seen there. I was present on that occasion by invitation of that society.

This runic inscription is not on Monhegan proper, but on a little isle close by, called Mouanis by the famous Captain John Smith. The characters forming it were on the vertical surface of a dark-colored rock—perhaps trap dike—(I am not a geologist) fitted closely into a hard granite rock. At the bottom of all, or nearly all of these so-called runic characters, there was plainly to be seen a crack in the rock. This circumstance and some others forced me to the belief that these characters were made by operations of nature and not by any human agency. Mr. Worsac's judgment (Note, p. 84) regarding the Runamo Rock, *mutatis mutandis*, applies to the Mouanis Rock.

C. W. T.

*Boston.*

THE LONG, LOW, BLACK SCHOONER.—(II. 251.) Capt. Henry Barnes, of the Snow Eagle, belonging to Whitehaven, in a letter dated Rhode Island, August 14, 1776, announces the capture of his vessel off Barbadoes by an American privateer, which he describes as "a small affair, black, with ten guns, fifty

men. She is called the Montgomery, Capt. Buckling, commander. We are the seventh West-Indiaman taken by this privateer."—*Edinburgh Advertiser*, Oct. 22, 1776. PETERSFIELD.

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 PORTRAIT OF COLUMBUS.—(II. 188.) References about the portrait of Columbus will be found in the "Note on Columbus," prepared for the Catalogue of the Ticknor Library, in press by the Boston public Library; and (the note) printed separately, 30 copies; copies of which are in the Lenox and Astor Libraries, New York. J. W.

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 In Rivington's Gazette of August 30th, 1783, is the following advertisement:

"To be sold:—An original picture of Christopher Columbus—the discoverer of America; also a parcel of very ancient Gold and Silver medals, well worth the attention of the curious. Enquire of Mrs. Maria Farmer in Hanover Square."

Mrs. Farmer was a descendant of Liesler, a daughter of the Abraham Gouverneur who allowed du Simitière to make the copies of the Liesler documents used in England to obtain the reversal of her attainder, now in the Philadelphia Library Company, and published in the New York Historical Society Collections for 1868.

Y. E. L.

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 A copy of an original painting of Columbus was presented, in the year 1818, to the Pennsylvania Academy of Arts by R. W. Meade. During Mr. Meade's residence in Madrid in 1815,

he ascertained that the Duke of Veraguas, a descendant of Columbus, and the possessor of his estate and titles, had an original portrait of his illustrious ancestor. Mr. M. obtained permission to have it copied. And it was this copy that was presented as above stated.

WM. H. NEWTON.

*St. Georges, Del.*

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 FALL OF THE ALAMO.—(II. I, 189, 251.) The survivors of the Alamo were: Mrs. Dickinson, her infant daughter, a negro servant of Colonel Travis, and two Mexican women. This is the account furnished by Mrs. Dickinson to the *Telegraph* of March 24th, 1836. This child, afterwards known as the "Daughter of the Alamo," became, when she grew up, the victim of seduction, and for years led a life of shame in Houston, Galveston and elsewhere. She died some three or four years since.

Francisco Antonio Ruiz, Alcalde of Bexar, in his account of the affair, which was published in the "Texas Almanac for 1860," pp. 80, 81, says that as soon as the storming commenced he crossed the bridge on Commerce street with the political chief Don Ramon Murquiz and other members of the corporation, accompanied by the curate Refugio de la Garcia, for the purpose of looking after the wounded. They were fired upon by some Mexican dragoons and fell back. The account continues:

"Half an hour had elapsed when Santa Ana sent one of his aide-de-camps with an order for us to come before him. He directed me to call on some of the neighbors to come up with carts to carry the dead to the cemetery, and also to

accompany him, as he was desirous to have Colonels Travis, Bowie and Crockett shown to him.

"On the north battery of the fortress lay the lifeless body of Colonel Travis on the gun-carriage, shot only in the forehead. Toward the west and in the small fort opposite the city we found the body of Colonel Crockett. Colonel Bowie was found dead in his bed in one of the rooms of the south side.

"Santa Ana, after all the Mexicans were taken out, ordered wood to be brought to burn the bodies of the Texans. He sent a company of dragoons with me to bring wood and dry branches from the neighboring forest. About three o'clock in the afternoon they commenced laying the wood and dry branches, upon which a pile of dead bodies was placed; more wood was piled on them, and another pile brought; and in this manner they were all arranged in layers. Kindling wood was distributed through the pile, and about five o'clock in the evening it was lighted. \* \* \*

"The men burnt numbered 182. I was an eye-witness, for as Alcalde of San Antonio, I was with some of the neighbors collecting the dead bodies and placing them on the funeral pyre."

In the *Telegraph* of March 28, 1837, is an account of the burial of the ashes, from which the following is copied:

"In conformity with an order of the general commanding the army at headquarters, Colonel Seguin with his command, stationed at Bexar, paid the honors of war to the remains of the heroes of the Alamo. The ashes were found in their places; the two smallest heaps were carefully collected, placed in

a coffin neatly covered with black and having the names of Travis, Bowie and Crockett engraved on the inside of the lid, and carried to Bexar and placed in the parish church, where the Texian flag, a rifle and sword were laid upon it, for the purpose of being accompanied by a procession which was formed at three o'clock on the 25th of February; the honors to be paid were announced in orders of the evening previous, and by the tolling knell from daybreak to the hour of interment. At four o'clock the procession moved from the church in Bexar in the following order:

"Field officers; staff officers; civil authorities; clergy; military not attached to the corps, and others; pall-bearers; coffin; pall-bearers; mourners and relatives; music; battalions; citizens.

"The procession then passed through the principal street of the city, crossed the river, passed through the principal avenue on the other side, and halted at the place where the first ashes had been gathered; the coffin was then placed upon the spot, and three volleys of musketry were discharged by one of the companies; the procession then moved on to the second spot, whence part of the ashes in the coffin had been taken, where the same honors were paid; the procession then proceeded to the principal spot and place of interment, where the graves had been prepared; the coffin had been placed in the principal heap of ashes, when Col. Seguin delivered a short address in Spanish, followed by Major Western in English, and the ashes were buried.

"Thus," says the editor, "have the last sad rites of a Christian burial been

performed over the remains of these brave men. In after times, when peace shall have returned to smile upon our prosperous country, a towering fabric of architecture shall be reared by their grateful countrymen above their ashes, designating Bexar as the monumental city of Texas; where long after the massive walls of the Alamo shall have crumbled into dust, the votaries of freedom shall yearly assemble to celebrate at the tomb of heroes the mighty achievements of the unreturning brave."

This note is already too long, and I forbear further copying of memoranda regarding the Fall of the Alamo, unless called for.

C. H. C.

*Houston, Texas.*

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LORD PERCY AT BRANDYWINE.—(II. 121.) Hugh, Earl Percy, afterwards second Duke of Northumberland, who was in this country in the early days of the Revolution, and commanded some forces at the battle of Lexington, and was afterwards engaged in the reduction of Fort Washington, left the country prior to the battle of Brandywine, and died in England on the 10th of July, 1817, at the age of seventy-four years.

Was there a younger member of the house of Percy at the battle of Brandywine "as a volunteer in the suite of one of the British Generals?" and was he slain in that battle and buried on the field? The story that there was, as we have it in print, was written by Col. William L. Stone, in an account of a visit to the field of Brandywine, published in the *New York Commercial Advertiser* in 1831, under the title of "Notes by the Way." It found its way into many

other papers of the day, and was copied by Watson in his "Annals of Philadelphia." I do not know what authority Col. Stone had for the detailed account of the fall of the "sprightly and chivalrous descendant of the Percies," given by him. He refers to it as derived from tradition, and speaks of an old resident then yet living near the spot, who had been forced into the service of Cornwallis as a guide.

There is no doubt that there was a tradition that a member of the house of Percy had fallen there. Joseph Townsend, an intelligent member of the Society of Friends, who, at the time of the battle was a young man, residing near to the field, and who was with that part of the British army under Cornwallis during a portion of the day; and afterwards assisted in burying the dead, about the year 1834, when in the 78th year of his age, wrote a narrative of the events of the battle as they fell under his observation, in which, in speaking of the dead interred in the Friends' burying ground at Birmingham, he says: "One of them, said to be a near connection of the Duke of Northumberland, a young man of the name of Percy."

The idea, however, of pointing out the site of the grave of this supposed scion of the house of Percy is simply preposterous. Many British soldiers who were slain were buried in this graveyard, in and around which the battle raged, and pieces of their clothing were formerly frequently thrown up in digging new graves.

The late Dr. William Darlington, who was born and reared on the field of Brandywine, and who gave much atten-



tion to the subject of the battle and was very familiar with its details, regarded this romantic Percy story as unquestionably a *myth*, and I believe this is the opinion now entertained generally among historians.

*West Chester, Pa.* J. S. FUTHEY.

THE MORRIS CREST.—(I. 575.) Pending a reply to the query with regard to the heraldic authority of record for the arms of this well known family the following extract from a political squib will serve to show their use in the last century. "The crest is a spacious Stone Castle with several Divisions and apartments, alluding (as I conjecture to a Combination of Powers and Strength) the little Turrets, Battlements, &c., may serve to illustrate the vain Attempts this Power has made use of to have established itself triumphant; the Flames within seem to discover a Disunion of Councils, and their Bursting forth at Top an indication that their chiefs or Heads, vaunting their unruly passions and accomplishing their Destruction. The motto being TANDEM VINCI-TOR, seems to declare the Virtue, Perseverance, Magnanimity and success of the *Morris* Family against all combined force." *Zenger's New York Weekly Journal*, Feb. 23, 1735. STUDENT.

COL. RUDOLPHUS RITZEMA.—(I. 107. II. 163.) Data for a fuller account of the Colonel's final separation from the American cause, and his subsequent career, are at present quite wanting. But notwithstanding the doubt legitimated by the language of his will, and expressed in the editorial note to our

recent biographical tribute, the conviction of the family that he never, *de facto*, fought against his country, is strongly confirmed by the "Universal Register" of Hugh Gaine, from 1778 to 1782, where his name does not appear on the army list of British Provincial officers.

WILLIAM HALL.

The sketch of Colonel Rudolphus Ritzema (II. 163), though kindly meant, is entirely wrong in saying that "he never took up arms against the Colonial forces," and that he was not "disloyal."

Rudolphus Ritzema was a son of Dominie Ritzema, a Dutch clergyman, of New York. After leaving King's College his father sent him to Holland to study divinity. There after a while he gave up the idea, went to Prussia, and enlisted as a private in a grenadier regiment. He served under Frederick till the end of the war (his only opportunity of acquiring any military knowledge), when his regiment being disbanded he returned to New York. There he studied law, and was a practicing attorney when the troubles in 1774 began. He became a Son of Liberty in 1775, raised a fusileer company, at whose head he escorted John Adams and the eastern Delegates into New York in May, 1775, the only other military company (which was also present) being that of Col. Lasher. He went to Canada as Lieut.-Colonel of the First New York Regiment under Montgomery. After the fall of St. Johns he commanded the Third New York Regiment. In 1776 he was court-martialed on serious charges, but acquitted, except of disrespect to Lord Stirling, which that officer

forgave, the other charges not being proven. He was broken by a court martial after conviction for various offences in 1778. He then joined the British in New York, and obtained from Sir Henry Clinton authority to raise a regiment of provincials. In this, after a long trial, he failed, but was allowed half pay. He finally went to England, and in the character of a *suffering loyalist*, got his half pay confirmed, and a grant of a small sum of money, and a tract of land in Nova Scotia. He was without principle, and the only military knowledge he had, was acquired as a private in the Prussian army. While serving in the American army in Canada, he behaved badly under fire, and drew off his forces. "This man was undoubtedly a coward;" says Scott in his life of Lamb; and Mr. Willett, in his life of his father, affirms that he, as well as Zedwitz, deserted to the enemy. Sabine, in his *Loyalists*, says, "Ritzema—, of New York, and son of Rev. Johanus Ritzema. Before the Revolution he kept a military school at Tarrytown. He was an officer in the service of the Crown." And Ritzema describes himself in his own will, as "*Late Lieutenant-Colonel, Commandant in his Majesty's Provincials in North America*," as given by the sketch (II. 164), which of itself is proof positive that he went over from the American to the British service. Like others at that day he was a mere soldier of fortune, to say the least.

Your editorial note appended to the publication of his journal (I. 107) is correct as far as it goes.

The statement in my paper in the N. Y. Genealogical Record that David Rit-

zema Bogert bequeathed a portrait of his grandfather, Dominie Ritzema, to the New York Historical Society is not "a mistake." It is so stated by Mr. Bogert's niece in No. IX of the appendix to her "Memoir of the Life of Eliza S. M. Quincy" (her mother), the wife of President Quincy. If the portrait is not in the Society's possession, that circumstance does not affect the fact of the bequest. EDWARD F. DE LANCEY.

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THE FOUR KINGS OF CANADA.—The Magazine of American History, (II. p. 151), contains an interesting account of these worthies. They do not, however, seem to have been in very good repute in their lifetime, and if Colden's Letters on Smith's History of New York (N. Y. Hist. Soc'y Coll., 1868) be taken "au pied de la lettre," the gubernatorial showmen were first-class Barnums, and the English people as easily gulled as the crazed public who ran after the Feejie mermaid and the Woolly Horse. Here is what Colden says of the Four Kings:

"Mr. Smith makes such mention of Col. Peter Schuyler on several occasions that had you known him as I did you would pay little regard to Mr. Smith's characters, whether in panegyric or satire. Col. Schuyler was a plain country farmer, who had on some occasions given proof of his courage; this, with strong connections between that family and some of the Mohawk tribe, gave him a considerable interest with the Mohawks, but as to the other tribes it was in no respect such as Mr. Smith represents it. His whole exterior and deportment had much of the Indian mixed with the sul-

len Dutch manner. He was no way distinguished by abilities, either natural or acquired, and you may judge his sense of honour by his being prevailed on by Mr. Nicholson to join with him in the grossest imposition on the Queen and the British nation by carrying to England five or six common Indians and making them personate, one the Emperor of the Five Nations and the others the Kings of each nation. He might have paid dear for such an attempt had it not been that the Ministry were at that time fond of amusing the people with the eclat of such an appearance at court, for they might easily have been informed, if they knew it not, that there is no such thing among the Five Nations as either emperor or king. The Five Nations so far resented it that they never afterwards would suffer one of these Indians to appear in their public councils. I saw, several years after this, one of these Indians standing at a distance among the women and young men, while the Five Nations were at a public conference with the Governor of New York."

In this connection Smith's account of their visit to England may be interesting: "The arrival of the five Sachems in England made a great bruit throughout the whole kingdom. The mob followed where ever they went, and small cuts of them were sold among the people. The court was at that time in mourning for the death of the prince of Denmark. These American kings were therefore dressed in black under cloths, after the English manner, but instead of a blanket they had each a scarlet ingrain cloth mantle edged with gold, thrown over all

their other garments. This dress was directed by the dressers of the play-house and given by the queen, who was advised to make a show of them. A more than ordinary solemnity attended the audience they had of her majesty. Sir Charles Cotterel conducted them in two coaches to St. James, and the Lord Chamberlain introduced them into the royal presence. Their speech on the 19th of April, 1710, is preserved by Oldmixon." MOHAWK.

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#### APRIL PROCEEDINGS OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The regular monthly meeting was held in the Hall of the Society, Tuesday evening April 2d, 1878, the President, Frederic de Peyster, LL.D., in the chair.

A report was presented from the Executive Committee, in accordance with a resolution offered at the March meeting by Rev. Dr. Samuel Osgood, in regard to the appreciation by the Society of the private virtues and various important public services of the late Theodore Roosevelt, Esq., a member of the Society, which was ordered to be recorded in the minutes.

Mr. Henry Cruger Van Schaack, of Manlius, then read an extremely interesting paper, full of personal reminiscences, entitled "A Centennial Mansion;" and some other Old Dutch Houses of Kinderhook, with their Historic Associations.

Remarks were made by the President and Mr. Benedict, Chancellor of the University, after which the Society adjourned.

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

**DÉCOUVERTES ET ÉTABLISSEMENTS DES FRANÇAIS DANS L'OUEST ET DANS LE SUD DE L'AMÉRIQUE SEPTENTRIONALE (1614-1754).** Mémoires et Documents Originaux recueillis et publiés par PIERRE MARGRY, &c.

**PREMIÈRE PARTIE.—VOYAGES DES FRANÇAIS SUR LES GRANDS LACS ET DÉCOUVERTE DE L'OHIO ET DU MISSISSIPI (1614-1684).** 8vo, pp. 618. D. JOUART, Paris, 1876.

**DISCOVERIES AND SETTLEMENTS OF THE FRENCH IN THE WEST AND SOUTH OF NORTH AMERICA (1614-1754).** Memoirs and original Documents, collected and published by PIERRE MARGRY.

**FIRST PART.—VOYAGES OF THE FRENCH ON THE GREAT LAKES, AND DISCOVERY OF THE OHIO AND MISSISSIPI (1614-1684).**

This is the first of a series of volumes which promises to be of great interest to students of American history. They are published, we are informed, at the expense of the American Government, which some time since made an appropriation for the purpose. The present volume, which is prefixed by a pleasing engraving of Cavalier de la Salle, begins with an account of the Récollets who established the first missions in the West and South, chiefly devoted to their labors among the Hurons, and their difficulties with the Quebec Government, which was always jealous of their influence and power. Their leaders were Joseph le Baron and Jean d'Olbeau. Chapter II. recites the endeavors at settlement on the borders of Lake Ontario, where we find the familiar names of Bourdon and Dupuys, of Father Isaac Jogues, Lemoine, Chaumonet, Dablon and others, missionaries and pioneers from 1646 to 1687. Chapter III. is an extract from the "*Relation la Nouvelle France*," of 1643, with some details upon the life of Jean Nicollet. Chapter IV. contains a sketch of Father Allouez, missionary to the Nation of the Onaouans (1613-1659.) Chapter V. is entitled "The views of Jean Talon on the possibility of extending the French power in North America, entertained by Spaniards." Chapter VI. is devoted to an account of the Voyage of Cavalier de la Salle with the Sulpician Fathers Dollier, de Casson and Brehan de Gallinée, upon which the Ohio was discovered, in 1669, the most interesting portion of which is contained in a relation of the voyage by the Abbé de Gallinée. Chapter VII. describes the Voyage of

Daniel Remy de Courcelles, Governor of New France, to Lake Ontario. Chapters VIII. and IX., the Voyage of Comte de Frontenac to Lake Ontario, and the correspondence regarding the same. Chapter X. relates the various efforts made to civilize the Savages from 1672 and 1674, and sundry reasons in favor of increasing the number of the Récollets, and their dispatch on distant missions. Chapter XI. describes the discovery of the Mississippi by Louis Jolliet, accompanied by Père Marquette. Chapter XII. is concerned with the first return of Cavalier de la Salle to France, where he obtained from the King letters of nobility, a grant of land near Lake Ontario, and the government of Fort Frontenac. Chapter XIII., his course as commander of the Fort, and his efforts to improve his grant. Chapter XIV. gives a general description of the state of Canada, the abuses of power by Frontenac, the traffic in ardent spirits, and the intrigues against La Salle, together with the efforts of Jolliet to obtain a grant of the Illinois country. Chapter XV., the refusal of permission to Jolliet to establish himself in the Illinois, La Salle's second Voyage to France, and the new powers entrusted to him. Chapter XVI. gives a sketch of the relations by La Salle, to a friend of the Abbé de Gallinée, of his observations among the Iroquois and on the state of Canada. Chapter XVII. describes La Salle's part in the deliberations of 1678 on the traffic in spirits with the Savages. Chapter XVIII. refers to the assistance rendered La Salle by his family to enable him to carry out his enterprises from 1678 to 1683. Chapter XIX. is the official relation, made by order of Colbert, of La Salle's enterprises from 1679 to 1681. Chapter XX., an account by young Nicolas de La Salle of the enterprise of Robert Cavalier during the year 1682, when he descended the Mississippi to its mouth, went up in return to Quebec, after visiting various nations and taking possession of the country in the name of the King of France. Chapter XXI. closes the volume with the relation of Henri de Tonty of the Voyages and Settlements of the French on the Lakes and the Mississippi, under the orders of La Salle and de Tonty, from 1678 to 1684.

We have been thus elaborate in an enumeration of the contents of this volume because of its rarity, but few copies having as yet reached this country. The second is just published, and will be noticed in the next number in a similar manner.

We learn that the appropriation of Congress was secured by the active influence of Mr. S. L. M. Barlow of this city, who deserves the thanks of our historical world for his well-timed interposition.

The series will include about fourteen volumes, the first three of which are to be devoted to La Salle.

#### MICHIGAN PIONEER COLLECTION.

REPORT OF THE PIONEER SOCIETY OF THE STATE OF MICHIGAN, together with Reports of County, Town and District Pioneer Societies. Vol. I. 8vo, pp. 554. W. S. GEORGE & Co., Lansing, 1877.

This is the first fruit of the resolution adopted by the Society at its annual meeting in 1876, to make a permanent record of its proceedings and collections. It includes Reports of Counties, Towns and Districts as to their first settlement, organization and history, some of which are interesting and graphic.

#### WORCESTER IN THE REVOLUTION:

EMBRACING THE ACTS OF THE TOWN FROM 1765 TO 1783, INCLUSIVE; with an Appendix by ALBERT A. LOVELL. 8vo, pp. 178. TYLER & SEAGRAVE, Worcester, 1876.

An interesting and unpretending monograph of the services of this ancient city in the cause of American Freedom. We find here recorded that Isaiah Thomas, whose name is indissolubly connected with its history, entered Worcester the day after the battle of Lexington. His patriotic course as the proprietor of the *Massachusetts Spy* had compelled him to fly from Boston. With friendly aid he moved a part of his presses and type to Worcester, and printed a number—the first issued there—on the 3d of May, 1775.

The visit of John Hancock on his way to the Continental Congress, and of General Burgoyne on his way to captivity at Boston, are mentioned. The book is printed in a manner which old Isaiah Thomas himself would not have been ashamed of.

#### THE ONLY AUTHENTICATED COPY,

FULL AND COMPLETE, OF THE LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT OF GEORGE WASHINGTON, OF MT. VERNON, embracing a Schedule of his Real Estate and Explanatory Notes thereto by the Testator; to which are added important Historical Notes, Biographical Sketches and Anecdotes. Second edition. By W. H. NEWTON. 8vo, pp. 65.

The first edition of this work was issued in 1868, and contained the first publication of the complete Text of Washington's Will. It was printed under the supervision of Mr. N. Jackson,

of Virginia. The copyright has since passed into the hands of Mr. Newton, who has illustrated the document with numerous notes and sketches. The document itself is printed *verbatim et literatim*, and line for line of the original. Washington left a property valued by his own schedule at \$530,000.

#### IN MEMORIAM, THOMAS ALLEN

JENCKES, BORN NOVEMBER 2, 1818; DIED NOVEMBER 4, 1875. 8vo, pp. 75. Providence.

A memoir of a favorite son of Rhode Island, who, in the words of the *Providence Journal*, "took to politics with the taste of an American citizen and the instinct of a Rhode Islander." During his career he served in both houses of the General Assembly with acknowledged ability and distinction, and also as a Representative in the Thirty-eighth, Thirty-ninth, Fortieth and Forty-first Congresses. The contributors to this memoir agree that in the death of Mr. Jenckes "Rhode Island lost one of her profoundest men."

#### MEMORIAL OF THOMAS PERKINS

SHEPARD, M. D. Read before the Trustees of the Rhode Island Hospital September 19, 1877, by GEORGE J. CHACE, President of the Hospital. 8vo, pp. 33. RODNEY S. RIDER, Providence, 1877.

Though bred a physician, Dr. Shepard does not appear to have paid attention to the practice of his profession, but passed his life in chemical experiments and enterprises. He established at Providence a laboratory on a large scale for making chemical reagents, then largely imported from England, for use in calico print works. In 1875 he was made President of the Manufacturing Chemists' Association of the United States, a body before which he read a paper on the Nature of Sulphuric Acid. Another on "Brimstone" caused a reversal by the Secretary of the Treasury of the rulings of the Custom officials. His life was eminently practical and useful.

#### MEMORIAL ADDRESSES ON SEVERAL

OCCASIONS DELIVERED IN THE SENATE BY HENRY B. ANTHONY, a Senator from Rhode Island. 8vo, pp. 52. RODNEY S. RIDER, Providence, 1875.

In this handsomely printed pamphlet, which is also illustrated with fine portraits, may be found sketches of various lengths of Douglas, Fessenden, Major-General Greene of the Conti-

mental Army, Roger Williams, Jonathan Trumbull, Roger Sherman, the Chevalier de Ternay, Charles Sumner and William A. Buckingham. The tributes to his fellows of the Senate Chamber are marked by warmth and feeling and a nice appreciation of character. The few words in which he announced to the Senate the death of Sumner are peculiarly touching, and the more elaborate sketch of Fessenden just and felicitous.

#### THE FINANCES, PANICS AND SPECIE

PAYMENTS. By J. W. SCHUCKERS. Third edition. 8vo, pp. 90. HENRY CAREY BAIRD & Co., Philadelphia, 1877.

An excellent and timely review of the present situation of the finances of the country. The preface attests that "there is no good reason for supposing that the people of the United States can sustain a greater circulation of soundly-convertible notes than the present aggregate issues of the National Banks (\$384,000,000), but there are the solidest reasons for the belief that a circulation to that amount would be far too great for safety." He is also strongly inclined to the Eastern view, that the greenbacks should be wholly withdrawn. The evident tendency of the nation is the other way, and the Western people are manifestly in favor of a Government issue and the withdrawal of the National Bank notes. Some of the facts presented are worthy of careful consideration, particularly those which bear upon the question of the amount of coin needed to support a paper currency always convertible into specie. He points out the incontrovertible fact, that in 1857 the country could not sustain a paper issue of two hundred and fifteen millions upon a basis of two hundred and sixty-five millions, the estimated amount of coin in the United States.

Mr. Schuckers proposes that resumption be postponed until the public debt be reduced to four hundred millions of dollars, sufficient to secure the circulating notes of the National Banks. This certainly will find no favor. It would be absurd to maintain a debt for the purpose of enabling moneyed corporations to bank upon it as a basis. A national debt limited in amount, and bearing a low rate of interest, is desirable to the country, as providing a means of safe investment for those who are unable to manage their own affairs.

#### THE APPRECIATION OF MONEY. ITS

EFFECTS ON DEBTS, INDUSTRY AND NATIONAL WEALTH. By A. J. WARNER. 8vo, pp. 93. HENRY CAREY BAIRD & Co., Philadelphia, 1877.

Mr. Warner begins his examination by opposing to each other two of the popular author-

ities on economic questions; David A. Wells, whose article in the *North American Review* ascribes the present depression in trade to over production of commodities, and Professor Bonamy Price, who in the *Contemporary Review* asserts that over consumption is the hidden cause. The real cause, says Mr. Warner, is the appreciation of money. Notwithstanding the fact that between 1848 and 1873 the stock of precious metals had increased thirty-six per cent., the commerce of the world had increased in a far greater ratio; that of the United States and Great Britain, for instance, three to four hundred per cent. This is undeniably true, and no doubt this is the cause of many of the perturbations which have rendered every species of business uncertain of late years, but the arguments based upon this fact are not sound. Mr. Warner is very severe upon Secretary Sherman for having proposed the demonetization of silver, and stigmatizes it as a fraud on the people of the United States. It seems to us that to compel a creditor by law to take payment in a metal that may lose its purchasing power at the rate of ten, twenty or thirty per cent. in as many weeks, is not the wisest or the most honest legislation.

#### HISTORY OF MARYLAND. PREPARED

for the use of Schools and Academies. By WILLIAM HAND BROWNE and THOMAS SCHARF. 16mo, pp. 91. KELLY, PITT & Co., Baltimore, 1878.

This little volume, arranged on the usual plan of questions and answers, seems to be well adapted to the use for which it is prepared. The style is easy, clear and succinct—a great merit in works of this character. The dangerous ground of the civil war is touched with prudence. We notice the statement that the more prudent even of those who favored the South were opposed to the secession of Maryland, as it would place the Confederate forces at a great disadvantage if they had to defend it.

#### THE MONEY AND THE FINANCES OF

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1784—ASSIGNATS AND MANDATS. A true history, including an examination of Dr. Andrew D. White's "Paper Money Inflation in France." By STEPHEN D. DILLAYE. 8vo, pp. 68. HENRY CAREY BAIRD & Co., Philadelphia, 1878.

This is a careful and truthful account of the rise, use and fall of the French Assignats, the overthrow of which Mr. Dillaye ascribes to the ease and extent of their forgery, and to the colossal "stock jobbing" of the assignats, the

repeal of the "Maximum," and finally the nullification of the laws, confiscating limited estates which had been dedicated as security for their redemption, which passed during the revolution, were repealed when the reaction set in after the final defeat of the Coalition.

All of this is an extremely interesting study, but hardly pertinent to the present condition of our finances, either in the use made of it by Mr. White in his attack upon, or by Mr. Dil-  
 laye in his defence of paper money. A paper circulation, strictly limited in amount and equivalent to coin, is certainly a valuable adjunct to the precious metals, but should never be permitted by expansion to drive out that which alone is real money, gold and silver.

**THE EASTERN AND THE WESTERN QUESTIONS. TURKEY AND THE UNITED STATES: HOW THEY TRAVEL A COMMON ROAD TO RUIN.** Addressed by way of warning to President Hayes, by HENRY CAREY BAIRD. 8vo, 16 pp. HENRY CAREY BAIRD & Co., Philadelphia, 1877.

The object of this open letter is, by holding up the warning of decayed Turkey, to preserve the United States from the same fate. The remedies proposed are a repeal of the resumption act and the passage of a law providing for the issue of the famous Kelley bond, bearing 3.65 per cent. interest. "More money is wanted," says Mr. Baird, and he proposes to supply it with more paper. If we do not speedily have more paper we shall fall as Turkey has fallen. We differ from Mr. Baird. If, after the fashion of Turkey, we do not keep our plighted faith and observe the letter of our bond, we shall hardly escape her fate. We want more money, and believe that the only way to keep it in the country as a sound basis for expanded credit is to make a place for it in the circulating medium.

**THE HISTORIC MANSIONS AND BUILDINGS OF PHILADELPHIA;** With some Notice of their Owners and Occupants. By THOMPSON WESTCOTT. 8vo, pp. 528. PORTER & COATES, Philadelphia, 1877.

We are delighted to see such evidence of the increasing interest in local history as this publication shows, with its handsome page and well-executed illustrations. Mr. Westcott is well known as an antiquarian of approved authority, and has for years devoted himself to the local history of this ancient city. The reader will here find descriptions of the churches, historic halls, and family mansions of the Quaker dignitaries. Its style is that of easy narrative, and the book will be found as agreeable in the fam-

ily as it is useful in the study. A thorough index adds to its value and commends it to the student.

**MR. SUMNER, THE ALABAMA CLAIMS, AND THEIR SETTLEMENT: A LETTER TO THE "NEW YORK HERALD."** By J. C. BANCROFT DAVIS. 8vo, pp. 20. DOUGLAS TAYLOR, New York, 1878.

This reprint from the columns of the *New York Herald* of January 4, 1878, has the value of authority, as Mr. Davis was the Assistant Secretary of State at the time of the "Claims Convention," about which so much controversy has recently taken place. Of course Mr. Davis takes the part of his chief, Mr. Fish, in the dispute, and sustains his charge of neglect upon Mr. Sumner, distinctly denying that either Sumner or Motley were the victims of a political intrigue about St. Domingo. We simply notice the view advanced.

**WASHINGTON COUNTY, AND THE EARLY SETTLEMENT OF THE OHIO:** Being the Centennial Historical Address before the Citizens of Washington County, by ISRAEL WARD ANDREWS. LL. D., President of Marietta College. Marietta, Ohio, July 4th, 1876. 8vo, pp. 83. PETER G. THOMSON, Cincinnati, 1877.

Another of the Centennial discourses delivered in response to President Grant's Proclamation. Washington is the oldest county in the great west. The settlement at Marietta in 1788 grew out of the appropriation of land made by Congress in 1776, and its favorable consideration of the petition of General Rufus Putnam and others, in 1783, that their lands be located in that tract of country. Putnam seems to have early contemplated an organized emigration to the West. To Doctor Manasseh Cutler, Mr. Andrews ascribes the honor of having drafted the famous ordinance of 1782, the charter of Western liberties. Marietta was incorporated in 1800. Besides the historical sketch there are the usual statistical details.

**CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF MEDICAL EDUCATION AND MEDICAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, 1776-1876.** Special Report, prepared for the United States Bureau of Education, by N. J. DAVIS, A. M., M. D. 8vo, pp. 60. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE, Washington, 1877.

This report was prepared in accordance with the plan of preparation, for the Centennial Exhi-

bition, undertaken by the Bureau of Education of the department of the Interior. The Report on Public Libraries was the first paper published of the series, of which this is the second. It is a short *résumé* of the progress of medical education in the various States of the Union during the century.

**POPULAR GOVERNMENT: A NEW AND SIMPLE PLAN FOR MAKING OURS EFFECTIVELY A GOVERNMENT "OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE, AND FOR THE PEOPLE;"** Practical improvements for holding constantly determined who are the people, and effective methods for obtaining legal expressions of their best intelligence, judgment and will in all public matters." By JOSIAH RILEY and W. S. ROSECRANS. 8vo, pp. 98, and Index, pp. XIX. SHELTON & Co., San Francisco, 1878.

A memorial addressed to the Legislatures of the several States, together with an act relating to Registration, &c. The plan is too comprehensive and elaborate for examination here. All nominations are proposed to be made at a general primary election; the electors may also instruct their representatives by vote, and those disobeying may be removed by the Legislature. There does not seem to be the slightest chance of any attention being paid to General Rosecrans' recommendations.

**MEMOIR OF THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF BURGOYNE'S SURRENDER**, held at Schuylerville, N. Y., under the auspices of the Saratoga Monument Association, on the 12th of October, 1877. Prepared by WILLIAM L. STONE, Secretary of the Association. 8vo, pp. 189. JOEL MUNSELL, Albany, 1878.

This handsomely printed volume gives a detailed account of the proceedings on the centennial of this memorable event, enclosed in a pleasing descriptive narrative by the accomplished and devoted gentleman who is the Secretary of the Association. The Hon. Charles S. Lester was the President of the day. The main address was delivered by the Hon. Horatio Seymour, and is one of his happiest speeches. The oration was one of the brilliant flights of George William Curtis; the poem a spirited effort from the pen of Alfred B. Street. Mr. Stone also delivered an historical address, and B. W. Throckmorton treated of Arnold in particular. We must not pass over the ode of our fellow citizen, General J. Watts de Peyster, in which the name of Gates is, curiously enough, omitted.

**BURGOYNE; A POEM WRITTEN FOR** the Centennial Celebration at Schuylerville on the 17th October, 1877, of Burgoyne's Surrender. By ALFRED B. STREET. 8vo, pp. 66. WEED, PARSONS & Co., Albany, 1877.

This is the full text of the poem of over two thousand lines, prepared by Mr. Street at the request of the Saratoga Monument Association, a part only of which was delivered at the celebration. It is full of wit, imagery, charming description and spirit-stirring thoughts befitting such an occasion and such a theme. Especially are we delighted with the fascinating picture of the ascent of Lake Champlain by Burgoyne's flotilla.

"Now stately shone the scene,  
June in the forests each side smiling green!"

The whole of the campaign is recited, and we are happy to say that the name of Gates is not omitted when the laurels are distributed.

**RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL TRACTS,** NO. I. **THE CAPTURE OF GENERAL RICHARD PRESCOTT** BY LIEUT.-COLONEL WILLIAM BARTON. An Address delivered at the Centennial Celebration of the Exploit at Portsmouth, R. I., July 10, 1877. By J. LEWIS DIMAN. 4to, pp. 65. SIDNEY S. RIDER, Providence, 1877.

A pretty little volume, on fine paper, with a broad margin, and prefaced by a photographic sketch of the hero celebrated. This is the first of a neat series, which we hope may have many followers.

**TWENTY-NINTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE ASTOR LIBRARY FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1877,** transmitted to the Legislature January 16, 1878. 8vo, pp. 20. JEROME P. PARMENTER. 1878.

This report shows the increase in this noble institution during the year 1877. The report of the able superintendent, Mr. J. Carson Brevoort, shows the additions to the library during the year by purchase and donation to have amounted to 11,533. A careful examination shows the skill with which these additions have been selected. Watching carefully the demand upon the library from the public, Mr. Brevoort gave proper preference to the classes of works thus indicated, and has aimed at absolute completeness in all necessary branches, leaving those more neglected for future addition. We learn with regret and surprise that Mr. Brevoort has resigned his post and withdrawn from the superintendence. There is no man in the United States so well fitted by his experience, habits and information



The search rooms of the Record Office are open every day except Sunday, the week between Christmas and New Year's Day, and some eight or ten specified days besides. The hours of attendance are from ten till four o'clock, except on Saturday, and then from ten till two. The searcher is allowed to have three documents, books, rolls, or parts of rolls, at a time. He may take notes or a full copy of any record, and examine the same with the record. The use of pens and ink is permitted. There are no fees, except where the services of a copyist are required. Authenticated copies of documents may be obtained upon application at the rate of one shilling per folio of seventy-two words, in the case of documents to the end of the reign of George the Second; and of sixpence per folio, in the case of documents of later date. Authenticated copies of plans, drawings, etc., are made for a fee of two shillings and sixpence per hour.

As to the contents of this magnificent collection, little can be said within the limits of the present paper. The archives here preserved are of two kinds—the Public Records, and the State Papers. Under the name of Public Records are comprehended "all rolls, records, writs, books, proceedings, decrees, bills, warrants, accounts, papers, and documents whatsoever of a public nature belonging to" the Sovereign. The State Papers consist of the correspondence, treaties, and government records formerly kept in the office of the Secretary of State. These two classes of archives are now in the care of one officer, the Master of the Rolls.

Of the Public Records, the most famous and the one most prized is of course the "Domesday Book," the two volumes of which—the one a folio, the other a quarto—are here preserved in a glass case. The oldest national document in existence, the record of a survey of the kingdom made by order of William the Conqueror about the year 1080; this work claims mention by itself as the very central gem of the vast treasury. Leaving it in its peerless grandeur, we may view the mass of the public archives in their accepted classification as the records of the four great courts of the realm—the Courts of Chancery, Queen's Bench, Exchequer and Common Pleas.


For the student of history, the most important of these are the records of the Court of Chancery. Here are the Close Rolls, the Patent Rolls, the Rolls of Parliament, and others too numerous to be named. The Close Rolls, so called because their contents being of a private nature they were closed up or sealed when originally issued, begin with the reign of King John, and form an unbroken series to this day. They

relate to a great variety of subjects—the ancient privileges of peers and commons—the affairs of the royal household—the prerogatives of the Crown—the authority of the Church—the powers of courts. “Little, in short,” says Ewald, “that concerns the naval and military, the civil and ecclesiastical, the legal and diplomatic affairs of the kingdom, is not to be found upon the miles of parchment which constitute the collection of the Close Rolls.”<sup>1</sup>

The Patent Rolls took their name from the fact that unlike the former class of documents they were open, unsealed, or rather having the royal seal hanging at the bottom of the sheet of parchment on which they were written. These records are equally ancient with the Close Rolls, and equally complete. They embrace too as great a variety of matter. “Hardly a single subject connected with the history and government of the country but receives illustration from this magnificent collection. Is a castle besieged by the king, a papal interdict removed, a safe conduct granted—are church lands bestowed on begging clergy, negotiations entered into with foreign princes, powers of ambassadors regulated, titles of nobility created, charters confirmed, proclamations drawn up, licenses to hold, sell, and marry—all, whether relating to political, social, ecclesiastical, or commercial life, are to be found recorded on the membranes of the Letters Patent.”<sup>2</sup>

The records of the Court of Exchequer come next in importance for the student. Chief among these is the Great Roll, known as the Pipe Roll from its resemblance, it is said, to a pipe. The succession of these records is almost uninterrupted from the reign of Henry the Second to the present time. They relate to the collection of the crown revenues, and from the incidental mention of estates and households, much may be gathered for the illustration of local and family history, as well as for that of the people and country at large. Here too are the Memoranda and Originalia Rolls, and here are the Black and Red Books of the Exchequer, and other records of the fees paid and the services rendered by the knights of the realm.

The records of the Court of Common Pleas, and those of the Queen's Bench, are of special interest for the lawyer rather than the student of history. In addition to these the Record Office possesses the ancient archives of courts that have no longer an existence, as the famous Star Chamber. It is not, however, for musty documents of the remote past only that we must come to this great repository of the nation's archives: for under the present law, all records of courts above twenty years old are to be gathered here.



The State Papers of Great Britain have been until a very recent date almost inaccessible to the public. Permission to inspect any portion of them was obtained with difficulty; and then the condition of the documents was such as to render the examination very laborious. To the late Master of the Rolls, the scholar is indebted both for the greatest possible freedom in searching these archives, and for every desirable facility in the work. The papers are now arranged in chronological order, under a fourfold distribution:—Domestic, Foreign, Colonial, and State Papers relating to Ireland. Indexes and catalogues have been constructed, and the invaluable series of Calendars—emphatically useful to the American student, at his great remove from original sources of information—has been initiated.

The important work of publishing historical documents of special interest was commenced early in the present century by the Record Commissioners; and of this series, one hundred and five folio volumes were printed, nearly all of them before the incorporation of the Public Record Office with the State Paper Office. Many of these volumes are now out of print. It was not until the public archives were united under the care of the Master of the Rolls in 1858, that the publication of the Calendars of State Papers was undertaken. Ninety octavo volumes of these Calendars have appeared, and the publication is proceeding at the rate of two or three volumes yearly. These works do not follow in chronological order; but under the plan pursued in the preparation of the Calendars, different editors take up separate reigns, and the breaks in the series are gradually filling up. At present there are breaks between the years 1530 and 1660. When these shall be closed the series of Calendars will represent all the State Papers from the year 1509 to the year 1667. For later periods there are manuscript lists which serve as Calendars.\*

Another department of publication under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, is that of Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages. This series was undertaken with a view to the preparation of a uniform and convenient edition of the works of the ancient historians of the country. In selecting these, preference was given to works of which the manuscripts were unique, or the materials of which would help to fill up blanks in English history for which no satisfactory and authentic information existed in an accessible form. Sixty-nine works, or one hundred and forty-five volumes have already been published. They embrace the period from the earliest time of English history down to the reign of Henry VII.\*

In all, the Record publications number not far from four hundred volumes. Among these are fac-simile editions of the Domesday Book, and of a selection of national manuscripts from William the Conqueror to Queen Anne.

Our admiration of the treasures possessed by England in her national archives, and of the care taken to preserve them, is mingled with wonder in view of the neglect and abuse to which they have been subject until a very recent day. The story as told by Thomas and by Ewald is a strange one. As we read it the marvel grows, not that much should have disappeared from the mass of precious material, but that so much should have come down to us, and that as if by some law of survival of the fittest, so many of the richest and rarest documents belonging to the nation's history should have passed safely through the dangers of fire and flood. For a hundred years, even down to our own times, the Domesday Book with other invaluable records lay within a few feet of a brewery and wash-house, reported as dangerous from exposure to fire. Thirty years ago four thousand cubic feet of the national records were heaped in some sheds near Charing Cross, rotting in the damp, and yielding food and lodgings to an army of rats, to dispossess which a dog was found useful when the time came for the removal of the inorganic remains. Later still, the great Roll of the Exchequer, with a mass of other documents relating to the public revenues from the days of Henry the Second, was kept in the stables of Carlton House. Here piles of records thirty feet high were stored in a sort of barn, which, had it caught fire, would have been destroyed in twenty minutes. One of the chief repositories of the national archives, only a quarter of a century ago, was the Tower of London; in the vaults of which there was a gunpowder magazine, which if exploded would, it was estimated, destroy one-half of London. \* Here were Chancery records from the days of King John. Here was the treaty with Robert the Bruce, and the treaty of the Cloth of Gold. It is but a little more than forty years since the State Papers, which had long been kept in one old house and another, suffering from vermin and wet, were placed in a fire-proof building. In 1848, thirty-five sacks of records were recovered from a cellar under a law office. In 1852, one of the keepers of records reported that a workman had brought home some article purchased at a cheesemonger's shop wrapped up in a manuscript, which proved to belong to a volume of records of the Court of Common Pleas; and a considerable part of the book was rescued at a cost of one shilling and sixpence. These facts are consoling, when viewed in con-

nection with the present state—the great completeness, and security, and accessibility—of the British archives. They show that it is worth while to seek perseveringly and faithfully the preservation of public records. They show that appearances to the contrary notwithstanding, it is possible to rouse public sentiment to the importance—even at the cost of some thousands to the public purse—of measures for the safe-keeping and the well-ordering of the precious material of history.

Coming from a land where it may be said, that except in the large cities the State gives itself no concern about the birth, marriage or death of the citizen, an American is hardly prepared to look in so grand a building as SOMERSET HOUSE for the Office of the Registrar-General. Seen from the Thames with its imposing Grecian façade, just the length of the old Capitol at Washington, it seems every whit a palace; as indeed it occupies the site and inherits the name of the old palace of the Duke of Somerset, which was removed to make room for it a hundred years ago. Somerset House covers a vast area between the Strand and the Thames Embankment. It forms a quadrangle enclosing a large court. The building is occupied by several departments of the public service—the Inland Revenue, the Exchequer and Audit Office, a portion of the Admiralty, as well as the Office of the Registrar-General of Births, Deaths and Marriages.

In this matter of government registration, England is now not quite half a century in advance of us. Before the year 1837, a state of things prevailed almost as deplorable as that which now prevails here. The only records of births, deaths and marriages were those that were kept by religious bodies. And of these only the parish registers were in any sense official. No others were admissible in evidence before a civil court. The records voluntarily kept by the various bodies of Non-conformists, numbering not far from one-half of the population, were without authority or weight in the eye of the State. Until 1837, persons of all creeds wishing to marry were compelled to go through the ceremony according to the rites of the Established Church. At present, marriage can be performed in all places of worship certified as such to the Registrar-General.

Under the system which has been in operation in England for the last forty years, the facts of birth, death and marriage, with many particulars of interest and importance as affecting the social life and health of the nation, are ascertained and recorded with the utmost care. The country is divided into districts, of which there are now six hundred and thirty-one, and sub-districts, of which there are two thousand one

hundred and ninety-four.\* In each of these the births and deaths are registered by persons appointed to the duty. The present law compels parents under a penalty to record births, and nearest relatives to record deaths in the register books within a certain number of days. It is also made the duty of the registrar to ascertain these particulars so far as may be practicable within his district. From all the districts and sub-districts returns are sent weekly, monthly and quarterly to the Office of the Registrar-General. Here the facts reported are noted, classified and tabulated by an army of clerks. Births, deaths and marriages are entered alphabetically and according to date in large folio volumes, which may be referred to by means of indexes of names. These volumes are consulted by a great number of persons every day. The last report of the Registrar-General shows that in 1875 there were no fewer than twenty-six thousand searches in his office. Up to the end of that year fifty-four million names had been entered in these records. It is curious to notice that the whole number of surnames, counting only distinct varieties, is about thirty thousand.

But another most important use is made of the facts elicited by the methods of registration. Printed returns of marriages, births and deaths are issued weekly, monthly and quarterly from the Office of the Registrar-General, and a full report is published for every year, giving an enormous amount of details concerning the population of England; its increase, the rates of mortality, emigration, diseases and casualties, together with comparative statements relating to other countries. The value of these results can hardly be over-estimated. It is said upon high authority that "the attention now paid to public health is in a large degree owing to the careful collation of the statistics of births and deaths, and of the causes of death, which have been collected in England for the last thirty-eight years."

All this, however, is aside from the proper theme of this paper. The huge folios of the Registrar General, bound in red, black and green, according to their contents, as records of births, deaths and marriages, have no attraction for the student of history, nor even as yet for the genealogist. But in one of the vaults of Somerset House, where many thousands of these volumes have already accumulated, the non-parochial records, as they are called, find a lodging place. I have said that previous to the year 1837 the parish registers of England were the only authoritative records of births, deaths and marriages. When, however, the present system of civil registration came into use, provision was made by an Act of Parliament for the collection and safe-keeping of all

similar registers belonging to religious bodies outside of the Established Church. And by another Act, courts of justice were enabled to admit these non-parochial registers as evidence of births or baptism, deaths or burials, and marriages. It was of course optional with these religious bodies to comply with the invitation to surrender their records for such preservation and authentication, or to retain them in their own possession. Some chose the latter course. The Roman Catholics and Jews in particular preferred to keep their old registers. The Society of Friends at first refused to part with theirs. But most of the Nonconformist communions entered heartily into the views of the Government. The Friends upon sober second thought approved the plan, and the result was that nearly nine thousand volumes of records were sent up to Somerset House, where they constitute an exceedingly interesting and valuable collection of documents, bearing upon the history not only of families, but also of religious societies and creeds in England for the past two centuries and more.'

Before leaving Somerset House I went down into the vaults where the old non-parochial registers are stored. Here they lie, a motley collection indeed. In this corner, at the right upon entering, are piled up the records of the famous Fleet marriages. Upon these shelves are ranged the registers of the Independent congregations—the oldest of them dating as far back as the year 1644. Here are the ancient records of the Baptist churches; yonder those of the English Presbyterians, and the more modern volumes contributed by the Wesleyan denomination. Among all these registers the palm belongs, for completeness and accuracy, to those of the Society of Friends. Here are sixteen hundred volumes, kept with characteristic neatness and precision, recording births, marriages and deaths from the time of George Fox till the year when they were surrendered to the custody of the Government.

The Registrar-General's Office is open to searchers every day of the year, except Sunday, Christmas Day and Good Friday, between ten and four o'clock. A fee of one shilling is required for every search, and a fee of two shillings and sixpence for a certified extract of any entry. No fee, however, is required in order to examine the non-parochial records, when special permission has been sought and obtained.'

GUILDHALL, famous for the banquets of the Lord Mayor of London, has other attractions for the student besides the statues of Gog and Magog and the splendors of the Court of Common Council. On the east side of this building, originally the place of meeting for the city guilds, or companies of craftsmen, the corporation of London has recently erected

a new Library and Museum. The Library occupies the upper story of the building. In a house so modern, however, the collection of books and manuscripts here preserved is of very ancient origin. Whittington, of nursery celebrity, was one of its early benefactors; and here, half a century before the invention of the art of printing, there existed already a considerable number of written books. Many a London citizen of credit and renown took pride in adding to the store. One instance of private liberality may be held up with due modification as an example to moderns. It is that of John Carpenter, whose will, proved in the year 1442, has this provision: "If any good or rare books shall be found amongst the residue of my goods, which by the discretion of Master William Lichfield and Reginald Pecok may seem necessary to the common library at Guildhall for the profit of the students there, and those discoursing to the common people, then I will and bequeath that those books be placed by my executors and chained in that library in such form that the visitors and students thereof may be the sooner admonished to pray for my soul." \*

The great fire of London consumed many of these treasures. Others had already been carried away to enrich private collections. The Lord Protector Somerset was a most notable purloiner. It is on record that he once borrowed three cart-loads of books from Guildhall Library, "with promise to restore them shortly." The modern book-lender will read without surprise the historian's comment: "But they were never returned." The memory of these spoliations, not less than that of the calamity of 1666, may have discouraged the City Fathers from attempting to revive the collection. A century and a half passed before the work was undertaken. The present library is but little more than fifty years old. It contains a very complete collection of books relating to the City of London. Its chief value lies of course in the deposit here made of ancient documents belonging to the Corporation of London. Much use of this material has been made by great English writers of our day, but the mine is far from being exhausted. Guildhall possesses a number of historical records not less venerable than the most precious of those in the larger collection in Fetter Lane. Here are charters, chronicles, collections of laws, ordinances and customs, in Latin, Norman-French and English, belonging to the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. There is the *Chronica Francia*, the best copy known of the Great Chronicle of France. Here is an important series of nine volumes, designated as *Remembrancia*, a collection commenced during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, containing copies of correspond-



ence between the sovereigns, various eminent statesmen, the officers of the city government and other public men upon matters relating to the city and the country at large.

The Library of Guildhall is not less accessible to the stranger than are the other historical collections in London which have been noticed. In its more popular departments the Corporation has sought to make it inviting and useful to all classes of readers. For the student every facility of research is afforded. Many of the rare manuscripts in this collection have been printed. Indexes have been made to some of the Letter Books and other records of the Common Council, the earliest of which go back to the year 1275. The accomplished and efficient Librarian of Guildhall, W. H. Overall, Esq., F. S. A., has prepared a valuable index to a part of the important series of records known as the Remembrancia. Indeed it is to this gentleman that the student is indebted for many of the facilities now enjoyed for research among these city archives, and most of all for the personal guidance and help which are of greater use to him than all the indexes.

The "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts" possesses in its correspondence a rich mine of historical information relating to America. The records of this religious association are not to be classed as public records, and I have no warrant for saying that they are accessible to the American student." Some extracts from them were made a number of years ago, at the request of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this country, and the volumes containing these extracts have been freely used by the Rev. Dr. Hawks, the late Mr. Bolton and others in their historical writings. But the original correspondence is full of interesting matter not as yet made public. The old Letter Books of the Society, twenty-six in number, contain copies of letters written by the missionaries, as well as of the letters addressed to them by the officers of the Society, from the year 1702 to the year 1736. Most of these letters relate to America, for the greater number of the missionaries sent out at that early day were stationed in the American provinces.

THE BRITISH MUSEUM, on account of its manuscript collections, may properly be mentioned in this paper, but unlike the others that have been noticed, these collections are fully described in works of reference well known to all; and I have nothing to say about them that may not be found better stated in the books. A month in London might be spent delightfully within the walls of the British Museum alone. It is safe to say that no other institution in the world presents so many

attractions to an intelligent visitor. Every one is familiar with the imposing appearance of the building; the noble Grecian front, nearly four hundred feet in length; the central portico, with its double range of columns and its fine pediment. Ascending the steps of that portico, and resisting the temptation to turn to the left on entering the main hall and spend the day in the wonderful galleries of antiquities, the richest in existence, the lover of books will make his way to the magnificent Reading Room, a vast rotunda, surmounted by a dome. This room alone contains upon its walls some eighty thousand volumes, while the whole number of printed books in the Museum, exclusive of countless tracts and pamphlets, exceeds half a million. Access to the Reading Room of the British Museum is attended with some restrictions that are not observed in the other collections named. The visitor must apply in writing to the principal Librarian, stating his name, age, address and occupation; and the request must be accompanied by a recommendation from a householder in London. He must—a condition which young America would particularly resent—be at least twenty-one years of age. The ticket obtained upon such application may be made valid for a week or fortnight, or longer, and at the end of the time specified a fresh application must be made in order to its renewal. In asking for any work, the reader is required to fill a blank form with the title of the work wanted, the place and date of publication—if it be a printed book—the size of the volume, and its press mark, attaching to this form his signature and the number of the seat he has selected in the Reading Room. The document thus filled out is retained at the Superintendent's desk, and the reader is responsible for the book he has called for until he receives this ticket cancelled upon returning the volume to the attendant. These little formalities complied with, he can enjoy the conveniences of the admirably lighted and ventilated room, the well-furnished desk and comfortable chair that are provided for him, as well as the large library of books of reference arranged around the room on the ground floor, which he may consult at pleasure. The desks and seats of the Reading Room, accommodating three hundred readers, are arranged in lines radiating from the centre of the room. In the centre is the Superintendent's platform, and around it two circles of cases contain the folio volumes of the catalogue in alphabetical order. This catalogue, a manuscript one, was in course of preparation when I visited London twenty years ago. It now fills some two thousand volumes, and is so far from being a novelty that the attendant whom I questioned could not remember the time when it was not in full use.

Of the manuscript collections two possess special interest for the student of history—the Harleian and the Cottonian. The Harleian numbers nearly eight thousand volumes. The great design of this wonderfully rich collection, it is well known, was the illustration of British history. The Cottonian collection consists of nine hundred volumes, nearly two hundred of which are State Papers of the highest value. They include a vast series, relating to the diplomatic intercourse of England with almost every State of Europe from the reign of Edward III to that of James I.

The Library of LAMBETH PALACE, though not one of the largest, is certainly one of the most important libraries in London. It consists of some thirty thousand printed books, and about thirteen hundred manuscripts; collected and bequeathed by successive archbishops of the see of Canterbury, from Bancroft in 1610, to the late Archbishop Howley. The books were formerly preserved in some of the galleries over the cloisters. About thirty years ago they were removed to the Great Hall, a large and elaborately decorated room built in the time of Charles the Second, on the site of a more ancient building, which was destroyed in the days of the Commonwealth. As a collection of works bearing both on the secular and the ecclesiastical history of England, this library is of rare value. But the chief attraction of course is the collection of manuscripts. These are kept in two upper rooms; the one of which contains the Acts of the Archbishops of Canterbury from the year 1278. In the other, besides a number of illuminated manuscripts, there is a large collection of the letters of many of the sovereigns of England; a source from which Miss Agnes Strickland and other historical writers have drawn much material.

Lambeth Palace Library is open to the public upon three days of the week—Monday, Wednesday and Friday—from ten till three o'clock. It is closed for six weeks following the first of September, and also during the week after Christmas Day, and the week after Easter Sunday. Extracts from the manuscripts or printed books can be made freely. When however a copy of an entire manuscript or printed book is desired, the consent of the Archbishop must be obtained. Permission is given to draw or trace from miniatures and illuminated manuscripts, on submission of the applicant's name to the Archbishop. Provision is also made for the lending out of manuscripts upon certain conditions manifestly reasonable. The librarian, S. W. Kershaw, Esq., M. A., expressed to the writer a strong desire that the value of this collection might be better known to Americans; and nowhere would the visitor

meet with a more cordial reception than in this quaint mediæval palace, the residence of the Primate of all England.

Indeed, of all the historical collections that have been here noticed, it is not too much to say, that nothing could exceed the liberality with which they are made accessible and serviceable to the foreigner as to the home-born student. With no credentials save the evidence of an honest and an intelligent desire for knowledge, the stranger is insured a welcome which will perhaps dispel some preconceived ideas of English reserve and exclusiveness. An American, he will find occasion to congratulate himself that by virtue of a common language, as well as by many common traditions and principles, he is warranted in holding the monuments of English history as objects of personal interest and veneration.

CHARLES W. BAIRD

<sup>1</sup> *Our Public Records*; a brief Hand-book to the National Archives. By Alex. Charles Ewald, F. S. A. London: Pickering, 1873, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> *Our Public Records*, etc., p. 31.

<sup>3</sup> For many of the particulars here given, as well as for much aid in personal researches, the writer has been indebted to Walford D. Selby, Esq., of the Public Record Office.

<sup>4</sup> *Catalogue of Record Publications*, etc., Public Record Office, January, 1878.

<sup>5</sup> *Hand-book to the Public Records*, by F. S. Thomas, Esq., Secretary of the Public Record Office, London, 1853.

<sup>6</sup> *Thirty-eighth Annual Report of the Registrar-General of Births, Deaths and Marriages in England*, (Abstracts for 1875,) 18th June, 1877.

<sup>7</sup> *Lists of Non-Parochial Registers and Records* in the custody of the Registrar-General of Births, Deaths, and Marriages. London, 1859.

<sup>8</sup> Upon a written application to Sir George Graham, the Registrar-General, I was promptly admitted to make this examination, and was referred to one of the officers, John Shoveller, Esq., to whom I am indebted for most efficient and kindly aid.

<sup>9</sup> *Catalogue of Works of Art*, etc., exhibited at the opening of the new Library and Museum of the Corporation of London, November, 1872. Introduction.

<sup>10</sup> An application however to the Secretary of the Society, the Reverend W. T. Bullock, for permission to examine the Society's early Letter Books, was most courteously entertained, and every facility was accorded to me for the examination.

## EARLY SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE COINAGE IN AMERICA

When the Spaniards first reached the Antilles no currency of any kind was in use there. The discoverers, as they settled the Islands, used as a currency the native gold (*tepuzque*) in the form of ingots and plates stamped with marks denoting their value. These contained much natural or added alloy, and circulated in Hispaniola at the rate of 44 maravedis to the *real* or dollar, while in Spain the official value of the real was 34 mars. Many complaints of the debased value of this St. Domingo currency are to be found in the documents of the time, even after the period when Don Antonio de Mendoza, Governor of Mexico, introduced a regular coinage of silver.

Small importations of Spanish silver and copper were occasionally made, but did not supply the demand. No mention is made of Spanish gold pieces being much used, and the large sums spoken of in the early histories must be understood as represented by the stamped ingots or by rough gold. Herrera states that up to 1510 no gold (meaning coins) was current in Santo Domingo, the capital of the West Indies. He says that counterfeits of *castellanos de oro* and *ducados* were circulating. The chief coin was the *real* of silver and other currency sent from Spain.

In 1521, Herrera says that gold and silver coin were sent to Panama, and in 1523 to Mexico. In Panama flat gold pieces called cut money had been in use. In 1528, a petition from Cuba recites that the gold in circulation varied in fineness from 19 carats down, but that it might be stamped as worth 450 maravedis to the *Peso de oro* and asks that 200 ——— (blank on doc.) of money in *reales* and *cuartos* may be sent from Spain. Docs. Inéd. Am. y Oc. 1869, XII, 16.

In Mexico and its dependencies, as also in Yucatan and Guatemala, the bean of several species of the cacao had been used as currency.<sup>1</sup> The growing of this small tree was reserved as a prerogative of the chiefs. Columbus, on his fourth voyage, in 1502, met large trading canoes at the Guanasa (Roatan) Islands, north of Honduras, which had "many of those almonds that are used as money in New Spain." Fern. Colon.

Vita. Cap. 89. Herrera. I. V. 5. In Mexico it was called *cacabuatl*, and four kinds were in circulation. Even with this currency, deception was practised by filling old beans with clay !

24,000 granos were called a carga. *The native name is lost.*

8,000 " made one xiquipilli.

400 " " zontle.

20 " " unit, which must have also had a native name.

An ordinance of 1527 forbid cacao being passed by the count, but in heaped measures sealed by the city. This was so repugnant to ancient custom that in 1536 the old system was restored.

All the business of this great semi-civilized Empire had from time immemorial been transacted chiefly by means of this currency. Curiously enough the Mexicans had no method of weighing, while the Peruvians used very accurate scales, but had no particular currency. In Guatemala the cacao tree was called *Zicarfa* and *Zapote*. It has 25 or 30 almonds in each bean. Among the Spaniards 200 beans were counted as equal to one real. Peter Martyr, in his Fifth and Eighth Decades, praises this perishable currency which no miser could lay up, and which could also be used as a beverage. The chiefs could also control the volume of the currency, for if not soon consumed it moulded and decayed. Humboldt, *Nouv. Esp.* p. 437, says that when he was in Mexico the people still used cacao seeds as a sub-division of the *medio real*, counting it as seventy-two seeds to the half *real*.

There appears to have been a metallic currency in use in certain provinces of Mexico before the Spanish conquest. In the dispatch from Cortes to the Emperor, dated from Mexico, October 15th, 1524, while speaking of his search for tin in order to cast bronze guns, mention is made of it as found in the Province of Taxco, twenty-six leagues from the capital. It was met with here in small pieces, which were used as money, as also in some other provinces. Humboldt quotes this curious fact as stated by Cortes, in his *Essai Politique sur le Royaume de la Nouvelle Espagne*, 1811, page 486. He says that pieces of copper in the form of the letter T were also used as currency in some provinces.

Cogolludo in his *History of Yucatan*, published in 1688, page 181, speaks of money used anciently by the natives. Besides cacao beans, small bells and hawk bells of copper, and of various sizes were used. Colored conch shells from other countries, strung like beads on a rosary, and some precious stones, served also in traffic. Small copper hatchets coming from Mexico, formed also an article of exchange. These last

were probably like the one figured in Dupaix's *Antiquités Mexicaines*, plate XXVI, No. 74, which is formed like a shoemaker's cutter, and served as a skin scraper. See also Herrera, I. V. 5.

Gold dust enclosed in transparent quills, and woven cotton called *patol-cuachtli*, were also used as currency in Mexico. Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Hist. des Nations Civilisées du Mexique*, Vol. III., 1858, p. 427, mentions all the articles used by the Mexicans as currency. He says that the cacao used as money was called *patlachté* or *patasté* from *patla*, exchange.

After Cortes had settled himself in Mexico, the Spaniards felt the want of a metallic currency, and Herrera says that he issued one in 1522, but without stating its nature. In 1525, when the Licentiate Luis Ponce de Leon was appointed Resident Judge in Mexico, he took with him dies with which to stamp upon the gold and silver that was sent to Spain, the device of his Majesty, *Plus Ultra*. He was directed to see if it were proper to establish a mint in the City of Mexico.

Apparently no mint was then set up, for in 1528 an order was sent from Spain to establish one, which should coin gold, silver and *vellon* (bullion), in Mexico. In the same year an enquiry was ordered to be made as to the necessity for a mint in Española, which was accordingly ordered in 1530, but not finally established until 1536. In 1535 orders were sent to the Vice-Roy D. Antonio de Mendoza again, to start a mint for silver and vellon, under the same regulations and with the same standard values for the pieces as were in force in Spain. This order was carried out, and at first silver and copper coins were issued with more or less regularity.

Torquemada, in his *Monarchia Indiana*, Vol. I. p. 614, gives a rather confused account of the successive coinages in Mexico. He describes the ingots, quoit shaped plates and gold dust, used in exchanges, and how the Indians, unable to weigh or determine the value of the metal, were defrauded. Copper coins were then struck of four types, *cuartos*, half-*cuartos*, four and two *maravedis*, but the date of their issue is not given. The author says that this coinage was similar to one in use in Spain and in the Island of San Domingo. The Mexican copper coins were so distasteful to the natives that no ordinance could keep them in circulation, and they were tossed into the lake; two hundred thousand *pesos* worth of copper being thus lost in one year. That so much copper should have been coined is improbable.

The next coinage, probably the one of 1535, is said by Torquemada to have been of silver, in pieces called *Cuartillos de Real*, which must

have been *pezetas* or quarters of a dollar. As the natives had used silver as soles for their sandals, they despised this coinage also, which he says was succeeded by one of *Reales de à quatro* or *Tostones*, and then by *Reales de à ocho* or *pesos*, that became the general medium of exchange and supplanted the old native money.

We now proceed to quote such documentary evidence as can be found relating to the earliest American mints, though more no doubt will in time be presented, when the Archives of the Indies in Seville shall have been more thoroughly explored.

A letter from Mendoza to the king dated Mexico, Dec. 10, 1537, is given in the Docs. Inéd. Vol. II. 1864, p. 193, a translation of the same having appeared in Ternaux's collection in 1840, Vol. XVI. p. 229, which is of interest as relating to the establishment of the first mint in Mexico.\* Regulations issued by royal order for the government of the mint are here alluded to. All gold and silver brought to it was to pay the royal *quint*, under penalty of death. After speaking of some suggested changes, he states that Francisco del Rincon, on the king's recommendation had been appointed assayer, and that Anton de Vides had been appointed engraver. He says that the mint had been for nearly two years established in the village of Axiquipilco, which was made tributary to the mint, and that the workmen after many trials are now beginning to produce fair work. He closes this part of his despatch with the remark that two or three weeks before false testoons had been brought to him, apparently made by the native goldsmiths, showing how skillful these must have been. He says that even the cacao beans were tampered with and closely imitated.

In Española, as we have seen, a mint was ordered to be established at Santo Domingo in 1536. Allusion is made to a perhaps earlier copper coinage from metal found in Cotui, sixteen leagues from the city, in a paper written about 1561. The Licentiate Echagoian speaks of coins having been made there in his time from the said copper, but at the time of his writing the coinage seems to have ceased. Comp. Docs. Inéd's. Am. y Oc. Vol. I. 1864, p. 15. The Licentiate Salmeron, in a letter to the Council of the Indies, dated August 13, 1531, complains of the want of fractional currency. Ternaux. XVI. 191. We find a petition from the Auditors in 1540, to be allowed to coin *plata y vellon*, the reals to be of 44 maravedis. Same Docs. I. p. 580. They had been reprehended in 1538 for coining maravedis of 44 to the real. In 1538 the Emperor had decreed that the reals to be coined should be of 34 maravedis, but no one would bring silver to the mint to be coined at



that rate. At that time it was estimated that 50,000 ducats worth of the base reals were in circulation. Ibid. pp. 546, 558. Where had these reals been coined? Probably the mint has coined these pieces, for in those days royal decrees were difficult to enforce where it was the interest of all to disobey them. We find complaints of the *mala moneda* of Espanola as late as 1565, in the same series of documents, Vol. XI. 1869, p. 119. The City of La Concepcion petitions for the privilege of coining gold and silver in 1540, stating that silver was coming from Yucatan. Same Ser. I. p. 463.

Alonso de Zurita, whose MS. account of the people of New Spain was written not long before 1560, speaks of the scarcity of silver coin in the country. He says that the mint was coining less than it did at first, that most of it was carried out of the country, and that the natives who were obliged to pay their taxes in silver pieces had the greatest difficulty in obtaining them. See translation by Ternaux-Compans, p. 345.

Before describing the first pieces supposed to have been coined in America, it may be well to notice the silver coins of Spain which were in circulation at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The first large Spanish silver pieces were issued under Ferdinand and Isabella between the years 1492 and 1506, and bear no date. They were called *Reales*, *pesos de ocho*, or Seville pieces of eight, because they contained eight *ochavos* and were coined at Seville. They weigh 2,800 centigrammes or 432 grains troy weight, and are 931 thousandths fine, but these pieces are now very rare. They are described by Alois Heiss in Vol. I. of his *Monedas Hispano Cristianas*. Silver pieces, of half, a quarter and one-eighth of a real, were also coined. Heiss says that these were the "first *Pesos* (of silver) coined in Spain, and that their intrinsic value, (fineness?) has varied but little up to the present day. Under the name of *Pesos duros*, *Pesos fuertes*, *Dollars*, *Piastras*, they have become a universal coin, and served as the almost exclusive coin of America; were preferred in Africa, Oceanica, China, the Indian Archipelago and even in Persia, Greece and the Ionian Islands." Heiss omits the name *gordos* and *gourdes*, meaning large or heavy, by which they were known in Spain and France quite recently. This piece was to be equal to 34 maravedis, the *medio* to 17 maravedis, the *cuarto* 8 ms. and 1 *blanca*, the *ochavo* a square piece, 4 ms. and a half *blanca*. Sixty-seven of these *Reales* were coined from a marc of silver of the above fineness. Of *vellon* or copper with seven grains of silver to the marc, there were coined 192 blancas to the marc, worth a half a maravedis each.

The purchasing power of gold about the time of the discovery of America was about four, and of silver about six times greater than it is now, according to Clemencin. The proportional value of silver to gold was therefore as 10½ to 1. The great production of silver from Peruvian and Mexican mines soon made the proportion greater, until it became 15 to 1, and now it is even greater than 16 to 1.

J. C. BREVOORT

\* This document is to be found also in the late Buckingham Smith's *Coleccion de Varios Documentos para la Hist. de la Florida*, Tom. I, 1857, page 127. This is the only Volume published.

## CHRISTOPHER COLLES

### THE FIRST PROJECTOR OF INLAND NAVIGATION IN AMERICA

To no single individual is the system of American improvements more indebted than to Christopher Colles, yet up to this time no careful biography of him has been written. In 1855 that genial New Yorker, Dr. Francis, contributed a pleasing sketch of him to the Knickerbocker Gallery, from which the main personal features of the present notice are reproduced in the hope that they may elicit a more complete account of this remarkable man, and of the incidents of his varied, chequered and interesting career. The same year Charles King, in his history of the New York Chamber of Commerce, drew attention to his early design of opening an intercourse with the interior parts of the United States by an artificial inland navigation, and in 1869 the Historical Magazine published an elaborate paper from the pen of the industrious and indefatigable friend of the telegraph, Henry O. Reilly, entitled "Christopher Colles and the first proposal of a telegraph system in the United States."

Christopher Colles was born in Ireland in the year 1738. Left an orphan at an early age he passed into the charge of Richard Pococke, the famous oriental traveler, later Bishop of Ossory. Under his tuition, advice or example, Colles seems to have acquired an education of unusually varied character. Upon the death of Pococke in 1765, Colles started upon his wanderings. He first appears in this country, on the warrant of Watson in his annals of New York, as delivering public lectures in Philadelphia in 1772 upon pneumatics, illustrated by experiments in an air pump of his invention. He is said also to have been the first in this country to undertake the building of a steam engine, for a distillery in that city, but failed for want of means, although his plans secured the approval of David Rittenhouse and the Philosophical Society. In 1773 he lectured at the Exchange, in New York, on the advantages of *lock navigation*. The inestimable benefits of this mode of transportation had been but recently demonstrated by the opening by the Duke of Bridgewater in 1761 of the first navigable canal constructed in Great Britain. The colonists of course were alive to any schemes of improvement which affected the welfare of the mother country.

There are now preserved in the collection of the Library Company

of Philadelphia two broadsides, the one dated December 13, 1771, entitled "Address to Merchants, etc., of Philadelphia in favor of a Delaware and Chesapeake Canal," the other dated January 15, 1772, entitled "Address to the Public on the feasibility of a Delaware and Chesapeake Canal," the author of which is not now known, but it is a fair presumption that they were from the pen of Colles.

In 1774 he is found in New York, where he proposed the erection of a reservoir and the laying down of a system of conduit pipes. With the aid of the corporation of the city a steam pumping engine was erected near the Collect pond. This enterprise was completed in March, 1776. The engine carried a pump, eleven inches in diameter and six feet stroke, which lifted 417,600 gallons daily. The war caused an abandonment of this plan. When later, the Manhattan Company was chartered to supply the city with water, it is claimed that the original proposal to look without its limits for a supply came from Colles, although the written recommendation to the Common Council to use the Bronx river, was actually made by Dr. Brown.

On the breaking out of hostilities he turned with his fertility of resource to a military enterprise, giving lectures on gunnery and teaching the American artillery the principles of projectiles, in which employment, his biographer in Appleton's *Encyclopædia* says, he was continued until this branch of the service was remodelled on the arrival of Steuben in 1777.

Immediately on the close of the war he again devoted his attention to his favorite project of internal improvement. On the 6th of November, 1784, he addressed a memorial to the two houses of the New York Legislature, proposing a plan for inland navigation on the Mohawk River. It was referred to a committee of which Mr. Adgate of Albany was chairman, who on the 6th of the same month reported that while these laudable proposals merited encouragement, "it would be inexpedient for the legislature to cause that business to be undertaken at public expense." They added that "as the performing such a work will be very expensive, it is therefore the opinion of the committee that if Mr. Colles with a number of adventurers (as by him proposed) should undertake it, they ought to be encouraged by a law; giving and securing unto them, their heirs and assigns forever, the profits that may arise by the transportation, under such restrictions and regulations as shall appear to the Legislature necessary for that purpose, and authorizing them to execute that work through any lands or improvements on payment of the damages to the proprietors, as the same shall be assessed

by a jury." This being agreed to by the House, a petition was also laid before the Senate on the 8th, and referred to a committee of which Mr. Lewis Morris was Chairman.

On the 30th March, 1785, Mr. Colles made a petition for aid in preliminary surveys, upon which Mr. P. W. Yates, of Albany, on the 5th of April following, for the committee to which it was referred, reported that the removal of the obstructions in the Mohawk river would be productive of the most beneficial consequences to the State; that the undertaking of the memorialist ought to meet with every possible encouragement, and recommended the advance of fifty pounds in order to enable "Mr. Colles to make an essay," and that a draft therefrom be laid before the Legislature at their next meeting to enable them to determine whether the undertaking be practicable or not.

The first fruits of this money grant, insignificant as it may seem, was the issue of a pamphlet proposing a plan for the settlement of the "New York Western Lands, and the improvement of the inland navigation between Albany and Oswego." A company was to be formed with a capital of thirteen thousand pounds to improve the navigation, in compensation for which a right to buy tracts was to be accorded. The Legislature to grant to the company 250,000 acres of the waste and unappropriated lands, to be occupied by them within three years with 500 settlers, or to be paid for at a stipulated rate. In this pamphlet Colles called attention to the fact that the five great lakes, which would be thus communicated with, "have five times as much coast as all England, and the country watered by the numerous rivers which fall into these lakes is full seven times as great as that valuable island."

Mr. Colles solicited the support of the Chamber of Commerce of New York the 6th January, of the following year. The text of this interesting document is now for the first time given in full from the minutes of this corporation.

"To the Honorable the Chamber of Commerce of the City of New York, the humble Memorial of Christopher Colles respectfully sheweth; That the design of your useful institution being profoundly for the promotion of commerce, every other design having the like purpose in view must consequently come under your immediate cognisance.

"Your memorialist therefore thinks it highly expedient to communicate to you a design which he has formed of opening an intercourse with the interior parts of these United States, by an artificial inland navigation along the Mohawk River and Wood Creek to the Great Lakes. A design which must evidently extend the commerce of this

city with exceeding rapidity, beyond what it can possibly arrive at by any other means ; A design which Providence has manifestly pointed out, and which in the hands of a Commercial People must evidently tend to make them great and powerful, and which though indefinite in its advantages may be effected for a sum perfectly trifling, when compared with these advantages.

"Your memorialist begs leave to inform them that he has laid the said design before the Honorable the Legislature of this State ; that they have Resolved, that it deserves every possible assistance, and accordingly granted him assistance to make surveys, and to determine the practicability of the accomplishment thereof ; That agreeable thereto, he has examined the principal obstructions in the navigation at the Cohoes, the Little Falls and Fort Schuyler, and assures them that it gives him the highest satisfaction to find that no considerable difficulty lies in the way of the prosecution thereof ; That he has been at considerable pains in procuring the names of a number of respectable gentlemen as subscribers for carrying this design into execution, and is of opinion that the Chamber of Commerce becoming engaged in the said subscription will have considerable weight in promoting the said design.

"May it therefore please your respectable body to take the premises into consideration, and give such countenance to the same as to your judgment shall seem meet.

CHRISTOPHER COLLES."

To this the President was directed to inform Mr. Colles in reply, "that the Chamber entertained the highest ideas of the utility of his scheme, wishing it may meet with every possible success, but in their incorporated capacity, owing to the lowness of their funds, it was out of their power to lend him any aid."

With this endorsement of his views Mr. Colles again approached the Legislature on the 1st February with a report on the practicability of rendering the Mohawk River navigable, which was read in the Assembly, and referred to a committee in whose name Mr. Jeffrey Smith on the 17th March, reported a bill entitled, "An Act for improving the navigation of the Mohawk River, Wood Creek and the Onondaga River, with a view of opening an inland navigation to Oswego, *and for extending the same, if practicable, to Lake Erie.*" Here we find the great enterprise, later known as the Erie Canal, taking definite shape. A similar movement was made in the Senate, and a memorial, introduced the 1st February, was considered in committee of the whole on the 22nd, and a special committee, of which Mr. Philip Schuyler was chairman, charged with a consideration of the proposals.



which so beautifully diversify the face of this extensive continent, and to the smallest branches of the numerous rivers which shoot from these lakes upon any point of the compass." A postscript to the tract affords curious evidence of the minute care with which he had studied the details and estimated the possible benefits of the enterprise. "There is great reason to believe, he says, that in the prosecution of the canal at the Cohoes, it may be rendered convenient for shad, herring and other salt water fish to go up that river in the proper season; it is likewise conjectured that the Mohawk as well as the Hudson River may be plentifully stored with salmon from the Oneida lakes."

The memorials of Colles are, it is supposed, in the archives of the State at Albany. They should be printed. Cadwallader D. Colden appears to have had access to them as he alludes to "his vivid appreciation of the immense advantages inseparable from suitable water communication between the Atlantic Ocean and the regions surrounding the great lakes and rivers of the West" in his memoir on the Canal celebration, on the completion of that enterprise, which married Lake Erie to the Atlantic Ocean.

Although this great project temporarily failed, Colles contrived to interest himself in matters of public interest. He issued proposals for publishing a Survey of the Roads of the United States of America, in which he presents the following circumstantial and amusing "Account of the advantages on these surveys"—A traveler will here find so plain and circumstantial a description of the road, that whilst he has the draft with him it will be impossible for him to miss his way; he will have the satisfaction of knowing the houses of many of the persons who reside on the road; if his horse should want a shoe, or his carriage be broken, he will by the bare inspection of the draft be able to determine whether he must go backward or forward to a blacksmith's shop; persons who have houses or plantations on the road may, in case they want to let or lease or sell the same, advertise in the public newspapers that the place is marked in, and a page of Colles' survey of the roads; this will give so particular a description of its situation that no difficulty or doubt will remain about it. If a foreigner arrives in any part of the continent, and is under the necessity to travel by land, he applies to a bookseller, who, with the assistance of the index map, chooses out the particular pages which are necessary for his direction. It is expected many other entertaining and useful purposes will be discussed when these surveys come into general use." This seems very quaint and primitive, but it must be remembered that even in the beginning of this century both land and



of his death in the New York Gazette says of him that "he was as honest a man as ever lived, and notwithstanding his mechanical eccentricities was respected by all who knew him."

Thus in poverty closed a life which was one of unbroken devotion to the interests of humanity, yet no stone marks the spot where lie his remains. In the ancient cemetery of St. Paul's the busy crowd which throng Broadway observe with unfading interest the monuments erected to Montgomery, Emmet and McNevin, all of the brilliant race of which Colles was in another walk of life a no less distinguished representative. A memorial shaft should recall the inestimable services rendered by Christopher Colles to the State of New York and the country at large.

Such of his essays as remain in printed form show the remarkable qualities of his mind. There are preserved "Syllabus of Lectures on Natural Philosophy," published at Philadelphia in 1773; a pamphlet, entitled "Proposals for the Speedy Settlement of the Waste and Unappropriated Lands of the Western Frontier of the State of New York, and for the improvement of the Inland Navigation between Albany and Oswego," published at New York in 1785; "a Survey of the Roads of the United States of America, with a large number of plates, printed at New York, 1789; "Proposal of a Design for the Promotion of the Interests of the United States of America, extending its Advantages to all Ranks and Conditions of Men by means of Inland Navigable Communication of a New Construction and Mode, with a Map of Part of the State of New Jersey, pointing out the Course of an intended Inland Navigation between New York and Philadelphia," by Christopher Colles, printed at New York, 1808. "Description of the Numerical Telegraph, for communicating unexpected intelligence by figures, letters, words, and sentences; with directions for writing the Correspondence, either public or private—and showing the manner of working the machine with perfect accuracy and dispatch," Brooklyn, 1813.

## JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS

NOTE.—Through the courtesy of Mr. Stephen Whitney Phoenix we are permitted to reproduce the engraving which accompanies this sketch from a plate now in the possession of the New York Historical Society, in the gallery of which may be seen the original portrait (10 x 12), painted by John Wesley Jarvis.

RECORD  
OF THE SERVICES OF CONSTANT  
FREEMAN

CAPTAIN OF ARTILLERY IN THE CONTI-  
NENTAL ARMY

PRELIMINARY NOTE.—The subject of this sketch came from the Freeman family of Cape Cod; his ancestor, from whom he was removed by six generations, was Samuel Freeman of Devonshire, England, who settled in Watertown, Mass., 1630. The widow of the ancestor married Thomas Prince, who succeeded Bradford as Governor of Plymouth in 1657. His (the ancestor's) second son Samuel married May 12, 1658, Mercy, daughter of Constant Southworth of Duxbury, and the name of Constant was preserved in each generation down to Colonel Constant Freeman, and is now retained in branches of the family other than that of Freeman.

Colonel Constant Freeman's father, Constant Freeman, was a sea captain and merchant, trading between Quebec and Massachusetts; was in Quebec in the winter of 1775, when, on refusing to take up arms in defence of the city, he and his son Constant were turned out by the Governor. In the spring of 1776 he returned to Quebec, where he remained in mercantile business until 1789, when he returned to Boston, and became a distiller, this not proving profitable; in 1796 he was made Master of the Alms House at Boston. He married, September 19, 1754, at Truro, Cape Cod, Lois Cobb. They had: 1. Constant, born February 24, 1757; 2. James, born April 22, 1759; 3. Ezekiel, born January 12, 1762; 4. Lois, born August

12, 1764, married March 7, 1786, Daniel Davis, afterwards Solicitor General of Massachusetts; 5. Nehemiah, born June 25, 1769. Of these children, James was well known for many years as the Pastor of King's Chapel (Unitarian), Boston. Ezekiel removed to Baltimore, Md., as a merchant, and Nehemiah was first a merchant and in 1794 Lieutenant First Artillerists and Engineers; was promoted, and in 1803 took command of Fort Independence, Boston Harbor, where he remained for a number of years; was mustered out on the reduction of the army, June 15, 1815, with the rank of Major of Artillery. The account which follows of Colonel Constant Freeman is almost entirely from the pen of the Rev. James Freeman, his brother, and is here given for the graphic manner in which is recorded the trials and sacrifices of our revolutionary ancestors.

WILLIAM LEE.

NARRATIVE.—Constant Freeman was educated at the South Latin School, Boston, under Master Lovell. He took to the sea early in life, and made several cruises with his father until June 24, 1775, when he arrived in Quebec. He found on his arrival that party spirit ran high. His father was on the American side of the question, though a moderate man and a great lover of the British Government. But those were no times for moderation; it was necessary to be decidedly on one side or the other. The British militia were embodied. His father refused to bear arms or do any duty as a soldier, and Constant implicitly obeyed him.

*Sept. 18, 1775.*—Lieutenant-Governor

Cramalie obliged him and his father to give their paroles that they would do nothing to the prejudice of the government, on condition of their persons and property being protected, and they exempted from bearing arms. Soon after the merchants requested the Lieutenant-Governor that no exemptions should be allowed. He sent for them, and cancelled their parole by tearing it to pieces in their presence. They were again with many others bound to their parole by Colonel McLean. Every art was employed to induce them to bear arms, and when without effect they were subjected to every species of insult. At length Governor Carleton, finding that neither threats or soothings would move them, issued a proclamation, dated November 22, 1775, ordering all persons who refused to defend the city to leave it and the district, under pain of being treated as rebels and spies.

*Nov. 24, 1775.*—He, with his father, left the city, and made the best of their way to Les Trois Rivières, a small village about ninety miles above Quebec. There they remained till the Americans raised the siege of the city. The manner in which his father, himself and all the friends of America had been treated in Quebec had so exasperated him that he was very desirous of joining the American army, and if his father had not prevented it, he would have done so on the very day he left the city.

*Feb. 9, 1776.*—Captain Goforth of the New York troops came to Les Trois Rivières with his company, which was to be to the garrison of the post. There was not a man among them acquainted with the language of the country, and

the captain had a great deal of business to transact with the inhabitants, for not only the village, but the district was committed to his care. Constant offered to him his services, which were willingly accepted, and he was employed as interpreter from that day until the post was abandoned.

*March 30, 1776.*—He had the good fortune to attract the attention of General Wooster, who, as he passed through Trois Rivières to take command of the troops before Quebec, complimented him with the appointment of Issuing Commissary of the post, under the orders of Dirick Swart, Esq., Deputy Commissary General. This duty he performed until the day he left the post, May 24, 1776, when his father bade him adieu, and with a sorrowful heart consigned him to the care of heaven and his own prudence. The active part which he had taken since he came from Quebec left him no choice. He was under the necessity of quitting the country. His father on the contrary had done nothing. From Trois Rivières he proceeded to Sorel, where the Americans had taken post. General Thompson, who commanded, sent him below on the river St. François to purchase provisions. On his return he found a letter from his father, ordering him to make the best of his way to Boston, and not to join the army. General Thompson made use of every argument to persuade him to remain, but he felt himself still under his father's orders, though absent. As soon as he had obtained permission, he left Sorel, and proceeded to Chambly. At this time the American army began to feel that distress which

has made this campaign so celebrated in the history of the country. The soldiers were attacked with every disorder incident to a camp, with the addition of the smallpox; and they were without money, medicine and provisions to make them comfortable, and on a retreat. As soon as he arrived at Chambly he was advised by all his friends to be inoculated for the smallpox, as there was great danger of taking it in the natural way. He had attached himself to the 2d New Jersey Regiment, with most of the officers of which he was acquainted. The surgeon of this regiment inoculated him, and he remained at Chambly twelve days, till orders were sent for the sick to move to St. Johns, and then to Isle aux Noix. He now began to share with the rest in the distresses of the campaign. He had given his bed and bedding to a wounded officer at Sorel, and had now none for himself. The money which he had brought from Trois Rivières was nearly expended, and there was no source from which he could draw more. Add to all this, his friend, the surgeon, was, like the rest, without medicine. His spirits, which seldom deserted him, were his support, and he was ashamed to complain, when his fare and fortune were as good as that of many brave men who composed this army. It afterwards afforded him a pleasing reflection, that he was in this retreat; that he was on the Isle aux Noix, and shared the fatigues and hardships of crossing Lake Champlain.

*July, 1776.*—The army arrived at Ticonderoga early in this month. He had before this time recovered of the small-pox, but the unusual fatigue

which he had undergone, and the low state of health in which he was, were the cause of his being visited by almost all the disorders incident to a camp. He had the dysentery, diarrhœa, ague, and fever, &c., all in succession. But he happily fell into the hands of his much-esteemed friend, Major John Winslow, who was then deputy paymaster to the Northern department, and who administered everything in his power to his comfort, gave him a bed in his quarters and, by making him cheerful, restored his health.

He had become acquainted with Colonel Wait, who commanded a regiment from New Hampshire. This gentleman was very desirous that he should accept a first lieutenancy under him; Winslow and his other friends advised him to it. It had become impracticable to comply with his father's order; he could not get to Boston; his money was all expended, and he had even involved himself a little in debt whilst he had been sick. For these reasons he accepted as soon as his health permitted. September, 1776, he joined his regiment (Colonel Wait's New Hampshire), and did duty till the close of the campaign. In November Major Ebenezer Stevens was appointed to the command of a corps of artillery for the Northern department. By the interest of Colonel Trumbull, Deputy Adjutant-General, and other friends, he procured, November 9, 1776, a first lieutenancy in this corps, and as soon as he conveniently could, he left Ticonderoga to go to New England on the recruiting service. He was induced to take Albany in his way, because he had reason to believe that

he should receive some consideration for his services at Trois Rivières. His books were the only ones brought out of Canada in the Commissary Department; with them and certificates of services for vouchers, he crossed Lake George, December, 1776, and traveled on foot to Albany, carrying his linen and necessities on his back in a knapsack. He presented his accounts, which were passed without any difficulty. He was allowed £9 a month and three rations a day for his commissary duty; and the commissioners of accounts also allowed him £7 10s. a month, and two dollars a week for board and lodgings while he did the duty of French interpreter. He had never expected to be thus liberally paid; and when he did those duties in Canada he had no such idea; but now, his finances being very much reduced, this unexpected relief was most welcome. He purchased a horse and left Albany with a light heart.

*Jan. 3, 1777.*—He arrived in Boston and was sent on the recruiting service to Barnstable. February, 1777, he marched with a party of recruits to Ticonderoga, under the order of Captain-Lieutenant Vose.

*May, 1777.*—General Wayne sent him to Albany to forward the ordnance stores, and General Gates detained him on that duty about seven weeks. He returned to Ticonderoga time enough to share with the garrison in the fatigues and losses occasioned by the evacuation of that post. His baggage all fell into the enemies' hands at Skeensborough, July 6, 1777, and he was left in a most disagreeable situation. For some little

time before the enemy made their appearance, the weather being intensely hot, he had taken off his coat and put on a rifle frock, and when they appeared he was busy encamping the company to which he belonged. The vessel in which he had left his coat was aground, and it was impossible to get to her. She was deserted, his valuable baggage, his coat, money, etc., were all lost. During the whole course of the war he felt this stroke, for he was always obliged to anticipate his pay to clothe himself. He valued his losses at Skeensborough at £130 L. M. The army retreated to Fort Anne, about fourteen miles from Skeensborough, on Wood Creek. Here he was so fortunate as to find a little of his baggage in the possession of a soldier. After the enemy had been twice repulsed the army retreated to Fort Edward. When the stores were removed to Fort George it continued to retreat, till at last it made a halt at Van Schaick's Island, in the Mohawk, at its confluence with the Hudson.

*Sept. 3, 1777,* it re-crossed the Sprouts (Mohawk) with its front to the enemy, and September 12, 1777, encamped on Behmus's Heights. The glorious issue of the campaign fully compensated for all the losses which the army had sustained and the mortification of retreating. After the capture of Burgoyne Constant made a forced march to Albany, and October, 1777, he procured himself a coat; he had done duty from his leaving Skeensborough without one. The army made its winter quarters in Albany.

*January, 1778,* he was sent with the

rest of Captain Buckland's company, to which he belonged, to Farmington, Conn., with 27 pieces of ordnance; on the road all his linen except what he had on was stolen from him; it was some time before he could replace it.

*July, 1778*—Marched from Farmington and joined the army at White Plains, New York. He had passed the winter very agreeably, not having much duty to do, and being very happy in his quarters.

*August, 1778*—Marched to West Point, and was stationed with 16 men on Constitution Island for about seven weeks. Towards the close of this campaign Stevens' corps was annexed to Crane's regiment. Several officers resigned in consequence of this arrangement, and he had great thoughts of doing so. The service had nothing to invite him to continue with it except the honor; the provisions were bad and the pay every day growing worse. For a long time he was wavering, sometimes purposing to enter the navy, at others to go into business, but at last he fixed on remaining a soldier, as the profession had always charms for him.

*Dec. 25, 1778*—Decamped and made his winter quarters at West Point. The provisions were exceedingly bad during the greatest part of the winter.

—, 1779—In the campaign of this year his company was attached to General Nixon's brigade, in General R. Howe's division. At Bedford, New York, he was most violently attacked with a bilious fever, and though he was soon able to attend to his duty, yet he felt the effects of the disorder for two or three years after. The campaign was passed

without anything being attempted by this division. It made general marches and counter-marches on the banks of the Croton.

*Dec., 1779*—The encampment was broken up, and Buckland's company joined the park in Morristown, New Jersey. The severities of this winter and the hard fare will always be remembered by every soldier who was in these cantonments.

*Jan. 11, 1780*—This part of the army removed from their encampment into huts, which were sorry coverings against the inclemency of the weather. The General was induced to make an attempt against the enemy's posts on Staten Island. The frost had made a bridge from Elizabethtown Point. The execution was committed to Lord Stirling, with about three thousand men, and Constant was on this command.

*Jan. 16, 1780*—They marched over to the island, but the enemy had previous notice of their designs, and were prepared to receive them. They lay that night on the island, and the next morning left it, without effecting anything. Many of the men were frozen, and the whole detachment was obliged to lie on the snow without covering in one of the severest nights of that hard winter.

*Feb., 1780*—Promoted to be Captain-Lieutenant in Captain Sargent's company, to rank as such from Oct. 1, 1778. About this time Captain Sargent joined General R. Howe's family as aid-de-camp; in consequence of which Constant commanded the company to the end of the war. In this campaign he did duty in the park in the army under the immediate orders of General Washington.

The park was cantoned about a mile and a half in the rear of New Windsor, on the Hudson river.

*Feb.*, 1781—The army was able to move into huts which were much better than those of last winter. He was obliged to pass about six weeks in the country at sick quarters to restore his health, for he had been very ill at the close of the last campaign.

*May*, 1781—The company was ordered to do duty on West Point, where it remained during the campaign. Whilst the allied army lay at Philipsburgh he was ordered thither as a witness at a court of inquiry, then sitting on Colonel Crane. At this time he was introduced to several of the French officers. There had during a long time subsisted a difference between Colonel Crane, the commanding officer of the regiment, and Captain Sargent. The Colonel not content with showing on every occasion his dislike to the Captain, extended it to every person who had any concern with him. The company frequently felt the effects of his ill will; and as Constant had the command, and felt a real friendship for Sargent, from whom he had received many favors, the Colonel let no opportunity pass of manifesting his dislike to him. He was on his guard against him, as he had not a doubt that Crane would attempt to ruin him. It had this good effect; he was more attentive than perhaps he should otherwise have been.

*July* 19, 1782—He was absent from evening roll-call. Mrs. Jackson, the wife of Colonel Michael Jackson, had sent for him about half an hour before the retreat beat, and he was so engaged that he could not return to camp in

time. When he did return he met the Adjutant in his tent, who presented him with an arrest for "disobedience of orders and neglect of duty."

*July* 24, 1782—He was brought to trial before a general court-martial. He acknowledged that he was absent, and assigned such reasons as he supposed would operate with the court to excuse him. The trial did not last long. The court were of the opinion that his reasons were sufficient, and acquitted him of censure. They were further of opinion that the arrest was unnecessary and trifling with discipline. The Commander-in-Chief did not approve the judgment of the court. But it was the opinion of the army that he had been ill-used, and that policy only induced the General to differ from the court.

*Aug.* 25, 1782—He rejoined the light infantry, under the command of General Webb, at Peekskill, and did duty with this corps the whole campaign.

*Oct.* 28, 1782 — The light infantry encamped in the gorge of the mountains, near the Continental village, New York, in which position it remained until the dissolution of the corps on Dec. 7, 1782. He then marched to West Point to assist in building a large barrack. He lay encamped here until Feb. 16, 1783, exposed to all the storms of that bleak and dismal place. He then moved with the officers of the company into a very commodious set of rooms.

*Feb.* 24, 1783, he obtained a furlough and left West Point. He made the greatest speed to Boston to see his brother James, who had returned the summer before from Quebec, and had brought him a very handsome *couteau*

*de chasse* from his father, as a token of his approbation of his son's conduct in joining the army. He passed his time very happily with his friends, and returned to West Point April 14, 1783.

June 9, 1783, the army was disbanded, except four regiments of infantry and four companies of artillery. He chose to leave the service on this reform, as Colonel Crane was to continue in command and he could never be happy with him. He now found himself on the wide world, without a farthing, ruined by military service for mercantile business, with a great deal of pride which could never be of any pecuniary service to him. The first after this was a sleepless night; the prospect of futurity harrowed up his mind, and all his volatility forsook him. He formed a thousand plans for a subsistence, but he wanted money to put any of them in execution; none but those who have felt like himself can imagine the distress of his situation. His father, who in the early part of the war had made money very fast, had, toward the close of it, nearly ruined himself by an unfortunate connection in trade. Constant had placed great dependence on him and expected that at the close of the war he would be able to hold out his hand to his assistance; but now his father was distressed himself and could not help him. The few debts which he had contracted on his credit he now assumed; he was perplexed what to do with himself. For the present he determined to remain on West Point till his accounts were settled with the public, as the General had permitted

all such to draw their subsistence. This indulgence was continued till November 3, 1783, when all the troops were discharged except one regiment. He was now without any employment, and as idleness in any situation is ever disagreeable, he was induced October, 1783, to accept of an offer made him by Mr. Pierce, the Paymaster-General, of writing in his office till the accounts of his regiment were closed. The General had desired, in his orders, that the officers would lend all their assistance to bring up the accounts, and several had entered before him. In this service he continued till February 24, 1784, and received \$40.00 a month. A little coolness on the part of Mr. Pierce, with whom he had been very intimately acquainted since the spring of 1777, obliged him to leave the office; he was too sore with the kicks of fortune to bear with patience the neglect of her favorites. He then removed to Constitution Island and lived in the barracks in a mess with his friend, Captain John Mills, who was then in service; he passed his time here very pleasantly.

April, 1784—He received from the regimental paymaster certificates for the balance due him from the public, which, for pay, subsistence, and the commutation for half pay, amounted to \$2,898.59. He had, besides, Massachusetts State notes to the amount of £234 10s. 5d., so that in all he was nominally worth £1,104 2s. 5d. L. M. The pay which he had received from the pay office was sufficient for his present occasions. As soon as this business was finished and he had taken the parting treat with his friends he went down to New



York and from there to Boston, where he had flattered himself that he should be able to get into some business, but everything of that kind was worse than at New York, and there was no prospect of its mending. He formed many schemes to earn a living, but without effect, and the whole year was wasted without doing anything. January, 1785, he was obliged to begin on his public securities; two of his Massachusetts he sold to a great disadvantage.

*Feb.*, 1785, the vacancy of a teller fell in the Massachusetts Bank, and through the interest of his friends he was chosen by the directors to fill it; the tricks of trade were here more fully exposed to him than they had ever been before; He was disgusted; he could not bear the jealous inspection which he was subject to; he felt his honor wounded; he became unhappy and soon fell sick. It was the end of May before he recovered; the bank would only pay him for the time in which he had actually been present. As the principals themselves had never known distress, nor the curse of poverty, they were incapable of feeling the injury which they did him; his pride would not suffer him to expostulate; the money which he received as pay had been anticipated in his sickness. The business of the bank, decreasing every day, obliged them to a reform, and he asked for his dismissal; he was then a convalescent. His physician advised him to take a journey into the country. His friend, Dr. Samuel Adams, son of the celebrated Samuel Adams, accompanied him. As they were both unable to bear fatigue, they were a long time upon the road, passing

a day with their friends as they found them. The celebrity of the Warm Springs in Hancock, county of Berkshire, had drawn together a great deal of good company this summer. Dr. Adams was in hopes that it would be of service to him, and they made the best of their way to Hancock, where they passed a month in the most agreeable company, forgetful of their cares and unconcerned about futurity. The ebb of their finances awakened them, and they proceeded to Boston, where they arrived August 10, 1785. The Doctor had received no benefit from the journey; for Constant it had done wonders. Here he remained till disgusted with Boston, with untoward fortune, and even with himself; he left the town with a fixed determination never to return to it unless he could better his circumstances.

He received a letter from his father, dated October 24, 1785, in which he proposed that he should go to Quebec and take command of a brig, of which he was part owner, in the London trade: but the necessity of swearing allegiance to the king of Great Britain before he could be eligible determined him against it. He could not reconcile himself to seek in an enemy's country the subsistence which he wanted in his own. He made arrangements to visit Canada the next winter, for his father had given him a warm and affectionate invitation. Mr. Daniel Davis was going and he proposed to keep him company; but a friend advised him rather to go to New York and solicit Congress for the payment of money, which was due to his father by certain officers and others who had been prisoners in Quebec in

1776 ; he followed the advice, and February 6, 1786, left Boston for that purpose. He traveled by land in the stages and arrived in New York on the 11th. To enable him to bear the expenses of this journey he had disposed of almost the whole of his public securities. Soon after he arrived, March 13, 1786, he presented a petition to Congress, reciting the nature of the engagement between the officers, etc., and his father, and praying that they would take order for the payment of his demand. The business was referred to the Board of Treasury, but a great many difficulties arising, they did not report on it till the month of October, and the old Congress breaking up soon after, although a committee was ordered on the business, yet nothing was done. He passed his time agreeably in New York, for he found a great many of his military friends, most of the company whom he had seen the summer before at the watering place in Hancock, were very civil to him, and introduced him to their friends, so that he soon had an extensive acquaintance.

New York, the seat of government, the most commercial town then on the continent, and the only one in which there was a theatre, had charms for him, which made him often forget how poor he was. He was not negligent of his own interest, for he improved every opportunity to get into employment. He depended much on his friends in Congress, but none of his projects succeeded, however well concerted. He dabbled a little in speculation of the public securities, and made a few pounds, but he did not like the business. One advantage, however, he de-

rived from his stay in New York—he obtained from the State 1,000 acres of land on Lake Champlain, which were granted to him as a Canadian refugee.

*Oct. 20, 1786*—Congress resolved to raise a number of troops, in addition to those then in service, and to form the whole into a legion. The next day General Knox, Secretary at War, who had on many occasions before been his friend, sent for him to the War Office. He told him of the resolution, and advised him to make application to the State of Massachusetts for one of the companies of artillery which she was to raise. Before he left the office General Knox made out a list of the officers and sent it to his friend, General Henry Jackson, to lay before the Governor and Council. Mr. King, another friend, also advised him to make early application, and gave it as his opinion that the establishment would be permanent, and that he might assure himself of a genteel maintenance. Mr. King wrote a letter to Governor Bowdoin in his favor. The strong propensity which he ever had for the army, joined to the advice of almost all his friends, soon determined him to accept the company if he could obtain it.

He left New York and, November 29, 1786, arrived in Boston. To his great surprise he found the companies of artillery had not yet been officered, and that he was appointed November 18, 1786, to the command of a company in General H. Jackson's regiment of infantry. He asked no reasons of this arrangement, for, upon consideration, he was better pleased with the infantry than the artillery ; in the former there was a

prospect of promotion, in the latter he knew there could be none ; and by experience he was led to this observation. He had served the whole revolution and had obtained one grade only. He had thought of this in New York, but was unwilling to propose it to General Knox, for he knew his partiality for the artillery. The artillery companies were given to Captain Burbeck and Major Sargent, but the latter refused to accept the one offered to him. The Lieut.-Governor sent for him, told him of this vacancy, and intimated that if he wished it he might be transferred to the command of it. He refused, for the reasons before mentioned—he preferred the infantry—and his pride was hurt that the artillery company had not been offered to him in the first instance, when he had such good recommendations. On his refusal it was given to Captain Savage. The bad weather had kept him longer in Boston than he intended.

*Jan. 1, 1787*—He left that town to go on the recruiting service. Daniel Davis, Esq., attorney-at-law, had in the March before married his sister in Quebec, and brought her with him to this country. He was then settled in Portland, Casco bay. Constant had not seen her during ten years, which influenced him to choose the Eastern country to recruit in. January 11 he arrived at Portland; the next day he was taken very ill, and his sickness terminated in a severe fit of the jaundice. He remained with his sister till March 23, when he took passage in one of the packets.

*March 25, 1787*—He arrived in Boston. Every exertion was making to clothe the men who had already en-

listed, and to march them into the country, when a rumor prevailed that Congress on April 9 had passed a resolution, by which all the newly raised troops, except the two companies of artillery, were to be dismissed. April 18—General Jackson received official information on the subject. The troops were to be dismissed immediately, except the artillery, and to be allowed pay up to May 1st.

*April 22, 1787*—As many of the officers as were in town went to Castle William, and were, with the men, mustered. The two companies were picked out of the recruits, and about seventy discharged that afternoon. The next day the officers dined together and drank the parting glass. That they were disappointed and mortified on receiving this unwelcome news can well be imagined. They had given over every other pursuit, and had devoted themselves entirely to the service. They had scarcely entertained a thought of a reform, though they knew that such an event might probably take place in a Government formed like ours. To assign a reason for the apparent inconsistency of Congress on this occasion is not easy. Their inability to pay the troops has been held up as the ostensible one, though the world imagined it to be more the effect of intrigue and jealousy in that august body than the want of money ; for they knew as well their inability to pay when they first determined to raise the troops as they did when they dismissed them. Let political heads determine whether they were right or wrong. The fact is, that many of the officers, Constant included, were ruined. They had no

resources, and had depended on the army for a future support. When he was in New York he had expended his last shilling, and to bring him on to Boston he had been obliged to make use of his credit. The recruiting service and his sickness at Portland had taken what remained. He had not yet received any pay. He had his board to discharge, and many other necessary expenses; he was ill-clothed, for he depended on soon putting himself in regimentals. He now found himself again on the wide world as independent as poverty and pride can make a man, and at a loss to imagine what would be his next pursuit.

**SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.**—At this point ends the record as a continuous narrative by his brother James, intended for the use of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati, of which Constant was a member—the late Rear Admiral Charles Henry Davis, United States Navy, representing, as his nephew, his membership at the time of his death. What follows has been added by the family.

1788—He was a clerk in the Treasurer's office of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

1789—He was employed by General Knox, Secretary at War, in his office.

1791—He refused command of a company in the 2d Infantry, which was soon after annihilated in General St. Clair's defeat.

*Aug.*, 1793 (to the Spring of 1797)—He was employed as Agent of the War Department in the two Southern States.

*Feb.* 28, 1795—He was appointed Junior Major to the Corps of Artillerists

and Engineers, Colonel Rochefontaine in command. While on inspection duty for the War Department in the South he spent most of his time at St. Mary's, Fort Fidius and Charleston; had the yellow fever in Georgia, and was struck by lightning while there.

*May* 30, 1797—He was married in Philadelphia to Margaret, daughter of Moses Cox (no issue).

*Oct.*, 1797—He went on an inspection tour from Pittsburg to New Orleans, and from there into Georgia.

*June* 1, 1799—Was stationed at Port Johnston, Charleston Harbor, S. C.

*April* 1, 1802—Two field officers, his seniors, becoming deranged, he was promoted to be Lieutenant-Colonel U. S. Artillerists. His friend Henry Burbeck, with whom he had served during the whole revolutionary war, and who was now the oldest artillery officer in the army, was appointed Colonel.

*Nov.* 1803—He was on a court-martial with Nehemiah (his brother) at Fredericktown, Md., for the trial of Colonel Thos. Butler, 2d U. S. Infantry; at its close the two brothers went to Boston together. Ezekiel soon followed them, and February, 1804, his father, Captain Constant Freeman, had the satisfaction of seeing all his children around him for the first time since 1774.

*April* 1, 1804—He took command of the Military District of New Orleans, and was in command during Burr's conspiracy.

*July* 10, 1812—Was made Brevet Colonel.

*June* 15, 1815—Mustered out on the reduction of the army.

*March*, 1816, to his death, April 27,

1824, he was Accountant of the U. S. Navy Department, and Fourth Auditor U. S. Treasury.

WILLIAM LEE.

## THE NANTUCKET INDIANS

DESCRIBED BY ST. JOHN DE CRÉVE COEUR

*Translated for the Magazine*

*Nantucket*, 10 September, 1772.—Before describing the Government proper of this island, the industries of the inhabitants, their customs, their trade and fisheries, I feel called upon to give you a slight idea of the condition of the native inhabitants of Nantucket before the arrival of the Europeans; they play some part in the details that follow; they form the first shading in the great picture of the colonies. This little digression seems the more necessary as this race is growing weaker and weaker; this perhaps is the last attention it will receive from any traveller. But though their number is gradually diminishing, it is neither tyranny nor injustice that have occasioned their falling off; the province of Massachusetts has always scrupulously observed the treaties made with these natives. They have preserved all the land their ancestors reserved to them in peace; and I could even cite many laws promulgated to prevent the alienation of these lands, which will only return to the Province when all the natives shall have died.

The Founders of Nantucket, animated by the same spirit of kindness and charity as those of Philadelphia, have always treated like brothers those whom they found on the Island: they still live to-

gether to-day in perfect peace; they are all one People, without being united by other ties than those of Society.

It is uncertain whether the first rights of the Earl of Stirling and of the Duke of York were founded on a purchase of the land to which the Savages agreed; what we do know is that the first twenty-seven colonists bought this property, the Island, from these two noblemen. Before their arrival the Savages of Nantucket, like all those who inhabited the neighboring coasts, only lived on the food and shell fish which they caught from day to day, and never did shores more abound in fish. That the number of Natives has so greatly diminished must alone be attributed to a secret and general cause, which invariably produces the same results from one end of the Continent to the other when the two races are mixed. Before the arrival of the Europeans they were very numerous, both on the Continent and on the Island. History does not inform us from which particular nation the inhabitants of Nantucket came; probably they had emigrated at a distant period from the coast of Hyannes, on the grand Peninsular, which is only twenty-seven miles distant. This opinion seems to me all the more probable because they spoke and still speak the *Nattick* language, which like the *Huron*, in Upper Canada, the *Mohawk* among the Confederate Nations, the *Algonkin* in Lower Canada, was the mother tongue of this region. Mr. Eliot, one of the first and most zealous missionaries of the Province of Massachusetts, translated the Bible into *Nattick* about the year 1666; it was printed at Cambridge, where the earliest



lis of these cantons), to *Mashpé*, to *Sockannosset*, in the neighborhood of Falmouth; to *Nobscussett*, to *Housatonick*, in the province of Connecticut; to *Montauck*, on Long Island; to *Kapawack*, to-day the Island of Martha's Vineyard. Even the Mohawk Nation, formerly so powerful and renowned, has not to-day over two hundred Warriors, since the settlements of Europeans have circumscribed their castles and the habitations which they reserved to themselves.

Before the arrival of Europeans on the great peninsular of *Namsek* a frightful epidemic carried off a great number of natives of this place. This event rendered the arrival and intrusion of our fathers much more easy than it might otherwise have been. In the year 1763 more than half of the Savages of this and the neighboring Islands perished by an infectious disease, which, however, was not taken by the whites, their neighbors; the race seems condemned to disappear before the superior genius of the Europeans. The only ancient custom of these people, of which there is any memory, is that in their public bar- ters forty clams, dried in the sun and strung together, are equal to one of our pennies; they know neither the use nor the value of *wampum*.

The families which now live on this Island are all that remain of the ancient proprietors. I passed several days among them; despicable as they no doubt appear in the eyes of your rich men and sages, they are nevertheless true children of nature as they left her hands. What was her intention in forming mankind? Did she wish us well or did she wish us ill? She formed the

earth, covered it with forests, filled it with bears, wolves, deer and men, who often are forced to eat their kind when the hunt yields nothing. I found these of *Nantucket* intelligent, gentle, quiet and industrious. They are no longer ferocious; they were very early converted to the Christian religion by the New England missionaries, and are regularly brought up in the schools which the Quakers have established. For the use of these schools there have been translated at Boston into the Indian language not only the Bible but the catechism of the Scotch church and several useful books. They love the sea, and willingly embark on all the expeditions from the Island. These are always first in the whaling vessels. This has been the cause of the settlement here of several families of the neighboring Islands, of *Nawsham*, *Capoquidick*, &c.

What revolutions have these natives not passed through in less than one hundred and fifty years? I ask myself sometimes in running over their Countries what have become of the numerous populations which once inhabited the extensive shores of the great bay of Massachusetts from *Numkéag* (Salem), *Saugus* (Lynn), *Shamut* (Boston) *Patuxet*, *Naponset* (Melton), *Matapian* (Chelsea), *Winémiset* (New Plymouth), *Pocasset*, *Pokanoket* (Falmouth), *Suckanosset* (Yarmouth), *Nobscusset* (Eastham), *Naussit* (Chatham), *Titicut* (Barnstable), to *Hyannes* and numerous other villages established along the coasts a distance of more than four hundred miles? What has become of the Great Nations which lived on the rivers of *Hudson*, *Houssatonick* (Stradford river),

*Connecticut, Titiquit, Merrimack, Piskataqua, Sawko, Sagadahock, Kennebeck, Shespecot*, etc., such as the *Méhikandres, Mohigins, Péquods, Narragansetts, Nionticks, Massachusetts, Wampanoags, Nipnicks, Tarrantins*, &c.? These nations no longer exist; nowhere can be found the smallest remains of these immense populations, which covered the shores of this part of America; my most careful researches have not enabled me to discover one of the descendants of the famous *Masconomo*, Sachem of Cape Anne, who showed such humanity to the suffering English who were shipwrecked there in 1629. No single member remains of the family of *Massasoit*, the father (so well known) of *Metacomet* (Philip), and of *Wamsutta* (Alexander), the first of whom ceded lands to the English Colonists who landed there in 1625; they have all disappeared in the wars they have had with the Europeans; they have perished by small-pox, by the use of brandy, or they have insensibly degenerated, neglected and obscure, in the peace which they enjoyed in the district they reserved for themselves. Nothing remains to us of all these nations but a single monument, and even that we owe to European industry; I refer to the Bible and several other Books translated into the *Nattick* language. Enclosed in their territories by the white settlements they are no longer hunters; they have forgotten even their ancient customs, their fierceness and their courage; they have not become Europeans; such has been the destiny of these many powerful nations, once independent and free. Their private wars and their divisions were the cause of their loss; if they had

known how to unite their forces and make a common cause, perhaps the Europeans, notwithstanding their fire arms, might never have established themselves here.—From *Lettres d'un Cultivateur Américain, Paris, 1787*.

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### NOTES

ARCHIVES OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES. —At the late semi-annual meeting of the Maine Historical Society, Mr. Charles Bell, President of the New Hampshire Historical Society, alluded to the desirability and importance of securing in some way a closer co-operative work between the various Historical societies of our country, in furtherance of the objects all are endeavoring to accomplish; and he believed a congress or conference of the executive officers of such societies would accomplish much good. Especially was it very desirable that societies and historical students should know what materials for history were contained in the archives of all our historical societies; that those engaged in certain lines of historical research might know where to find documents, materials, and original papers which would aid them in their investigations. Some years since, said Mr. Bell, it was very desirable that more should be known concerning several revolutionary officers from New Hampshire, who served in the division of Gen. Arthur Saint Clair. Subsequently he had noticed that the papers of Gen. Saint Clair had been offered for sale by members of his family, and it was probable some of the enterprising Western societies had secured them. Could it be known just



what Society was now the custodian of those papers it would be of great service to historical students, for they could be examined or copied and thus aid the investigation which is constantly going on in reference to matters of our early history, biography, and genealogy.

In the library of the Maine Historical Society, at Brunswick, Dr. A. S. Packard, keeper, there are deposited the papers of the late Gov. Wm. King, Gen. Henry Knox, Marshal Thornton, Com. Edward Preble, Dr. Silvester Gardiner, proprietor of the Kennebec Purchase, and Col. John Allen, of the Revolutionary Army; journals of Rev. Joseph Moody of York, and Rev. William Homes, of Martha's Vineyard, 1715-1747; memorials concerning the rights of the United States and Great Britain to Grand Manan and the islands in Passamaquoddy Bay; a large and exceedingly valuable collection of records and papers relating to the Pajepscot title, and controversy on the Androscoggin river; the papers and records of the Proprietors of the Kennebec Purchase; papers relating to the protracted and violent controversy on land titles in Lincoln county, growing out of the conflict between the Pamaquid and Kennebec proprietors; a Ms. journal kept by a British volunteer during the siege of Penobscot in 1779; numerous sermons of early ministers in Maine, and the many papers which during the past ten or fifteen years have been presented to the society, at its several meetings.

The Trelawney papers, which came into the society's possession a year or two since, are soon to be published under the editorship of J. Wingate Thornton,

of Boston, Mass., and the volume is now about half through the press. It will probably appear as Vol. III. of the documentary collections.

Now as Mr. Bell did not suggest any method of bringing about his plan—the importance of which every student will recognize—I venture to suggest that an Index to the Unpublished Papers and Manuscripts in the libraries of the various historical societies of the country, be undertaken by the several societies, as a sort of mutual and co-operative scheme for the furtherance of historical research and investigation. Each society can prepare such an alphabetical list, and in case of important Mss. or papers give a brief abstract or key to their contents; and when each society has thus indexed its possessions, the same can be printed by subscription, in order that students may know where to find the information they now have to seek for in vain. This plan may not be new, it may not be practicable—but it seems to me it ought to be accomplished, and with a little unselfish energy and some money, I believe it may be.

At the meeting of the society to which reference has been made papers were read by Alex. Johnston, of Wiscasset, on the Early Settlements at Sheepscot Farms (1614?); by Rev. D. Q. Cushman, of Butte, on the Chewonky Settlement (the beginnings of Wiscasset); by Rev. Dr. J. T. Champlin of Portland, on Education in Maine, while a Province of Massachusetts (published in full in the *Zion's Advocate*, Portland, Vol. LI, Nos. 12-14); by D. Q. Cushman, D.D., on the location of Hammond's Fort; by R. K. Suwall, of Wiscasset, on

assistance rendered by the Maine Colonists to the Plymouth Colony during their Famine in 1621-2; by H. W. Richardson, of Portland, on the Pemaquid Country under the Stuarts; by Hon. William Goold of Windham, on William Vaughan, of Piscataqua; and on John Faber and Son, of Portland, 1799-1811; by Hon. Israel Washburn, of Portland, on the late Chief Justice Ether Shepley; and by Hon. Geo. F. Talbot, of Portland, on the late Hon. George T. Davis.

S. L. B.

*Augusta, Maine.*

AN EPITAPH ON FRANKLIN.—Madame du Deffand wrote to the duchesse de Choiseul, 22 April, 1788: "Here is an epigraph (I hardly know if this is the right word for it) to put at the bottom of the portrait of Franklin: no doubt you understand Latin. '*Eripuit caelo fulmen, sceptrum que tyrannis.*' You know he improved the science of electricity."

In another letter to the same, 2 May, 1788, she wrote: "Here are some verses d'Alembert has written upon Franklin."

Sa vertu, son courage et sa simplicité  
De Sparte ont retracé le caractère antique,  
Et cher à la raison, cher à l'humanité  
Il éclaira l'Europe, et sauva l'Amérique.

Tu vois le sage courageux  
Dont l'heureux et mâle génie,  
Arracha le tonnerre aux Dieux  
Et le sceptre à la tyrannie.

His virtue, his courage and his simplicity,  
Recall the Spartan character,  
And dear to reason dear to humanity  
He enlightened Europe, and saved America.

Behold this courageous Sage  
Whose happy and manly genius  
Tore from the Gods their thunder  
And from tyranny its sceptre.

STUDENT.

HOPKINS' EDITION OF THE FEDERALIST.—*New York, Feb 8, 1847.* Dear Sir. In reply to your inquiries concerning the edition of the Federalist, that I published in 1802, (being the first octavo edition of the work) your father's attention was called to the subject at my request through the urgent solicitude of two respectable professional gentlemen, both of whom have long since departed this life. Your father it appeared did not regard the work with much partiality, but nevertheless, consented to its republication on condition that it should undergo a careful revision by one of the gentlemen above alluded to. Accordingly the work (two coarse duodecimo volumes abounding with errors) was obtained with some difficulty, and placed in his hands for correction. Having performed his duty, he put the volumes into the hands of your father, who examined the numerous corrections, most of which he sanctioned, and the work was then put to press. Here I deem it proper to remark that the most scrupulous delicacy was observed in relation to any alterations in the numbers written by Mr. Madison; so much so, indeed, that the alteration of one word, (a favorite one of Mr. M.) having escaped notice, that part was required to be reprinted and the original word restored.

It was proposed that the name of the writer should be prefixed to each number; but this, as I was told, met with your father's decided disapprobation. But after the publication appeared, the Hon. Egbert Benson gave me in writing a key to the respective numbers, which I understood he had previously

received from your father, and which I kept for many years. This key was subsequently made use of in an edition of three volumes published by Williams & Whiting, of this city, to which were appended the official reports made by him to Congress while Secretary of the Treasury.

The letters of Pacificus were added at your father's suggestion, and corrected with his own hand. He remarked to me at the time that some of his friends had pronounced them to be "his best performance."

With sincere respect

I am your obt servt,

G. F. Hopkins.

*John C. Hamilton, Esqr.* LEX.

CANADIAN TRADE WITH CHINA.—Quebec papers announce the arrival of two vessels direct from China, with 19,000 chests of tea on board. They are the first ships that ever entered the St. Lawrence from Asia, and their arrival forms a new era in the commercial history of the colony. *Gentleman's Magazine, August, 1825.* W. K.

A GOVERNOR'S TOUR.—His Excellency our Governour (with the Gentlemen that attended him in the Scarborough Man of War to the Eastward) returned hither in good health on Wednesday the 31st of last month and was received with great Joy, Respect and Honour. His Excellency visited all the Eastern Coast of this Province (which he had not seen before) as far as *St. Croix*; there the Ship lay at Anchor three days and the Governor with Capt. *Durell*, commander of His Majesty's Ship Scarbor-

ough, went on Shoar but discovered no Inhabitants; from thence the Governor proceeded Homeward to *Machias Bay*, and thence to *Pemaquid*, taking a view of that and John's River, and of Fort Fredrick at the conflux of these Rivers, being in the spot where a Fort was first of all built by *Sir William Phipps*, formerly Governor of this Province; after this His Excellency went to *Damaras Cotty* and *Sheepscot Rivers*, and for taking a better view of the Nature and Growth of the Soil, and of the situation of the Country thereabouts, the Governor took with him six musquetiers and walked thro' the woods from Head of John's River to Sheepscot (about 15 miles); there the Man of War's Pinnace met him and brought him back to Pemaquid, being by water near 40 miles, where a considerable number of the Eastern Indians waited on his Excellency, expressing a great desire for a long continuance of Peace; the Governor entertained them in the kindest manner and they returned to their several Tribes with great satisfaction. *Boston News Letter, July 1, 1734.*

Jonathan Belcher was the Governor of the Massachusetts Colony in that year. CAMBRIDGE.

BOSTON FUNERALS.—*Boston, December 14, 1767.* Black at Funerals is now only worn by the fashionable Gentry of the Ethiopian Tribe; and a regard for the public good it is hoped will lead the richer Persons among us to wear their old Garments of any colour, rather than new on such occasions; the former being the most natural Indication of Sorrow, and the latter of Pride and Vanity. W. K.

LAFAYETTE'S PLAN OF COLONIZATION. —On the 5th of February, 1783, Lafayette advised Congress of the signature of Peace in a letter from Cadiz, which, despatched by a French man-of-war, brought the first intelligence of this event to the States. The same day he wrote to Washington, congratulating him on the glorious news of the definite establishment of American Independence.

It is to the credit of the heart of the generous Frenchman that his first thought after the freedom of the white was the liberty of the black. These are his words :

"Now, my dear General, that you are about to enjoy some repose, permit me to propose to you a scheme which may prove of great benefit to the black part of the human race. Let us unite in the purchase of a small estate where we can attempt to free the negroes and employ them simply as farm laborers. Such an example set by you might be generally followed, and should we succeed in America I shall gladly consecrate a part of my time to introducing the custom into the Antilles. If this be a crude idea I prefer to be considered a fool in this way rather than be thought wise by an opposite conduct." J. A. S.

A REMARKABLE EPITAPH.—Mr. Eaton was the first Governor of Connecticut. He was buried at New Haven, in the Old Church Yard. He had a daughter who married a Mr. Jones; his son-in-law and daughter Jones died some years after the Governor, and were buried one on each side of him. He has a monument erected over his grave, covered with a large flat marble, on which are

inscribed the following lines. The three first were evidently inscribed on the stone prior to the death of Mr. Jones and his wife, and the three latter to commemorate their deaths. Perhaps a more original or singular epitaph never was taken from the ancient tombstones of Europe—

"Eaton so fam'd, so meek, so wise, so just,  
The Phoenix of our world here lies his dust,  
His name forget, New England never must."

"To attend you Sir, under these famed stones  
Have come your honored son and daughter  
Jones,  
On each side to repose their weary bones."

*Public Advertiser*, Jan. 22d, 1811.

PETERSFIELD.

FIRST SHIP BUILT AT SHELBURNE, NOVA SCOTIA.—*Shelburne, Thursday, December 28th, 1786.* On Friday last was launched from the ship-yard above King street, the beautiful ship *Roseway*, about two hundred and fifty tons burthen, and built for Messrs. McLean and Bogel, of this town, Merchants. This is the first *Ship* that has been launched in this province since its first settlement, and if good stuff, excellence of workmanship, strength and handsome model are recommendations in a vessel, she will do no little credit to Mr. Michael Bouffield, the Builder, and to the settlement of Shelburne.—*Daily Advertiser*, Jan. 18, 1787. J. A. S.

A HARD-HEADED PATRIOT.—Died in Plymouth (Mass.), Prince, a negro man aged about 78 years. He was one of the forty brave volunteers who, with Lieutenant-Colonel Barton, in 1777, captured Gen. Prescott in his quarters

in Rhode Island. Col. Barton, with his confidential Prince, came to the door of the General's chamber, which was fast closed; Prince, with a leap, plunged his head against the door and knocked out the pannel, through which the Colonel entered, surprised the General in his bed and brought him and one of his aids to the main.—*Commercial Advertiser, N. Y., Oct. 30, 1821.* JUNIOR.

—  
THE ARMS OF LIVINGSTON.—Our colonial gentry do not seem to have looked upon their crests or mottoes as sacred from change or alteration without sanction of Herald. Sedgwick, in his Life of William Livingston, tells this story of him, quoting his own relation of it in a letter written to Col. Livingston, of Holland, in 1785.

"My grandfather (Robert Livingston), on the occasion of his being cast away on the coast of Portugal, altered the crest and motto of the family arms, the former into a ship in an adverse wind, the latter into *spero meliora*. These have since been retained by all the family except my self, who not being able without ingratitude to Providence to wish for more than I had, changed the former into a ship under full sail and the latter into *Aut mors aut Vita decora*."

GARTER.

—  
PRIMITIVE GRATITUDE.—Among the many services rendered by Lafayette to the country of his adoption after the Peace none were more important than his persuasion of the French Government to open their ports to the commerce of the young States. In the arrangements concluded was the admission

of whale oil into the French ports on the same terms as that imported from the Hanseatic towns. This concession gave an immediate impetus to the American fisheries, and employment to numerous families on the New England coast, who were about leaving their homes to take up residences in Nova Scotia. The enterprising fishermen of Nantucket were especially benefitted, and showed their gratitude in a primitive manner. Assembling in town meeting, they resolved that each and every one should give the milk his cow should yield in twenty-four hours; that the whole product should be made into a cheese of five hundred pounds weight, to be sent to M. la Marquis de la Fayette, as a testimony, weak indeed but sincere, of the affection and gratitude of the inhabitants of Nantucket.—*Nantucket Letter of 19 September, 1788, in New Plymouth Gazette, 27 Sep., 1786.* PHILEMON.

—  
EMPEROR OF THE PRAIRIES.—Mr. Birbeck, the author of a book of travels in the United States, and known as an emigrant to Illinois, was drowned last June, on his way home from Mr. Owen's settlement at Harmony. The backwoods-men, it is said, had given him the name of "Emperor of the Prairies," in consequence of his buying 16,000 acres of public land at one purchase.—*Gentleman's Magazine, November, 1825.* W. K.

—  
THE TURKISH QUESTION IN 1783.—On the 22d July, 1783, Lafayette wrote to Washington in the following words which are of interest now that the eagles are again gathered together. "Noth-

ing new in Europe except what concerns the Russians and the Turks. The first have invaded the Crimea, made preparations upon the Black Sea and their vessels are on their way to the Mediterranean. The expulsion of the Turks from Europe has always been a favorite project of the Russians. It seems scarcely probable that we can stop the quarrel, and even should this be the case, the attempt will only be deferred. No one knows as yet what part the Emperor will take, nor what Prussia will do. England is certainly decided upon neutrality, and has not much interest in the trade of the Levant. As for France, she would rather not quarrel with any one; her desire would be to prevent the Russian war. She will only act in case of absolute necessity. Such, my dear General, is my own personal opinion of the political affairs of Europe." J. A. S.

QUERIES

FULTON—CHESNEY.—Can any of your readers give me any information relating to the history or ancestry of the following persons? I. Richard Fulton, who died in November, 1774, and is interred in Paxton burial ground, near Harrisburg, Pa. II. William Chesney, of Newberry Township, York County, Pa., who on the 21st of October, 1777, was appointed one of the Commissioners to seize the personal effects of Traitors in York County; and on May 6th, 1778, was appointed Agent for Forfeited Estates in same county. I. C.

*Alleghany, Pa.*

MAJOR DONALD CAMPBELL.—In June

1775, Donald Campbell was Major of Col. McDougall's New York Regiment, and afterward served in Canada. Will some one give me his subsequent history? J. B. B.

MISSING LETTERS OF LAFAYETTE.—On the 4th April, 1784, Washington wrote from Mount Vernon to the Marquis de Lafayette: "Your favor of November to me and of December to Congress, both announce your intention of making us a visit this Spring." Lafayette's letter to Congress of the 26 December, 1783, appears in his correspondence, but there is no trace of that of November to Washington in the published writings of either; nor is there any trace of a letter of the Marquis to Washington, also of the 26 December, and acknowledged by him also on the 4 April. Can any one furnish information concerning these precious papers? J. A. S.

MONTCALM'S SKULL.—In 1846, while at Quebec, I visited an ecclesiastical establishment there. One of the Reverend Fathers showed me a skull in a glass case. A red velvet collar, part of a uniform, encircled the place of the neck. The Father informed me that it was the skull of the French General Montcalm, and had been taken from a church where it was first entombed, being rescued from a fire. Is the skull in that monastery yet? J. B. B.

SUGAR REFINING.—I read the other day, in an account of Massachusetts Bay, that the art of refining sugar was first introduced into America by the French Huguenots, who fled to Boston

upon the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and that for a long time that city was enriched by the monopoly of the art. Is this a correct statement? S.

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SAYBROCKE RECORDS.—Can any of your readers inform me whether the records of the "Company of Patentees of the territory at the mouth of the Connecticut River" (Lord Say and Seal, Lord Brooke, Sir Anthon Haslerigge, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Col. Geo. Fenwick, and others) are in existence and if so where they can be found? They appointed John Winthrop Jr. Governor, and Lieut. Lion Gardiner, and afterwards Colonel Geo. Fenwick, to command their fort; but I have been unable to get any further information in regard to the affairs of the Company. J. J.

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COLORS OF THE SEVENTH BRITISH INFANTRY.—The Seventh Regiment of Foot of the British Army surrendered its colors at the taking of Fort Chambly on the 18th of October, 1775. They were sent to Philadelphia and presented to the Congress; and afterwards were "hung up in Mrs. Hancock's chamber with great splendor and elegance."

This regiment again lost its colors at the taking of Yorktown. These were preserved at Alexandria, Va., as the gift of Washington. "The flag was of heavy twilled silk, seventy-two inches long by sixty-four wide, and presented the red and white crosses on a blue field. In the centre, in silk embroidery, is the crown above a rose surrounded by a garter, with the legend. *Honi soit qui mal y pense*. The royal warrant of July 1, 1751, prescribes for the Seventh

as follows: In the centre of their colors the Rose within the Garter, and the Crown over it; the White Horse in the corners of the second color."

Are these trophies of Chambly and of Yorktown still in existence? J. B. B.

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ANTIQUITY OF THE PHONOGRAPH.—Midas, an ancient king of Phrgia, was so imprudent as to maintain that Pan as a Musician was superior to Apollo, for which the offended God changed his ears to those of an ass. Midas shut himself up in his palace and endeavored to conceal his condition from his subjects, but one of his servants, discovering it could not keep the secret, and told it to a bunch of reeds growing in the ground. Afterwards, whenever the wind blew, the reeds cried out "King Midas has asses ears"!

Is not this the origin of this new American instrument? IULUS.

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## REPLIES

LONG ISLAND INDIANS.—(I. 257, 330, 386). In the April number for 1877 (I. 257) it is stated that a remnant of the Poospátuck tribe on Long Island retained the word "Metchick," Land Turtle.

I am unable to answer the query there put, but another idea suggests itself in connection with the word thus retained.

Is it not the root from which we derive many of the geographical names of the west, such as Michigan, Mississippi, Mishewaka, Missisnawa, &c.?

Schoolcraft says Michigan is derived from Michau—great, and Saugiagan—a lake; and that Mississippi is derived

from a duplication of Miss—great, and sebe or sipi—river (Hist. of Ind. Tribes, Vol. 4, p. 379); the words being Algonquin.

I am inclined to believe that "Michi" and "Miss," in the Algonquin, does not mean "great" but "turtle," and that Schoolcraft's derivation is faulty in that respect, and to sustain this belief Mr. Schoolcraft offers abundant evidence. Thus Mikenok, Mikinok, Mickenack, Me-ke-nok, Mee-she-kan are different Ojibwa forms for turtle or tortoise. (Vol. 1, pp. 338, 407, 419, and Vol. 2, p. 465.)

Me-she-ni-mick-in-auk-oug, or Great Turtle, is the original Ojibwa name for the island of Mackinack, or Michillimackinac, as it was known formerly. (Vol. 2, p. 139.) Misnuataiuce is a land turtle. (Vol. 4, p. 376.)

Muk-o-mis-aed-aius is a small species of land tortoise. (Vol. 1, p. 417.) Now we know that the Mus-ko-daius—Mascoutius were "the prairie Indians," therefore, Muk-o is the Turtle.

The name of the bands on the shores of Lake Michigan was Michigainies, or Mitchigainia. (Vol. 6, p. 206.)

The Indian name of Little Turtle, the chief of the Miamis, was Me-she-kaiu-noghguoh. (Treaty of Aug. 3, 1795-7, U. S. States at Large, p. 54; Treaty of June 7, 1803, ib., p. 76; Treaty of Sept. 30, 1809, ib., p. 115, 116.) Che-ke-me-li-ne is Turtle's brother. (Treaty of July 22, 1814, ib., 119.) Shekoghkele was Big Turtle, a Seneca. (Treaties of Sept. 29, 1817 and Sept. 18, 1818, ib., 167, 180.) Sheco-calawko was Turtle Shell. (Treaty of July 15, 1830, ib., 331.) and Kai-wau-

igne, was Little Turtle, of the Ottoes. (Treaty July 15, 1830, ib., 332.)

Hennepin spells Mississippi Meschisipi. (Ed. 1697, 1, 230.)

In all these names Me-she, Michi, or chi occurs as the name of the turtle, and nowhere as the qualifying adjective. Why not derive Michigan from Mee-she-kau as well as from Michau-sau-gie-gau? And if from the latter does it not mean Lake of Turtles, instead of Great Lake? By a parity of reasoning is not Mississippi the River of Great Turtles instead of Great River?

Can any of your readers throw any light upon this subject.

ROBERT S. ROBERTSON.

*Fort Wayne, Ind.*

THE KINGS OF CANADA.—(II. 151, 313.) Were the chiefs taken by Mayor Peter Schuyler to London in 1710 and presented at Court bona fide representatives of the Iroquois Confederacy, as stated by Smith and later held by Lossing, or were they mere shams, as asserted by Colden? Here is what Mrs. Grant says on the subject in her Memoirs of an American Lady, alluding to the attention the chiefs received in England:

"The presents made to these illustrious warriors were judiciously adapted to their states and customs. They consisted of showy habits, of which all these people are very fond, and of arms made purposely in the form of those used in their own country. It was the fortune of the writer of these memoirs more than thirty years after to see that great warrior and faithful ally of the British crown, the redoubted King Hendrick,



the Sovereign of the five Nations, splendidly arrayed in a suit of light blue, made in an antique mode, and trimmed with broad silver lace, which was probably an heir-loom in the family, presented to his *father by his good ally and sister, the female king of England.*" This alone is enough to show that she believed in their right to the title of representatives. But she later adds: "To return to our sachems. \* \* \* When they arrived at Albany, they did not, as might be expected, hasten out to communicate their discoveries and display their acquisitions. They summoned a Congress there, not only of the elders of their own nation, but the chiefs of all those with whom they were in alliance. This solemn meeting was held in the Dutch Church." She then recites how the returned chieftains urged their kinsmen to "form a lasting league, offensive and defensive, with that great queen whose mild majesty had so deeply impressed them." But this is enough to show Mrs. Grant's opinion on the question.

QUESTOR.

Smith reprints from Oldmixon the speech of the Four Kings to the throne, which begins with the words: "Great Queen. We have undertaken a long voyage which none of our predecessors could be prevailed upon to undertake to see our great queen, and relate to her those things which we thought absolutely necessary for the good of her and us her allies on the other side the water," and closes with the usual presentation of belts of wampum "in token of the sincerity of the nations." In a note Smith adds that, "the title of king is

commonly bestowed on the sachems, though the Indians have no such dignity or office amongst them."

The following entry is found in the journals of the Board of Trade, April 25, 1710, printed in the documents relating to the Colonial History of New York: "the coming to the Board of three of the Sachems lately arrived from New York."

STUDENT.

Lossing the Historian in his life of Philip Schuyler, gives the following account of the visit of Mayor Peter Schuyler to England which may be of interest. "In 1710 he went to England with four Indian chiefs, who were representatives of the four nations that composed the Iroquois confederacy. These and the nations they represented were much attached to Schuyler, whom they familiarly called "Brother Queder." They were taken to Britain for a two-fold purpose: First, to have these heads of the tribes impressed with the greatness of the English nation, and thereby detach the wavering ones from the French interest; and Secondly to arouse the British Government to the necessity of assisting the Americans in expelling the French from Canada, whose hostility to the English Colonists and whose influence over the savage tribes were daily increasing. Colonel Schuyler bore an address to Queen Anne from the Colonial Assembly of New York, and he and his confederate "Kings," as they were called, were treated with distinguished honor."

NEWBURGH.

IN No. 171 of the Tatler, dated from the Grecian Coffee House, and pub-

lished the 13th May, 1710, an account is given in a paper on the "origin, honor and title" of the manner in which the Indian kings (who were lately in Great Britain) did honor to the French, where they lodged. "They were placed in *an* handsome apartment at an upholsterer's, in King-Street, Covent Garden. The man of the house, it seems, had been very observant of them and ready in their service. These just and generous princes, who act according to the dictates of Natural justice, thought it proper to confer some dignity upon their landlord before they left his house. One of them had been sick during his residence there, and having never before been in a bed, had a very great veneration for him who made that engine of repose, so useful and so necessary in his distress. It was consulted among the four princes by what name to dignify his great merit and services. *The Emperor of the Mohocks* and three Kings stood up, and in that posture recounted the civilities they had received; and particularly repeated the care which was taken of their sick brother. This, in their imagination, who are used to know the injuries of weather, and the vicissitudes of cold and heat, gave a very great impression of a skilful upholsterer, whose furniture was so well contrived for their protection on such occasions. It is, with these less instructed, I will not say less knowing people, the manner of doing honor, to impose some name significant of the qualities of the person they distinguish and the good offices received from him. It was therefore resolved to call their landlord *Cadaroque*, which is the name of the strongest fort

in their part of the world. When they had agreed upon the name they sent for their landlord; and as he entered into their presence, the *Emperor of the Mohocks*, taking him by the hand, called him *Cadaroque*. After which the other three kings repeated the same word and ceremony. \* \* \* Will any man persuade me (said one of the participants in the debate at the Grecian), that this was not from the beginning to the end a concerted affair? Who can convince the world that four kings shall come over here and lie at *the two Crowns and Cushion*, and one of them fall sick *and the place be called King Street*, and all this by mere accident? No, no. To a man of very small penetration it appears that *Tee Yee Men Ho Ga Row*, emperor of the Mohocks, was prepared for this adventure beforehand. I do not care to contradict any gentleman in his discourse; but I must say, however, *Sa Ga Geath Rua, Geth Ton* and *E Tow oh Koam* might be surprised in this matter; nevertheless, *Ho Nec Yeth Tau No Roan* knew it before he set foot on the English Shore."

Paper No. 50 of the Spectator, published April 27, 1711, giving a pretended translation of a bundle of papers supposed to have been left behind by King Sa Ga Yean Qua Rash Ton, giving Indian ideas of England, is chiefly of interest, in confirming the above account of the stay of the Kings at an upholsterer's.

Those interested in these historical characters are referred to Drake's Book of the Indians of North America, book V. chap. I. EXAMINER.

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.  
—(II., 101.) In the "Carroll" article

in the February number, it was stated that the manor was held upon the presentation of tokens of fealty similar to those of the Province. Although convinced I had authority for the statement, I cannot now find it; and, therefore, desire to leave it doubtful.

JOHN C. CARPENTER.

UNIFORMS OF THE AMERICAN ARMY.—(I., 387, 461, 754.) Judge Henry, one of the survivors of Arnold's campaign against Quebec, in an account of the expedition, published by Munsell in 1872, gives the following: "Montgomery, in his care for Arnold's party, besides an excellent *blanket coat*, had assigned to each man a new *red regimental coat* of the Seventh, or some other regiment stationed in the upper country. This clothing had been seized at Montreal." A portion of this regiment had been captured on the first of November at Fort St. John's.

The Governor and Council of Connecticut, on the 14th February, 1777, ordered the State agents at Boston "to purchase clothing for our soldiers, viz: for four battalions and the first regiment, to be of a dark brown color."

The battalions referred to were possibly the four militia regiments ordered into service, 2d December, 1776, under Cols. Samuel Whiting, Thaddeus Cook, Roger Enos and John Ely.

As, however, their terms of enlistment were only until 15th March, 1777, the probabilities are greater that these uniforms were intended for four of the eight Continental regiments "for the war" then raising in the State.

As to the first of these regiments, un-

der Col. Jedediah Huntington, the Governor (Jonathan Trumbull) and Council, on 15th February, 1777, ordered it "to be clothed with the *red* coats brought in a prize vessel, in the hands of Dr. Saml. Gray, of Windham, and in the hands of Col. S. Webb, at Wethersfield.

As red coats had been the provincial uniform of Connecticut troops, the Government of that State undoubtedly thought they still had the right to prescribe such color. A. B. G.

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DOCUMENTS RELATING TO NEW ENGLAND FEDERALISM, 1800-1815. Edited by HENRY ADAMS. 8vo, pp. 437. LITTLE, BROWN & Co., Boston, 1877.

This volume, as Mr. Adams announces in his preface, has no controversial purpose. He does not propose to fan into fresh flame the embers of the hot strife of the first quarter of the century. The documents here printed for the first time are ten in number, consisting of Letters from William B. Giles, Thomas J. Randolph, James Gould, Thomas Jefferson and John Quincy Adams. An appendix contains a number of letters of the most distinguished of the Federalists and Democrats of the early part of the century.

The subject matter of this controversy was known at the time by the name of the Washington Exposé, and consisted of the publication of a letter from Mr. Jefferson to Mr. Giles, dated 25th December, 1825, concerning a communication made to him by Mr. Adams in 1807, in which Mr. Adams said that he had information that certain citizens of the Eastern States were in negotiation with agents of the British Government, the object of which was an agreement that the New England States should take no future part in the war. This was at the time of the embargo. This letter was made public in the fall of the year 1828, when Mr. Adams was President, and brought out an authorized statement from him in the *National Intelligencer*, in which he denied that he had given any information to Mr. Jefferson of any negotiation with the British agents by citizens of Massachusetts, but added that he was satisfied that the leaders of the opposition had for many years intended a dissolution of the Union, and the establishment of a separate confederation. This charge was met with indignation, and a number of the most eminent citizens of Massachusetts, headed by Harrison Gray Otis, united in a letter to the President, calling upon him for such evidence as he had in support of the charge. Mr. Adams replied in an elaborate defence of his political career, a studied refusal to answer the special queries, and hinted at the close that it was not improbable that the time might come when a sense of solemn duty would require further disclosures. To this the gentlemen replied in an appeal to the citizens of the United States, in which Mr. Adams was charged with evasion and disingenuousness, while the proceedings of the Hartford Convention were defended as constitutional and laudable. At the fall election Jackson was elected to the Presidency, Adams being driven from the Presidency by an overwhelming majority. Soon after he wrote

the Reply to the Appeal of the Massachusetts Federalists, which is the chief and most important chapter in this volume. It is marked by strong personal feeling, and shows a keen sense of disappointment, but no one can rise from the perusal of this volume without the conviction that Mr. Adams brought his sorrow on himself by want of ordinary prudence, tact and sagacity in his original charge. Fortunately for himself, he withheld its publication, and it now for the first time appears with some omissions of personal reflections upon Mr. Otis, which the editor has thought it best to suppress.

The book is printed with the elegance and care usual to these well-known publishers.

A PARTIAL RECORD OF THE DESCENDANTS OF WALTER BRIGGS, OF WESTCHESTER, N. Y.; to which is added some account of his Ancestry, Collateral Branches, Origin of the Family Name, Ancient Pedigrees, Wills, etc., etc. Compiled by SAMUEL BRIGGS. 4to, pp. 50. Printed for private circulation only by FAIRBANKS, BRIGGS & Co., Cleveland, O., 1878.

The family of Briggs is here traced to the County of Norfolk, in England, in which at Salle the name of de Ponte or Pontibus [*i. e.*, of Brigge or Briggs], was assumed as a surname by the founder before the reign of Edward 1. The first emigrant to this county appears to have been one Clement Briggs, who arrived in Plymouth Colony in the ship "Fortune," on the 9th of November, 1621. From him the various branches have sprung. They seem mostly to reside in New England.

DÉCOUVERTES ET ÉTABLISSEMENTS DES FRANÇAIS DANS L'OUEST ET DANS LE SUD DE L'AMÉRIQUE SEPTENTRIONALE (1614-1754). Mémoires et Documents Originaux, recueillis par PIERRE MARGRY, &c. Deuxième Partie (1678-1685). 8vo, pp. 613. D. JOUART, Paris, 1877.

DEUXIÈME PARTIE. — LETTRES DE CAVALIER DE LA SALLE ET CORRESPONDANCE RÉLATIVE À SES ENTREPRISES (1678-1685).

A slip inserted in this volume informs the reader that the publication of the papers relative to the expeditions of Robert Cavalier, Sieur de La Salle, will take up three volumes, at the close of which the editor will submit a classification

of the documents by origin and some notes upon them, which his distance from the Library Committee of Congress, to whom they must of right be submitted, prevents him from inserting *passim* in the text.

We shall follow the course pursued in our notice of the first volume, and without attempting any critical notice of the work, indicate its contents. In the first chapter appears an account of the departure of La Salle for Canada with the design of descending the Mississippi to its mouth. Chapter II. recites his arrival in Canada, and his works at Fort Frontenac and at the mouth of Niagara river. Chapter III., the curiosity excited in France by his expedition. Chapter IV. relates his voyage from Lake Ontario to the Illinois, and from the Illinois to Montreal. Chapter V. recounts his descent of the Mississippi to the mouth. Chapter VI. and VII. contain an account of the intrigues against him by the fathers, and his expulsion from Canada by the Governor. Chapter VIII., he returns to France, and is received by the King. Chapters IX. to XV. describe the plans for a new expedition. Chapter XVI., his Voyage to the coast of Texas. The remaining chapters to XXI., inclusive, are concerned with the same subject, and the impressions produced in France by his discoveries.

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**SOME ASPECTS OF THE MONEY QUESTION.** By WILLIAM M. DICKSON, of the Cincinnati Bar. 8vo, pp. 34. ROBERT CLARKE & Co., Cincinnati, 1872.

Still another of the innumerable pamphlets the money question has brought out. This is a series of letters on inflation, paper money, and the silver question, running from 1874 to 1877. The author makes a strong and earnest appeal for honest legislation and the preservation of the National faith.

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**TRADO DAS ILHAS NOVAS E DESCOBRIMENTO DELLAS E OUTRAS COUZAS FEITO POR FRANCISCO DE SOUZA FEITOR D'EL REI NOSSO SENHOR** na Capitania da cidade do Funchal da Ilha da Madeira e natural da dita Ilha. E' assym sobre a gente de nação Portuguesa, que está em huma grande Ilha, que n'ella forado terno tempo de perdicao das Espanhas, que ha trezentos e tantos annos, em que reinava El Rei Dom Rodrigo. Dos Portuguezes que forao de Viana e das Ilhas das Açores a povoar a Terra Nova do Bacalhao vay em adiante se trata anno do Senhor de 1570. PONTA DELGADA—San Miguel Açores, 1877.

The maritime enterprise of the Portuguese, under Prince Henry the Navigator, has been fully recognized, while very slight attention has been paid to their achievements on the Atlantic towards the west and north during the middle of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century. In this country no great historical investigator has appeared to do for the Portuguese what has been done for other nations. The truth respecting the early attempts of the Portuguese in the region referred to is coming to light.

The brief treatise, whose inflated title is given above, forms one of the latest contributions to the subject. Two years ago, however, at the Congrès Américaniste, held in Nancy, this treatise was lamented as lost. All that was known respecting it was drawn from the *Bibliotheca Lusitania* of Machado, who gave its title, and stated that it was destroyed by the Lisbon earthquake, 1755. Yet even while the Congress was in session a gentleman of the Azores was in pursuit of another copy; for the late Jose de Torres, of San Miguel, believing that another must be in existence some where amongst the suppressed conventual libraries, communicated his views to his friend Dr. Soares, who succeeded in finding one in the consolidated libraries of Coimbra. An edition has been printed, with an introduction and notes by Dr. Ernesto do Canto. This rare *brochure* treats of certain islands of the Atlantic, some of which students, to save themselves the trouble of investigation, have set down as altogether fabulous. It has also a Routier of the New Isles, according to Jehan Allefonsce, the Navigator of La Rochelle, who visited Massachusetts Bay in 1542-3, to which Routier is appended a curious map. If the performance of this work were equal to the promise, it would prove a weighty contribution to the early history of America; but the historic statements are provokingly brief, and the most that one can say is, that Souza appears to have written concerning admitted and well-known facts. The substance of what concerns historical students is found in the statement that a company was formed at Viana, an ancient fishing town of Portugal, in connection with the inhabitants of the Azores, to establish a colony at a very early period in "Bacalao" (codfish), the old name of Newfoundland, though the name appears at times to have covered the region of New England. Respecting the date of this attempt, the title given by Machado differs from the version before us. Machado's title says that the event transpired *seventy* years since, while the present title makes it *sixty* years. Curiously enough, however, in the body of the treatise it is placed "forty of fifty years since." Possibly the enterprise covered a series of years, and if so, this would explain the difference in the computation. Still, if obliged to fix upon

any single date, we should prefer that of 1500, as Cortereal made a voyage to the New World at that time, and the colony may have had some connection with his expedition. It is certainly of very great interest to know positively that the Portuguese were engaged thus early in connection with this part of North America, whither beyond question John Van Costa sailed from the Azores during the fifteenth century. Vague rumors prevailed concerning the Portuguese in the time of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who thought that the cattle found on Sable Island were placed there by people of that nationality; but we find no reference to support de Souza, except in a single work, the "Voyages Avantureux" of Jehan Allefonsce (Poitiers, 1559), of which probably not more than a single copy exists in the United States. This curious work, which does not agree, however, with the original Ms. of Allefonsce, says that "formerly" the Portuguese attempted to colonize Terra Nova, but were driven away or destroyed by the natives. As already seen, Allefonsce appears in the treatise of de Souza, which shows that the navigator of La Rochelle was intimately connected with the Portuguese, in whose service he once sailed.

This quaint work of de Souza possesses no literary merit, but, whatever may be its short comings, it is valuable for its suggestions, and affords numerous historic clues which remain to be followed out. It forms a very tasty piece of insular typography, and its rarity will cause it to appear a prize eminently desirable in the eyes of the collector of *Americana*. The edition is one hundred for presentation, of which five copies only have come to this country, and only one of these for private presentation.

#### A POPULAR HISTORY OF THE UNITED

STATES OF AMERICA, FROM THE ABORIGINAL TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY. Embracing an account of the Aborigines; the Norsemen in the New World; the Discoveries by the Spaniards, English and French; the planting of settlements; the growth of the colonies; the struggle for liberty in the Revolution; the establishment of the Union; the development of the nation; the civil war, and the Centennial of Independence. By JOHN CLARK RIDPATH, A. M. Illustrated with Maps, Charts, Portraits and Diagrams. 8vo, pp. 735. JONES BROTHERS & Co., Cincinnati.

This book is intended, the author announces, for the average American, and is, in fact, an abridged narrative of the principal events in the history of the country from the days of the

aborigines. The first part is devoted to aboriginal America; the second, to voyage and discovery, 986-1607; the third, to colonial history, 1707-1775; the fourth, to the Revolution and Confederation; the fifth and last to the National Period. These are followed by Appendixes of important public documents, such as the Declaration of Independence, etc. It is, moreover, abundantly illustrated with engravings, maps and charts, geographical and editorial. The book is replete with information, well classified, well arranged, and is an excellent volume for family reference.

#### THE INVENTION OF PRINTING. A

COLLECTION OF FACTS AND OPINIONS, DESCRIPTIVE OF EARLY PRINTS AND PLAYING CARDS. The Block-books of the fifteenth century; the legend of Lourens Janszoon Coster, of Haarlem, and the work of John Gutenberg and his associates. Illustrated with fac-similes of early types and wood-cuts. By THEO. L. DE VINNE. Second edition. 8vo, pp. 557. FRANCIS HART & Co., New York. 1878.

There is nothing connected with the history of printing that is not of interest; we never turn to its first beginnings without surprise at the rapidity with which it sprung from infancy into full growth. In this curious volume the reader will find specimens of the work of the early masters, with detailed descriptions of the manner in which it was executed, with fac-similes of types and cuts and portraits of famous printers. The volume is handsomely printed on laid paper, and deserves a place on the shelves of every library. We wish, however, it had been supplemented with a list of the earliest specimens of the art existing in America, as that of Mr. Lenox, and others of a similar character.

#### HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE.

By JOHN RICHARD GREEN, M. A. In two volumes. 8vo. HARPER & BROTHERS, New York. 1878.

Our readers are, no doubt, familiar with the admirable hand-book, in use for many years, by Mr. Green, who was examiner in the School of Modern History at the University of Oxford. These two are the first of a series on a more extended scale, in which the incidents of British history are treated chronologically from a popular point of view. It is not a history of reigns or celebrities so much as an account of growth and expression of the English people in the various transformations it has un-

dergone by development and conquest. It will be found a fascinating study and of great interest to ourselves as of the same general stock. Mr. Green is a liberal in politics, we judge. At this juncture it is boldness to use such a phrase as that we transcribe where he says of King John, that he believed "the thunders of the papacy would be ever at hand for his protection, as the armies of England are at hand to protect the vileness and oppression of a Turkish sultan or a Nizam of Hyderabad."

THE PRINCETON REVIEW, JANUARY  
AND MARCH, 1878. 8vo. 37 Park Row,  
New York. 1878.

This old review, now in its fifty-fourth year, has passed into the hands of Mr. Libbey, who seem inclined to spare no effort or money to hold the very first rank in this class of literature. It is published bi-monthly at thirty-five cents a number, a price which can hardly be remunerative unless with an enormous sale. We commend to our readers the Eastern problem, by Prof. Daniel S. Gregory, of Wooster; and University Contemporary Philosophy, by President McCosh, of Princeton; the former for its careful and elaborate examination of the Christian side of the Turkish question, and the latter for its true psychological analysis of the tendencies of modern thought, and its criticisms of the various teachers of modern philosophy. These are both in the January number. In the March number Mr. McCosh continues his studies, the subject being Mind and Brain, which is a physiological examination. He holds to the old theory, that the brain is the organ of the mind, its functions being instrumental and subsidiary, and considers the phenomena of consciousness as beyond the pale of physiological investigation. Modern history is treated in an admirable article on the Pontificate of Pius the Ninth, by Bishop Cox, of Western New York, and a second entitled, Shall the Keys or Sceptre Rule in Germany? by Charles A. Salmond, of Edinburgh, in sharp and brilliant style. Of graver matter we find the *Ordo Salutis*, by Professor Hodge, of Princeton, and Evil in Things Good, by Rev. Dr. John Hall, of Princeton.

This is, of course, the recognized Presbyterian organ, but from the range of subjects treated, it will be seen that the Review is general and latitudinarian, and not religious or particular in its purpose. Dr. McCosh says that the "Review" cannot be employed in a more important work in an age in which materialism is making such lofty pretensions than in exposing and restraining such speculations and expounding and encouraging real discoveries. But this is too narrow a field for a popular Review, as this promises to be, with the abundant and admir-

able matter it so cheaply provides. We wish it all possible success as an honor to American culture.

THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF  
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY. No. 1 of Vol.  
II. 8vo, pp. 116. PUBLICATION FUND OF  
THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA. Philadelphia. 1878.

This excellent periodical maintains its character. The leader in this number is a spirited sketch, by Townsend Ward, of Charles Armand Tuffin, Marquis de la Rouerie, Brigadier-General in the Continental army, with a charming steel engraved portrait from a picture in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Here we find for the first time a sketch of this brave officer. He came to this country as bearer of dispatches from Franklin to Congress; chased by three men-of-war, the captain of the ship on which he was run her on shore and blew her up. The Marquis saved himself by swimming to land and traveled one hundred miles on foot to Philadelphia with the dispatches. He was commissioned colonel in 1777, and was at Redbank and Brandywine. In 1778 he was engaged in opposing Simcoe's incursions into Westchester county, and in brilliant partisan service. His cavalry seems to have behaved ill at Camden. We are surprised to see that Mr. Ward's partiality for Armand renders him unjust to Gates. Like General de Peyster, whom he quotes, he seems unable to forgive Gates for having won the battle of Saratoga. As for the distance of Gates' flight, it was no greater than that of Frederick from Mollwitz or Napoleon from Waterloo, and these are generally supposed to have been great soldiers.

Armand was at Yorktown when Cornwallis surrendered. In 1783 he was promoted a Brigadier-general; returned to France he was made a colonel of Chasseurs in 1788. In the revolution he retired to his estates in Brittany, where he took sides with his order; he was besieged in his chateau by the Blues but escaped; a price was set on his head, and he was compelled to take refuge in the forest. He died of a malignant fever, caught, no doubt, from exposure, on the 3d January, 1793. He was the commissioned chief of the *Blancs*, and it is a tradition in Brittany that the authorities, unable to capture him, obtained his death by poison at the hands of a spy.

Another article of interest is an account of an interview between George III. and a Pennsylvania loyalist. Among the biographical sketches from the Centennial collection is that of General Greene by Professor Greene. Greene was the great military head of the revolution,

and forestalled by a half century the use of earthworks, which rendered Todleben so illustrious in the Crimean war.

In a note on Champlain's Expedition of 1615, Mr. Shea pays high compliment to General Clark, whose identification of the site of the Iroquois Fort he supports. The General locates the fort on Nichols Pond. This may not prove as conclusive as Mr. Shea conceives. Archaeologists are generally enthusiasts.

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**FOUR YEARS WITH GENERAL LEE ;**  
BEING A SUMMARY OF THE MORE IMPORTANT  
EVENTS TOUCHING THE CAREER OF GENERAL  
ROBERT E. LEE IN THE WAR BETWEEN THE  
STATES. Together with an Authoritative  
Statement of the strength of the army which  
he commanded in the field. By WALTER H.  
TAYLOR, of his staff, and late Adjutant-Gen-  
eral of the Army of Northern Virginia. 8vo.  
pp. 199. D. APPLETON & Co., New York,  
1878.

That anything like impartial justice can be done in any history of the war of the rebellion, whether military or civil, in this day or by this generation is highly improbable. The opinion of Europe, as well as of America, in this contest was divided into two camps, but now, if ever, from the living participants in it must the material be obtained which, freed from error and extraneous prejudice, may in the hands of some later historian be justly balanced. General Taylor was the confidential staff officer of General Lee during the entire war, and was, therefore, familiar with the details of every movement made by the armies under his command, and his statements are of course of extreme value. He distributes his praise and blame with impartiality ; as when he considers the defense of Malvern Hill as in favor of the United States troops owing to the mismanagement of the Confederate forces, the gallantry of the United States soldiers and the admirable posting and service of the Federal batteries.

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**COLLECTIONS OF THE MASSACHU-**  
**SETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.** Vol. IV.  
Fifth series. Centennial volume. Published  
at the charge of the Appleton Fund. 8vo,  
pp. 530. PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY. Bos-  
ton. 1878.

This valuable contribution to American historical literature consists of three series of valuable papers in the archives of the Society. They are : Part I., Letters from Washington to

General Heath, whose own memoirs of the war of the revolution are the favorite and indispensable text-book of all incidents of the history of this period. They begin with a letter written at the headquarters at Cambridge, on the 6th October, 1775, and close with one dated at Headquarters (then at New Windsor) 23d July, 1780. Heath was one of the most trustworthy officers in the army, and Washington's reliance on his discretion and judgment was never deceived. As the prefatory notice observes, these letters add strong testimony to the diligent attention which Washington was constantly exercising on all the great variety of events passing before him, to oversee the complicated machinery with which he had to deal. Part II. is made up of the correspondence between John Adams and Prof. John Winthrop, of Cambridge, covering a period of seventeen months, beginning at the end of May, 1775, and ending in September of the next year. Those of Winthrop confirm the idea that there was little doubt in the minds of the wise observers of the day of the ability of the colonies to effect and maintain their freedom and independence of the mother country. Beyond this they contain little that is not well known. Part III. is the bouquet of the volume, being a correspondence between John Adams and Mercy Warren, relating to her *History of America*, written in July and August, 1807. Mercy, or as she sometimes signed herself, Marcia Warren, was a sister of James Otis and the wife of General James Warren, and both were the early intimate friends of Adams and his accomplished wife. John Adams, taking umbrage at what, with his usual susceptibility, he considered sins of omission and commission in the lady's history, addressed her a series of ten letters, in which he assumes the offensive defensive style and, while vindicating himself from her charges of Anglicism and want of polish in his manners, is extremely caustic in his censure of what he terms her malignity and unfairness. Her replies are more dignified but no less severe. Indeed the history of literature may be searched in vain for a more continuously bitter correspondence. Fortunately, the old friends were reconciled by the interposition of Mr. Elbridge Gerry, then the Governor of the State. No hand has so cleverly sketched the peculiarities of John Adams, who was unlovable and unloved, while one of the best of men. There is matter for abundant criticism in these pages, but most curious is his claim to have been the originator of the Constitution of the State of New York, which served as the model for our National Government. The principle of the division of the governing powers into three departments, with one independent judiciary was not discovered by Mr. Adams. It had been for a century the policy of the New York colony, as it was of the mother country.



PROCEEDINGS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1877-1877. Published at the charge of the Peabody Fund. 8vo, pp. 441. PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY. Boston. 1878.

This biennial publication records the proceedings at the monthly meetings for the years named. In it we find a translation of "Count Circourt's Conclusions Historiques," which we have already noticed in a review of the French edition of Mr. Bancroft's tenth volume; there are memoirs also of corresponding members of the Society. We find sketches of Messrs. de Waldeck, Charles W. Upham, Edmund Quincy, John L. Motley and others, and some original disquisitions and papers on revolutionary history. A memoir of Colonel William Henshaw; his orderly book; a paper on Paul Revere's Signal already noticed by us; on the Scarcity of Salt in the Revolutionary War, and others. There is a diary of Thomas Newell and a part of a journal of Charles J. Stratford, with revolutionary reminiscences.

The volume is illustrated by three portraits, one a fine steel engraving of Rev. Charles W. Upham, an atrocious heliotype copy of an old portrait of Col. Henshaw, and a fine specimen of the art in one of the late Governor Clifford, a president of the society.

The style and finish with which these volumes are published is well known.

THE CONQUEST OF NEW MEXICO AND CALIFORNIA; AN HISTORICAL AND PERSONAL NARRATIVE. By P. ST. GEO. COOKE, Brigadier, Brevet Major-General, U. S. A. 8vo, pp. 307. G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS, New York, 1878.

A sketchy little book, full of detail of personal observation. The author was engaged in the expedition of General Kearney which effected the conquest of New Mexico and California, a side episode of the Mexican war, the history of which General St. George Cooke announces is here for the first time offered to the public.

Though in an age and under circumstances totally different, the bold movement by which an insignificant band cut away from their base, and marched to the conquest of a territory hundreds of miles away and of widely extended area, is almost as striking as the parallel adventures of Cortes on the Southern Continent.

In five chapters the reader is taken from the preliminary movements in New Mexico, which followed the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, May 8 and 9, 1846, to the final conquest of California. The description of the

proclamations of the commanders of the marching forces as they passed through the several towns on the long route, of the hoisting of the flag, and of the occasional skirmishes are drawn with a strong and vivid pencil, and in a style, with all its caprices and abruptness, not without its charm, perhaps because of its originality; especially noticeable we find the author's love of nature and of character, indispensable requisites of good books of travel or adventure. Some of the descriptions of scenery are admirable.

The story of the differences between General Kearney and Colonel Fremont is here again related. The fall of Captain Burgwin of North Carolina in the dashing attack upon Puebla is told with a graceful tribute to that brave officer.

The book contains an excellent map of the line of march, eighteen hundred and seventy miles from Independence Mountains, to the Pacific. It is well printed on good paper, and will certainly prove a popular, as it is an attractive story of personal experience.

VOYAGE OF THE PAPER CANOE; A GEOGRAPHICAL JOURNEY OF 2,500 MILES, FROM QUEBEC TO THE GULF OF MEXICO DURING THE YEARS 1874-5. By NATHANIEL H. BISHOP. 8vo, pp. 351. LEE & SHEPARD, Boston, 1878.

The adventurous author left Quebec on the 4th of July, 1874, with a single assistant, in a wooden canoe, eighteen feet in length, bound for the Gulf of Mexico, with the intention of following the water courses of the continent in the most direct line southward. Arrived at Troy, he purchased of E. Waters & Sons a paper boat, of fifty-eight pounds weight, with which he continued his journey of two thousand miles. The interest of the volume, apart from the accurate information it contains, is in its graphic descriptions of personal adventure through the fogs and rapids which perplexed his course. As an instance of the practical knowledge imparted, we take the statement that the canoe traveler can descend the St. Lawrence River to Lake Ontario, avoiding the rapids and shoals by making use of seven canals of a total length of fifty-seven miles, thence around the Falls of Niagara through the lakes to the end of Lake Superior, a distance of two thousand miles, without a single portage. The fascination of this primitive mode of travel can only be understood by those who have enjoyed it. There is nothing so delicious as the sense of independence felt on one of these voyages; not without its accidents or dangers. No ship at sea tosses more violently than a canoe in a wind gust even on a petty pond. The book is illustrated with numerous admirable maps, showing the route of the "Maria Theresa." Mr. Bishop

speaks with gratitude of the cordial hospitality with which he was received at the South.

We commend this book most heartily, and especially to the young.

WEBSTER'S AND HAYNES' SPEECHES IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE ON MR. FOOTE'S RESOLUTION OF JANUARY, 1830; also Daniel Webster's Speech in the United States Senate, March 7, 1850, on the Slavery Compromise. 8vo, pp. 115. T. B. PETERSON & Bros., Philadelphia.

This celebrated debate in the Senate in January of 1830, on the resolution of Mr. Foote is too well known to require any comment. It was the most masterly effort of Mr. Webster, and must be considered as the turning point in the history of our Constitutional government. The enterprising publishers have done good services in reprinting these speeches in this convenient form.

EIGHTEEN MONTHS ON A GREENLAND WHALER, by JOSEPH P. FAULKNER; 16mo, pp. 317. Published for the author. A. S. BARNES & Co., New York. 1878.

There will be a demand for as many books of this class as may be written with truth, and the author need make no apology for its publication. The account is a personal narrative of what befell a hand before the mast of a New London schooner among the pack ice and whales and "Wee people" of the Greenland coast. The descriptions of the fauna and flora of these high latitudes are vivid and pleasing, and there is abundance of philosophy and moralization of the kind that a sea voyage is apt to awaken.

The vessel was worked, as is the custom, on shares, but our author was compelled to content himself with the sum of Five Dollars for his year's work. He wisely determined never to ship before the mast again, but was a few days later tempted once more, and embarked for the South Sea Islands, in pursuit of sperm whales, an account of which we hope may follow the present pleasant volume.

THE COMPLETE MEMOIRS OF ANDREW JACKSON, SEVENTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES; containing a full account of his military life and achievements, with his career as President. 16mo, pp. 362. CLAXTON, REMSEN & HAFFELFINGER, Philadelphia. 1878.

This is an interesting little hand book, reciting

in a simple and easy style the incidents in the civil and military career of the hero of New Orleans from his birth at the Waxsaw Settlement in South Carolina on the 15 March, 1767, to his death at the Hermitage, near Nashville, Tennessee, on the 8 June, 1845. His last years were clouded by pecuniary embarrassments, brought on by the misfortunes of his son, but his immediate difficulties were relieved by the generous interposition of his friend, Mr. Blair. The political incidents which at their time created such bitter party feeling, the Nullification Ordinance of South Carolina and the removal of the bank deposits are treated upon without passion or bias.

The book is an admirable opening of a line of American biography in a cheap and popular form.

FINAL REPORT OF THE OHIO STATE BOARD OF CENTENNIAL MANAGERS TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE STATE OF OHIO. 8vo, pp. 167. NEVINS & MYERS, Columbus. 1877.

This report is divided into three parts, the first of which, the Report of the Board, gives an account of Ohio in the Exhibition; the second, the Report of the Committee of the State Archaeological Society on the Antiquities of Ohio, describes the various relics discovered of the Mound Builders and their successors in the limits of the State, which, though incomplete in the Exhibition, are second only to those in the Smithsonian Institute in interest and value. The volume is illustrated by engravings of the track rocks and other rocks sculptures, of the Badges or Wands and Stone tubes, Head and Breast plates, and other objects taken from the Mounds. Part three is devoted to the educational exhibit and that in Science teaching.

Ohio deserves her fame as a State of orderly progress.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. REPORT OF THE COUNCIL, OCTOBER 22, 1872, by CHARLES DEANE. 8vo, pp. 71.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL JOHN BURGOTNE AND THE CONVENTION OF SARATOGA ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO. A paper read before the American Antiquarian Society on the 22d of October, 1872, by CHARLES DEANE.

This paper, read before the Society at Worcester last fall, is the chief part of the Report of the Council. It recites the Convention, as Burgoyne, who had been in France, termed the capitulation

Aurelius, Cato, Fleming, Genoa, Ledyard, Mentz, Moravia, Owasco and Scipio, and we are glad to learn from these pages is in a thriving condition, and has already laid the foundation of a valuable historical library and a cabinet of local antiquities. We wish there were one such in every county in the State, and an annual convention of delegates in New York or Albany. It would be of invaluable service to the cause of history. This would be far better than the plan proposed of a society for the whole State, a ground which the New York Historical Society essentially occupies, although without State patronage.

THE MAINE GENEALOGIST AND BIO-  
GRAPHER. A Quarterly Journal. March,  
1878. WM. B. LAPHAM, editor. SPRAGUE,  
OWEN & NASH, Augusta.

This number begins with the journal of Elijah Fisher, of Norton, Massachusetts, who three times enlisted in the Continental service, and was in the campaign against Burgoyne. The genealogy of the Cilley family, is concluded. We regret to notice that this publication is to be suspended. We trust it may be resumed later. Now is the time to preserve the fast disappearing records of our past history.

THE HISTORICAL STUDENT'S MAN-  
UAL. By ALFRED WAITES. 8vo, pp. 6. LEE  
& SHEPARD, Boston. 1878.

This convenient little manual is a parallel exhibit of the reign of the English monarchs and their great contemporaries on the continent, from the Norman conquest to the present time. The work is printed in two colors, which greatly adds to its convenience of reference.

THE OLD LOG HOUSE. A HISTORY  
AND DEFENSE OF THE CUMBERLAND PRES-  
BYTERIAN CHURCH. By T. C. BLAKE, D.  
D. 16mo, pp. 293. CUMBERLAND PRESBY-  
TERIAN PUBLISHING HOUSE, Nashville, Tenn.  
1878.

The old Log House, built in the last century, by the Rev. Samuel McAdon, is the building in which the Cumberland Presbyterian Church was organized, on the 4th of February, 1810. The founders of the new church were not believers in the doctrine of fatality, which we here learn for the first time, is unmistakably a part of the confession of faith of the Presbyterian Church. Its present theological position is a compromise on middle ground between Cal-

vinism and Armenianism. Its tenets are conditional election, conditional salvation, and simultaneous election and regeneration. The Roman Catholic, Episcopal, Baptist, and Methodist churches are examined in separate chapters, and condemned as unsatisfactory.

BARNES' EDUCATIONAL MONTHLY.  
Vol. IV., No. 6. April, 1878. A. S. BARNES  
& Co., New York. 1878.

This is a continuation of the well-known National Teacher's Monthly, and is intended to give practical advice upon this range of subjects. It is full of information of the kind teachers need, and is supplemented by science notes describing the latest discoveries.

THE CURRENCY CONFLICT. A RE-  
view of some portions of GEN. GARFIELD'S  
Speech on Specie Payments in the House of  
Representatives, November 17, 1877, particu-  
larly with reference to Resumption in Great  
Britain in 1819-22, in a Letter of J. W.  
Schuckers, Esq., to Hon. William D. Kelley.  
8vo, pp. 24. HENRY CAREY BAIRD & Co.,  
Philadelphia, 1877.

In this critical examination Mr. Schuckers handles the accomplished General without gloves, and has the best of the argument. The common experience of nations has hitherto been that it is impossible to float a dollar of paper without two dollars of coin or more behind it. In France the proportion of metal to paper is two and a half to one, in England more than two to one. Mr. Garfield in his speech stated that the Bank of France to take in one hundred millions of dollars' value of paper, had pushed into circulation two hundred and twenty millions of gold and silver, and Mr. Schuckers makes the home thrust that a similar process of injection would be a salutary measure in our present condition. Mr. Schuckers also happily demonstrates that gold may be at par, and yet resumption distant. He should have said permanent resumption. There can be no permanent resumption by the Government until we shall have injected several hundred millions of coin into our circulation—a measure we have not yet begun to consider. Nor can Mr. Sherman resume without the banks, as he intimated was his intention. He may resume, but he cannot stay resumed. The paper issues must be contracted, until gold comes out to take its place, and the export of coin be stopped, until we have all we need in circulation. There is no other road to resumption. It may be a hard one, but there is no other.





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# MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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## NEW YORK AND THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION

**I**N the spring of 1783, when the temper of the British people foreshadowed an early acknowledgment by Parliament and the stubborn king of the independence of the United States, Congress set itself resolutely to work to bring into harmony the discordant legislation of the several States, and to consolidate the Union which had been organized in the tumult of war. This could only be effected by an increase of its own powers.

On the 18th April it recommended to the several States, as indispensably necessary to the restoration of the public credit, and to the punctual and honorable discharge of the public debt, that they should invest Congress with power to levy certain impost duties, providing, however, that the collectors of such duties, though appointed by the States, should be amenable to and removable by Congress alone. All the States except New York had in pursuance of the recommendation granted the imposts by acts vesting this power. So far from adopting this recommendation, the Legislature of New York on the 18th November, 1784, passed an act imposing duties on goods imported into her territory, which of course prevented the operation of the impost in the other States, which had granted the power conditionally on the general assent of all the States. Another act, providing for the acceptance of bills of credit for duties, promised further embarrassment even should New York come into the general arrangement. This want of harmony among the States was not only the source of embarrassment at home, but exposed the young nation to the contempt of foreign powers.

The country was in serious jeopardy. Even Washington, with all his firmness, despaired of the republic. In a letter to Jay he expressed his belief that "virtue had in a great degree taken its departure from the land, and considered the want of disposition to do justice to be the source of the national troubles." It is but just to Jay to say that he was not so



despairing; with religious reliance on Providence he replied that he "could not believe that such a variety of circumstances had combined almost miraculously to make us a nation for transient and unimportant purposes."

In our day the indifference of the States to the general welfare and their unwillingness to come into any regulation of commerce are with difficulty accounted for; but it must not be forgotten that each one of the original thirteen colonies had a seaport of its own. Each relied complacently on its own enterprise and power. Had there been a single State without a seaport, as the majority are to-day, the disadvantages under which it would labor would have prevented it from joining a confederacy which left it at the mercy of its neighbors. Various efforts were made to devise some means to correct these evils, the most important of which sprung from a Proposition of the General Assembly of Virginia of the 21st January, 1786, appointing commissioners to examine the relative situation and trade of the United States; to consider how far a uniform system in their commercial relations may be necessary to their common interest and their permanent harmony; and to report to the several States such an act relative to the great object as when unanimously ratified by them would enable the United States in Congress assembled effectually to provide for the same.

A circular letter of invitation was sent to the States, and on the 11th September following commissioners presented themselves at Annapolis from five States, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Virginia. Commissioners had been appointed from four other States, who did not attend, and four paid no attention to the request. New York was represented by Alexander Hamilton and Egbert Benson, who were appointed on 5th May, the last day of the session of the Legislature; the representation being partial and defective, the commissioners refrained from any recommendations, but advised the meeting of commissioners at Philadelphia on the second Monday in May, to take into consideration the situation of the United States, and to devise provisions to render the Constitution of the Federal Government adequate to the exigencies of the Union.

The insufficiency of the purposes aimed at by the Virginia propositions was apparent to many. In March, Jay informed Washington that an opinion was already beginning to prevail that a general convention for revising the Articles of Confederation would be expedient, and urged him, if the plan matured, were well concerted and took effect, to come out from his retirement and favor his country with his counsels.

Pending the uncertain meeting of the Annapolis convention, and harassed by the pressing demands of public creditors, Congress on the 11th August, 1786, appointed a committee to wait on the legislature of Pennsylvania, explain to them the embarrassed state of the public finances, and recommend the repeal of the clause in her act granting the impost, which suspended its operation till all the States had granted the supplementary funds, and the same day recommended to the Executive of the State of New York immediately to convene the legislature of the State to take into consideration the recommendation of April 18, 1783, for the purpose of granting the system of imposts to the United States.

At this period George Clinton was the Governor of New York; his influence commanding, and his popularity unbounded. Among the stalwart, vigorous characters of the revolutionary war, none was more marked than he; wielding the pen and sword by turns, his advice in the council chamber was as serviceable to his country as his excellent generalship and dashing courage in the field. In a word, he combined in his nature the impetuosity of the soldier with the judgment of the statesman. An officer in the French war, he later entered the law office of the celebrated William Smith, and practiced with success. In the Assembly of the Colony he was second to none in his opposition to the exactions of the ministry. He was a delegate from New York to the Continental Congress, but hastened home on the news of the invasion of his native State. He was one of the Convention which passed the first constitution of the State of New York, essentially the model of the national government under which we live, and he received a large majority of votes for the offices both of Governor and Lieutenant-Governor of the State over such candidates as Philip Schuyler, John Jay and Robert R. Livingston. A Brigadier-General in the Continental service at the time of his election, and active in the defence of the Highlands, he was with difficulty persuaded by repeated urgent calls of the convention to assume his executive duties. Among the graphic scenes of the revolution there is none which is warmed with more heroic color than that in which appears the majestic form of Clinton, clothed in the uniform of the service, and sword in hand, standing on the top of a barrel in front of the court-house in Kingston, swearing fealty to the new-born State, and pledging his strong arm to her defence.

Elected Governor for the fourth time in 1786 by a large majority, his consciousness of the approval of his constituents assuredly strengthened the independence of his opinion and the inflexibility of his pur-

pose. The architect of his own fortunes, he was devotedly attached to his native State. He recognized in her central position ; in the division of the sea coast by the broad waters of the Hudson and the unrivalled bay at its mouth ; in her extensive territory, reaching to the inland seas, which, as had been recently pointed out by the sagacious Colles in his proposal for an inland water communication to connect them with tide water, had "five times as much coast as all England, while the country watered by the numerous streams which fall into those lakes, was full seven times as great as that valuable island ;" in the character of her population, in which were blended Holland thrift with English genius for commerce ; in these he recognized physical and moral advantages which were daily attracting to her borders an enterprising immigration, and gave certain assurance of her early destiny as the Empire State of the American continent ; and in these he also found strong argument for the preservation intact of its perfect autonomy. If these considerations had not sprung spontaneously to his observing mind, his instinct and experience as a soldier would have pointed to him the strategic importance of the New York territory ; an importance which had cost it dear in the late struggle, when its capital lay prostrate in the hands of the enemy, and its fertile fields were swept over in the alternate ebb and flow of war, ravaged in turn by friend and foe ; nor yet were his recollections of the conduct of the neighboring States such as to incline one of his peculiar temperament to favor any closer alliance with them than the existing Confederation ; he remembered the sufferings of New York, when by the fortune of war her only seaport was closed to her own citizens, and the restraint then laid upon her trade by Connecticut, which forbade the passage of goods purchased in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, except on payment of an import tax, an injustice against which the Convention of the State had solemnly protested ; and the forcible secession of the population of the Hampshire grants, with a large and valuable strip of New York territory, was a grief too recent to be forgotten.

To this jealousy for the welfare of the State he added a sincere devotion to popular rights. In the proposals for a stronger form of national government, he discerned on the part of some, at least, a determination to establish a landed or class aristocracy.

Such was the temper of the Governor, to whom the resolution of Congress of the 11th August was addressed, inviting the immediate convening of the legislature to consider the revenue system proposed in 1783. To this request Governor Clinton returned answer on the 16th of

the same month that he did not consider himself to *have the power* to convene the Legislature in extra session, as he did not think the occasion *extraordinary* within the meaning of the Constitution of the State.

The Assembly met in New York city on the second day of January following (1787), in the room over the Merchants' Exchange, at the foot of Broad street, but no quorum appeared until the 12th. The Senate met on the 13th, on which day the two houses waited upon the Governor, and received the usual opening address. This, as was customary, was referred in the Assembly to a committee composed of Samuel Jones of Queens, Alexander Hamilton of New York and James Gordon of Albany, with instructions to prepare an answer.

On the afternoon of the 16th a draft of an answer was reported, which Hamilton read in his place. The career of this distinguished man needs no further notice save in his connection with the formation of the Federal Constitution and its adoption by the State of New York. To this task he brought the untiring energies of a vigorous, alert nature, a keenness of perception combined with comprehensive judgment, a style incomparable for its lucidity, and a delivery deliberate and impassioned by turns as he addressed himself to the reason or feelings of his hearers. Common consent has accorded to him the fame of being the most remarkable intellectual product of American civilization; and certainly his rare powers of organization and administration entitle him to this distinction. While still in the service on the military staff of Washington, he had married a daughter of General Schuyler, chief of the family of that name, and possessor of a large landed property in the northern part of the State, where his influence was great. The relations of Hamilton with this aristocratic and powerful family no doubt tinged his political opinions, though he was not the man ever to permit his interests to control his judgment or the opinions of others to affect his convictions. The tendency of his mind was towards the consolidation and support of power. He had served with distinction in the Congress of 1782-3, but had withdrawn from public life, and devoted himself to the practice of his profession, of which, as his compeer, Gouverneur Morris, said of him, "he was the highest ornament." The dangerous condition into which the country had drifted called him again to public life. In his reply to the message of the Governor, he is found at once taking the leadership of the friends of the general Government. He had just completed his thirtieth year.

In this answer Mr. Hamilton was purposely silent in regard to that part of the address of the Governor, which explained his reasons

for not convening the legislature, in extra session, as requested by the Congress. This immediately aroused the friends of the Governor, and the Speaker, Mr. Varick, moved to amend by the addition of a distinct expression of approval. To this Mr. Hamilton replied, in a careful argument, explaining the reason for his silence to have been a desire to avoid discussion on the subject, but that while he regretted the first application of Congress to the Governor, he considered that the Governor had an *entire discretion* in the matter, which he should have exercised. The debate that followed took a wide range, covering the relations of the States to each other and to the Confederate Government. It was the first skirmish in the battle of opinion which was soon to be waged throughout the land. When the vote was taken the amendment was adopted; the Governor was sustained by a vote of 36 to 9. This has been claimed as a fair estimate of the relative forces of the respective parties in the Assembly, but those familiar with political bodies will readily recognize that in a conflict which involved the dignity of the Governor while not compromising that of the Congress, the Executive would naturally have the sympathy of the co-ordinate branches of the State Government.

At the same time the legislature was urged by a paragraph in the amended address, "with disposition truly federal, to take into consideration the different acts of the United States, and with an earnest solicitude for the national honor, credit, and welfare, cheerfully to make provisions which may seem competent to those great objects and compatible with the abilities and Constitution of the State." The word federal had not yet become the peculiar property of a single class of our citizens, nor were the anti-federalists as yet organized in political form. The candidates for elective positions were not yet party candidates, but were put forward by independent bodies, whose tickets often included the names of some of those of contrary opinion. In analysing the vote on the address the names of five of the members of the city of New York will be found, viz., Messrs. Hamilton, Robert C. Livingston, Nicholas Bayard, William Denning and David Brooks on the one, while General Malcolm, John Ray and Richard Varick, all revolutionary patriots, were on the other side.

On the 15th February the question of granting to the United States certain imposts and duties on foreign goods imported into the State of New York, for the purpose of discharging the debts contracted by the United States during the war with Great Britain, being taken up, *five per centum ad valorem* was agreed to by a vote of 29 to 28, but the Assembly

refused to make the collectors accountable to Congress or to authorize its appointees to collect the same under its own rules, regulations, penalties and forfeitures. It was on this occasion that Hamilton made his famous argument known as his speech on the impost. He addressed himself especially to the imperative necessity of passing the clause granting power to Congress to levy the duties. In this he clearly demonstrated that there was no constitutional impediment to such grant, and no danger to the public liberty. The speech is full of political maxims, clearly stated and happily applied. But the legislature, swayed by the Governor's influence, turned a deaf ear to his convincing argument.

On the 17th a joint resolution was introduced into the Assembly, instructing the delegates of the State in Congress to move for an act recommending to the States composing the Union that a Convention of Representatives from the said States respectively be held, and meet at a time and place to be mentioned in such recommendation, for the purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the United States of America, and reporting to the United States in Congress assembled and to the States respectively such alterations and amendments to the said Articles of Confederation as the representatives in such Convention shall judge proper and necessary to render them adequate to the preservation and support of the Union. This resolution was moved by General Malcolm; it was sent up to the Senate for concurrence on the 19th, but the consideration of the subject was postponed till the next day, when, in the words of the journal, "the resolution of the House was agreed to after considerable debate." It was carried by a single vote.

The proceedings of Congress must now be considered. This body met on the 17th January, 1787, and the credentials of the respective delegates were read, but it was not until the 2d February that a sufficient number of States were represented to form an organization, when General Arthur St. Clair was chosen President. The New York delegates had presented their credentials on the 30th January. On the 21st February, nine States being represented, the report of a grand committee, to which had been referred the letter of the 14th September, 1786, of the Commissioners from the States which met at Annapolis, was called up. This report was in the form of a resolution, recommending to the legislatures to send delegates to a Convention to be held at Philadelphia on the second Monday in May. This was the order of the day; which being read, the delegates from New York laid before Congress the instructions they had received from their legislature, and

moved a postponement of the report of the committee. On the question to postpone the ayes and naves were called by New York, and the motion was lost, Massachusetts, New York and Virginia voting in the affirmative; New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina and South Carolina in the negative; Connecticut and Georgia divided.

The difference between the report of the grand committee and the resolution of the New York legislature is not at once apparent. The spirit which actuated the movers of each must be studied. The Congressional committee assumed the inefficiency of the confederate government, and implied the necessity of a more consolidated Union. The instructions of the New York delegates recommended amendments only in the existing Articles of Confederation. The Massachusetts delegates harmonized the conflicting parties by limiting the powers of the proposed Convention, and on their motion a resolution was adopted without division to the effect "that in the opinion of Congress it is expedient that on the second Monday in May next a Convention of delegates, who shall have been appointed by the several States, be held at Philadelphia for the *sole and express* purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation, and reporting to Congress and the several Legislatures such alterations and provisions therein as shall, when agreed to in Congress and confirmed by the States, render the federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of Government and the preservation of the Union." In accordance with this resolution the legislatures of the several States appointed their respective delegates. That of New York, on the 6th March, by joint ballot, elected Robert Yates, Alexander Hamilton and John Lansing, Jr. These gentlemen represented the opposing opinions which prevailed in the State.

It was not until the 25th of June that a sufficient number of members appeared at Philadelphia to constitute a majority of the States. The Federal Convention organized on that day with the election of "His Excellency George Washington, Esq.," by unanimous ballot, as presiding officer. The same day Edward Randolph, one of the deputies of Virginia, laid before the House a series of resolutions, which are known as the Virginia plan, contemplating a correction and enlargement of the Articles of Confederation; and Charles Pinckney of South Carolina a draft of a Federal Government. The Virginia plan was discussed in committee of the whole, modified in many essential features, and reported back to the Convention. This was essentially the basis of the Constitution as finally adopted. On the other hand, Mr. Patterson,

of New Jersey, brought in a counter project under the title of Propositions, which was known as the New Jersey plan. This was the scheme of the State Rights Party. Later, Colonel Hamilton, who was not content with either, in the course of debate, introduced a plan of government of a thoroughly consolidate nature.

On the 29th July, the Virginia plan, altered and amended, was reported to the consideration of the whole House, and being again debated and further amended, was finally agreed to, and on the 22d and 25th July referred to a committee of detail for the purpose of reporting a Constitution. This committee of detail, consisting of Messrs. Rutledge, Randolph, Gorham, Ellsworth and Wilson, reported a draft of Constitution on the 6th August. The several articles were then debated, and the instrument as altered referred to a committee of five for revision in style and arrangement. This committee of revision, elected by ballot, consisted of Troup, Johnson, Hamilton, Gouverneur Morris, representing New Jersey, Madison and King, who reported a revised draft on the 12th September. A letter to Congress, prepared by order of the Convention was agreed to; a motion to appoint a committee to prepare an address to the people of the United States was rejected; finally on the 12th September the new Constitution was agreed to, engrossed and signed as follows: "Done in Convention by the unanimous consent of the States present."

Alexander Hamilton alone signed in behalf of the State of New York. During the early part of the debates all three of the New York delegates were constant attendants, but when, on the 5th July, the principles of the Constitution were established, and it was definitely settled that the views of the Federalists would prevail, Messrs. Yates and Lansing left the Convention and returned to their homes, leaving to Hamilton alone the honor of affixing his name to the great charter of American Union. Lansing had been the active supporter of the New Jersey plan. In a letter to Governor Clinton the discontented delegates assigned their reasons for deciding against what they term a consolidation of the States, under two heads: 1st, the limited and well defined powers under which they acted, and which could not, they say, on any possible construction, embrace an idea of such magnitude as to assent to a general Constitution in subversion of that of the State; 2d, a conviction of the impracticability of establishing a general government, pervading every part of the United States, and extending essential benefits to all.

The seventh article of the new Constitution provided that its ratification by conventions of nine States should be sufficient for the



establishment of the Constitution between the States ratifying the same. Jay had proposed that the Convention have an ordaining power, and not merely that of recommendation, which, it has been claimed, would have avoided the subsequent struggles over the Constitution; but this opinion is hardly tenable. The same struggle would have taken place over the appointment of delegates, and might have prevented any appointment whatever. Certainly New York, with her jealousy of delegated rights, would never have thus committed herself to any scheme of government. The result proved the wisdom of leaving to the people the final work.

The next step was to prepare the public mind to accept the conclusions of the Convention and secure the ratification of the new Constitution. Hamilton had, from the beginning, been sanguine of success. Called away for a time from attendance on the proceedings of the Convention, he had satisfied himself, on his passage through the Jerseys and in New York City, that, as he wrote to Washington, "the critical moment had come for establishing the prosperity of the country on a solid foundation, and that, from conversation with well-informed men from all parts of the State, he was assured an astonishing revolution had taken place in the minds of the people." Yet there were many who were not willing to accept all that had been agreed upon in Philadelphia. To meet their arguments, and in the very centre of opposition, Hamilton, Madison, and Jay joined together in the publication in the New York press of the famous Federalist essays, and were met by the opponents of the national scheme with a power and vigor only second to their own.

The forum of debate was now changed, and on the 28th September the report of the Convention, with the letter adopted, signed by Washington, its President (by unanimous order, as the document states), was laid before Congress, and ordered to be transmitted to the several legislatures for submission to a convention of delegates chosen in each State *by the people thereof*. The last argument was to be made before the highest court—the people.

To Delaware belongs the honor of having been the first to ratify the new Constitution. On the 1st December, 1787, a convention of the people assented to and confirmed the instrument. Pennsylvania followed on the 12th, New Jersey on the 18th of the same month; Georgia on the 2d, and Connecticut on the 9th January, 1788—all of these without qualification. Massachusetts fell into line on the 6th February, recommending several important amendments, one reserving

to the State all powers not expressly delegated, forbidding direct taxes except under certain restrictions, prohibiting commercial monopolies and the holding of offices of trust or titles of nobility from foreign powers. On the 28th of April Maryland adhered without restriction. South Carolina, on the 23d of May, with a declaration of rights as to elections, which should, in the language of the preamble, be forever inseparably annexed to the sovereignty of the States; of the reserve of all rights not expressly relinquished; and a protest against direct taxes except after due requisition by Congress. This was the eighth State which ratified the Constitution.

The Legislature of New York met at Poughkeepsie on the 9th January, 1788. On the 11th Governor Clinton in his opening address submitted to it the recommendation of Congress. In this message the Governor made no other observation than to say that "from the nature of his office it was improper for him to have any other agency in the business than that of laying the papers before the Legislature for their information." On the 31st January the Assembly resolved that the report of the Federal Convention be submitted to delegates, to be chosen by the people. The Senate concurring, an election was ordered, and held on the 29th of April.

The New York Convention met on the third Tuesday in June, the 17th inst., at the Court House in Poughkeepsie. This was the seat of government; its sessions had been held here since the burning of Kingston by the British in 1777. It was a central location between the two principal cities—New York and Albany. The Court-house was the oldest building in the town, a substantial stone structure, erected in 1702 by Myndert Van Kleeck, one of the earliest settlers of Dutchess county. It stood in Milk street until 1835, when it gave way before the march of improvement. Here fourteen counties were represented by 65 delegates. In this body was gathered the power of the State representatives, its patriotism, its intelligence, its culture, its great landed estates, and its commercial interests; statesmen, generals, diplomatists, jurists. His Excellency George Clinton was unanimously elected President. The doors were ordered to remain open. The delegation from New York city was of unusual strength: Jay had been member of both the first and second Continental Congress, of which he was at one time President, later Minister to Spain, one of the commissioners who negotiated at Paris the treaty of peace, and Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Confederation, which office he was then holding. A member of the Convention, which formed the Constitution of the State, a large share

of the labor of construction had fallen upon him, and he had been chosen the first Chief Justice under that instrument. From his varied experience both in the affairs of the State and of the workings of the imperfect national system, he brought to the task of harmony a thorough understanding of the interests of both. The next in order of choice was Richard Morris, of Scarsdale, Westchester county, Chief Justice, who had succeeded Jay in the tenure of this office. He was the second son of Lewis Morris, of Morrisania. This patriotic family was further represented in the Convention by his elder brother, Lewis Morris (signer of the Declaration of Independence), and by their half brother, Gouverneur Morris. John Sloss Hobart, an old son of liberty, had been member of the Provincial Congress, and although not a lawyer by profession, was commissioned one of the first two puisne judges of the State. Of Alexander Hamilton no further mention is here needed. Upon him, as the advocate of the new Constitution, every eye was turned. Robert R. Livingston was the Chancellor of the State; he also had served in various positions of high trust: as member of the Assembly, delegate to the Continental Congress, and Secretary of Foreign Affairs under the Confederation. The influential family of Livingston was still further represented by Philip, sent up by Westchester; Gilbert, by Dutchess; and incidentally by James Duane, who had married a daughter of Robert Livingston. The record of James Duane, who had also been in Congress, was illustrious. He had served in the Colonial Assembly, in the first and second Congress, as Senator of the State, and in the full tide of popularity as the first Mayor of New York. The names of the remaining three, although less widely known out of the State, commanded universal respect within its borders. Isaac Roosevelt, an early patriot and member of the Provincial Congress; Richard Harrison, an eminent lawyer and one of the Commissioners appointed to arrange with the British for the evacuation of New York in 1783; Nicholas Low, a distinguished merchant, and personal friend of Washington. Such was the city delegation.

Nor were the country districts less ably served. From Ulster came the Governor, Clinton, the favorite son of the State, who now for the first time found himself in division with the friends of his long and honorable career and leading an opposition to the plan which Washington favored. With him his brother, General James Clinton, the heroic defender of the Highlands. From Queens the veteran Samuel Jones, whose remarkable legal powers gave him great and just influence in all deliberative bodies. From Westchester Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt,

a representative of the old Dutch stock, and a gallant revolutionary officer. From Orange Wisner and Haring, both of whom had been representatives in the Provincial and Continental Congresses. From Albany Robert Yates and John Lansing, Jr., the former one of the framers of the State Constitution, member of the Provincial Congress, and judge of the Supreme Court; the latter, had served as military secretary of General Schuyler, as member of the Assembly, of which he was at one time Speaker, of the Congress of the Confederation, and as Mayor of Albany. Both of these gentlemen had also been delegates to the Convention at Philadelphia, from which they had withdrawn, and were now about to renew their bitter hostility to the proposed Constitution on a new arena. All the members of the Convention cannot here be characterized, but any sketch would be incomplete without a mention of Melancthon Smith, one of the warmest personal friends of Governor Clinton, and the ablest of the adversaries of the Federal plan. The records show him to have sustained the debate, which he directed and controlled as the advocate of the Governor's policy with vigor and ability, and to have justified the opinion Colonel Hamilton entertained of him, as his most formidable opponent.

On the 19th of June Mr. Oothoudt of Albany was called to the Chair. The Constitution was read for the second time, and the debate was opened by an address from Chancellor Livingston, in which, after recounting the failures of European states to realize the cherished idea of the best of their statesmen of a general union of nations, he showed that the plan which the character of foreign governments rendered unpracticable was possible in the United States, whose language and religion were homogeneous, and who professed the same great principle of government, "*that all power is derived from the people.*" The expression—"by the people"—may be found in the first Constitution of the State. Here attention is called to the claim made by John Adams in a letter to Mrs. Mercy Warren, dated July 11, 1807, recently printed by the Massachusetts Historical Society, that he suggested the principles of this celebrated instrument. These principles, however, were not new in the New York colony; they are distinctly stated in her Declaration of Rights of 1683 and the letter of the Assembly to Parliament of 1764. They are the principles of the English Constitution—government in three branches—an upper and lower House and a chief Executive, together with an independent judiciary. These principles Mr. Adams did not invent. The form of their application only was the subject

of debate in the Convention which framed the New York Constitution of 1777. Livingston examined in detail the natural advantages of the State and its peculiar exposure to the aggression of its British neighbors and the savage tribes. He showed that the Confederation had not maintained domestic peace, supported our credit or extended our commerce. Then passing to the consideration of the few additional powers proposed to be granted to the general government, he finally urged that the Convention should wholly abandon the *principle of confederation* in their examination of the new Constitution, and to that end made a practical proposition, which showed his thorough understanding of the nature and habit of deliberative bodies. This was in the form of a resolution that no question, general or particular, should be put upon the proposed Constitution of Government for the United States, or any clause thereof, until the whole instrument had been considered. In his argument Mr. Livingston expressed the hope that such of the members of the Convention as were officers of the State Government would forget the pride of office and act as simple citizens, holding an equal balance between the Union and the State.

To this speech Mr. Lansing replied the next day, defending the existing Confederation, claiming that it was capable of melioration, and sharply commenting on the Chancellor's final appeal to the State officials. To this the Chancellor replied. Thus it was evident in the very opening of the debate that it was to be marked by acrimony as well as ability; that the contest would be sharp and personal, and that neither the advocates of the States' rights or the National system were inclined to engage in the encounter with buttons on their foils.

This preliminary skirmish closed, the reading of the sections began, the second of which, concerned the formation of the House of Representatives and the ratio of its representation. This clause was particularly objectionable to the opponents of the Constitution. The States were represented in the Confederation by seven delegates each, which Hamilton considered ample; while the opposition insisted upon the danger of small bodies and the insufficiency of an adequate representation of the different interests of an extensive country, besides the temptation to personal aggrandisement and corruption. It will not be profitable to pursue the course of debate in this direction. It has little interest for us to-day. History has demonstrated the unwieldy nature of large bodies. Melancthon Smith then addressed the Convention. While he declared himself to be as strongly impressed with the necessity of a Union as any one could be, and engaged to seek it with as

much ardor, he yet was unwilling to sacrifice or even endanger the liberties of the citizen to preserve it. He was prepared to say that he was opposed to the adoption of the Constitution, because that was the subject of debate. He confessed the defects of the old Confederation, and the necessity of a Union. He marked the point that Mr. Livingston had admitted that the intent of the new Constitution was, not a Confederacy, but a reduction of all the States into a consolidated government.

Hamilton replied. He pointed to the fact that during the war, when the bond of Union was strengthened by the presence of common danger, its weakness was still manifest. When New York in 1779 and 1780, from the ravages of war and her great exertions to resist them had become weak, distressed and forlorn, the principles now contended for were admitted by all. Not only had New York, though most exposed, complied in an unexampled manner with the federal requisitions, but she had been compelled by the delinquencies of other States to bear most unusual burthens. Amid all its distresses New York had fully complied with the requisition of Congress. New Hampshire, which had not suffered at all, he said was totally delinquent; North Carolina likewise. Others had contributed in a very small proportion, while Pennsylvania and New York were the only States which had *perfectly* discharged their duty. He then demonstrated the madness of attempting to coerce any non-complying State of a Confederation, and showed that the only escape from the dilemma was to enable national laws to operate on individuals in the same manner as those of the State. After this general and lucid declaration of principle he gave a history of the circumstances which attended the Convention which framed the new Constitution, and argued from the difficulty found in harmonizing the interests of the different parties to it, that it was not likely that any other Convention would reach any greater unanimity; and then passed to the consideration of the plan itself in detail. The proper basis of representation was the first subject discussed.

Mr. Smith replying, charged upon the friends of the proposed government an intention to remove all barriers of restriction, in order to give it free access to pockets and ample command of persons. Should the energetic Government demand be granted, he claimed that in a short time more power would be insisted upon. It was time to form a barrier against bad men, and it could only be done by establishing the government on the broad basis of equal liberty.

In his reply Hamilton laughed at the supposition that there was an

intention to establish an aristocracy, and wholly agreed to the principle that there should be a broad democratic branch in the national legislature. This he claimed could be secured by the increasing population of the country. At the same time he defended the limitation of the Senate or upper house. Smith and Lansing replied, and the Governor himself took the floor, objecting that the extent and diversity of interest of the country called for a large representation; his objection was met by Hamilton with his usual fertility of resource, and the Governor was driven to a distinct declaration that his wish was for a federal republic.

The charge of Mr. Smith of an intention to form an aristocracy brought Chancellor Livingston again to his feet. With keen touch he deposed and dissipated the *phantom aristocracy*, as he termed the class which Mr. Smith described as dangerous to the interest of the State, and with clearness exposed the fallacy, that it is not safe to give to the government power over the purse and the sword. And indeed in the course of history it would be difficult to find an instance of a government which, drawing the sword, has not assumed control of the purse. The example of the refusal of Parliament to vote the money bills is not an example, for Parliament was a co-ordinate branch of the government. The axiom that it is not safe to leave the power over purse and sword to the *Executive* is different and irrefutable. With extreme tact Mr. Jay laid stress on the point, that all sides agreed that a strong energetic federal government was necessary and practicable.

On the 24th June the formation of the Senate was considered, when Gilbert Livingston took the floor with an amendment limiting the term of service, in which he was supported by Mr. Lansing, while their objections were met by Chancellor Livingston and Chief Justice Morris, the latter of whom urged the danger of straining the provisions for the security of the States so far as to defeat the end proposed, and place senators at slavish subjection to the contracted views and prevailing factions of the State governments. Mr. Harrison joined in the opinion that the power of recall of senators by the States was imprudent and dangerous. Here again Mr. Hamilton met the opposition with a masterly speech. In it he avowed his distrust of popular assemblies, and the necessity of some permanent body to correct its prejudices, check its intemperate passions and regulate its fluctuations. It is unquestionable, he remarked, that the body of the people in every country desire sincerely its prosperity; but it is equally unquestionable that they do not pos-

possess the discernment and stability necessary for systematic government. Here was an avowal of distrust of the people as marked as the well-known observation of Gouverneur Morris, upon the scene which he witnessed from the balcony of the coffee-house in 1774, when he prophesied, before American independence was declared and federalism and democracy as yet undreamed of, the struggle between the opposing elements of society and the victory of popular government.

In this branch of the debate the extremes of the Convention came close together. There were many of each opinion in favor of a strong upper house; the question was merely that of State power. Hamilton remarked that there are two difficulties in forming systems of government—safety for the people and energy in the administration; to secure the latter the senator must not be considered as the agent for the State, but as an agent for the Union, and bound to perform services necessary for the good of the whole, though his State should condemn them.

Such was the position of the debate when Chancellor Livingston reminded the Convention that its ground was changed. The preceding day news had reached Poughkeepsie of the adoption of the Constitution by New Hampshire. As this was the ninth State, the new Government was now formed, the Confederation dissolved. He pointed out the danger New York would be exposed to in a position of isolation and the no less dangers even if some of the southern States should form a league with her. The ratification by New York had now become not only necessary, but morally certain. The gratification of the people at the news of the adhesion of New Hampshire was swelling into a general burst of joy. Notwithstanding the strong anti-federal complexion of the Convention, such observers as Jay were confident of the final result. Before the close of June he wrote to Washington that the greater number were averse to a vote of rejection, and that the people were gradually coming right. The accession of New Hampshire he adds, had done much, that of Virginia would do more. Yet the states rights men stood firm. Mr. Smith declared his feelings to be unaltered, and Mr. Lansing would not acknowledge that it changed the position of New York, or should affect their deliberations, and Governor Clinton again threw his personal weight into the balance by a severe animadversion upon those who had drawn a gloomy picture of the situation of the State.

The whole purpose of the anti-federalists was now turned to securing the passage of such amendments as would, if accepted, greatly diminish the power of the central government. Massachusetts had set



he example of recommending amendments. The debate continued in a general character until the 28th June, when Mr. Hamilton introduced a series of official papers to show the peculiar sufferings New York had been subjected to from the mode of raising revenues by the debased system of requisitions, and the resolutions adopted by the people during the most melancholy period of the war. These papers had been procured by James Duane, and this timely movement greatly alarmed the anti-federalists. They contained the recommendation of the Governor and the resolves of the legislature. Governor Clinton was again driven to declare himself a friend of a strong and efficient government. Here Duane reminded the Governor that he was in the confidence of Washington, and asked if he had received communications from him to the effect that if New York did not furnish supplies for the army it must be disbanded; and the Governor acknowledged that he had received such communications more than once, and added that at one period the exertions of the State in impressing flour from the people saved the army from dissolution.


Mr. Hamilton with courteous tact disclaimed any idea of attempting to show any inconsistency in the position of the Governor by the production of the papers, but demonstrated from them that the system of requisition was defective and rotten. As the debate drew to its close, it took a personal character, and warm words passed between Hamilton and Lansing, arising from a charge of inconsistency upon the former, which he indignantly denied.

On the 2d July it was known that Virginia had ratified (on the 27th June) the Constitution, recommending several amendments. Still the ultra anti-federalists stood firm. On the 7th Mr. Lansing brought in a declaratory bill of rights, to be prefixed to the Constitution, and on the 10th a plan of amendments in three classes—explanatory, conditional, recommendatory. With all this able discussion, no test question had as yet been put to the Convention. It was not till the 11th July that Mr. Jay moved the ratification of the Constitution, and that such amendments as should be deemed useful or expedient should be recommended. He was supported by Chancellor Livingston and Chief Justice Morris, and opposed by Melancthon Smith in a debate, which lasted till the 15th, when Mr. Smith moved a restrictive amendment as to the service of the militia and the laying of direct taxes as conditional to ratification. On the 16th a motion to adjourn was debated and rejected, and a plan of ratification submitted by Mr. Duane, with explanations and recommendations, rejected. On the 19th the draft of a

conditional ratification with amendments was debated. On the 23d Mr. Jones introduced a question, on which there was a test vote. This was to substitute an expression of *full confidence* that the amendments proposed would be adopted in place of the *condition* before expressed. On this motion, Mr. Melancthon Smith changed his front, and declared his intention to vote against a *condition*. Dissatisfied as he still continued to be with the Constitution as radically defective, he had believed until Virginia came in that it could have been amended previous to its ratification. He then described in a striking manner the situation of New York in case she should not be received by Congress. Convulsions in the Southern part, factions and discord in the west—the strength of his own party, who were seriously anxious for amending the Government, he said would be dissipated; to use the simple figurative language of Scripture, they would be “dispersed like sheep on a mountain;” and he closed by declaring that he should vote against any proposition which would not be received as a ratification of the Constitution. Gilbert Livingston followed to the same effect. The Governor qualified his continued adherence to a *conditional* ratification by saying that whatever his own opinion might be, such was the sense of the county of Ulster. The motion of Mr. Jones was carried by a vote of 31 to 29.

The opposition were in their death throes, but Mr. Lansing, determined and persistent to the last, moved to adopt a resolution reserving to the people the right to withdraw from the Union after a certain number of years, unless the amendments proposed should be previously submitted to a general convention. This was also lost. The question was then taken, and the report adopted. The Convention then resolved unanimously that a circular letter be prepared to be laid before the different legislatures of the United States, recommending a General Convention. To Mr. Jay, who opposed the idea, was entrusted against his protest the draft of this letter, a singular proof of the public confidence in the probity and fairness of his judicial mind. The next day, Saturday, 26th July, 1788, the Constitution was finally ratified by a vote of 30 to 27, a majority of three votes, and the Convention adjourned. For forty days the Constitution, in the words of a letter from the scene, had “undergone an ordeal torture.”

Thus, in the language of the day, New York became the eleventh pillar in the Federal edifice. To Hamilton, as the victor in this long struggle, fell the laurels, and to him was assigned the honor of presenting the ratification to Congress, to which he had been appointed delegate by the Legislature the 22d January preceding.



North Carolina followed on the 1st August, Rhode Island on the 29th May of the succeeding year and Vermont on the 10th January, 1791.

While the sages and statesmen throughout the land, but especially in the larger States, were divided in sentiment with regard to the new Constitution, there was no mistaking the temper of the people. With a correctness of judgment, which seems almost instinctive in large masses when their interests or honor are at stake, they recognized the gravity of the emergency. On the adoption or rejection of this Constitution by the States depended their political existence, perhaps their personal freedom. They were to remain weak and divided, subject to disunion at home and insult from abroad, or they were to become one of the powers of the earth. The old colonial cry of "join or die" was revived. The proceedings of the different conventions were watched with intense interest.

On the 25th June an express arrived from Poughkeepsie with the intelligence that the Convention of New Hampshire had on the 20th ratified the Constitution. As this was the ninth State which had formally adhered to the new plan, the Union was formed. The excitement in the city was intense. Meetings were held at the City Tavern in Broadway, where the old host Bardin had again hung out his sign. A Federal Committee was raised and a procession of merchants, tradesmen and mechanics at once projected, but was postponed until the 22d. Meanwhile on the 1st July the news of the adhesion of Virginia was known. All over the State feeling ran high; in Albany on the 4th the rival parties came to blows, swords were drawn, bayonets were used, and a street fight ensued, in which the anti-federalists, as the opponents to the Constitution styled themselves, were overpowered and dispersed. They had excited the popular rage by forming in procession and burning the new Constitution. Impatiently waiting the action of the Convention sitting at Poughkeepsie, the citizens of New York prepared for the grand display, which is known and well remembered as the federal procession.

On Wednesday, the 23d July, at 8 o'clock in the morning, the firing of ten guns announced the movement of the grand procession, which marched from the Fields, where they formed, down Broadway to Great Dock (now Pearl) street, thence through Hanover Square, Queen (now Pearl), Chatham, Division and Arundel (now Clinton) streets, and thence through Bullock (Broome) street to Bayard's house. The Superintendent, Richard Platt, had his headquarters at St. Paul's Church, and was dressed in a blue coat, red sash, white feather, tipped with black; and

was assisted by Colonels William Livingston and Giles, Major Bleecker, Captains Fowler, Stagg, Dunscomb and Morton; Messrs. John R. Livingston, Daniel Le Roy, Thomas Durie, Edward Livingston, Staats Morris and John Lefferts as aids, who were clad in a uniform, white coat, with blue coat and sash, wearing a white feather, tipped with blue, and carrying each a speaking trumpet.

The whole body was reviewed by Congress, and then, wheeling into Great George street (Broadway,) marched back to the Fields, where the van and rear guns exchanged salutes with the federal ship Hamilton, Commodore Nicholson, of thirteen guns, which had been carried in the procession, making a grand appearance, sailing with flowing sheets and full sails down Broadway, the canvass waves dashing against her sides, the wheels of the carriage concealed.

The streets on the line of march had been swept and watered by the inhabitants and the sale of spirituous liquors forbidden on Federal Green. Major L'Enfant, the distinguished French engineer, who later designed the alterations by which the old City Hall was converted into the well-known Federal Hall, where the first Congress met under the new Constitution, had been charged with the erection of accommodations for the entertainment which was the inevitable accompaniment of the public demonstrations of our hearty forefathers. This was a large canopied pavilion adorned with the flags of the various friendly nations, in the centre of which was an elevated dais, from which radiated two extensive tables. This noble and beautiful edifice, as it is described in the journals of the day, covered a surface of ground 880 feet by 600, and accommodated six thousand persons; the colonnades were 440 feet long. Two bullocks and a mutton, the same account says, were roasted whole, besides hams for the regale of the company. One of these bullocks, presented by the butchers, weighed a thousand pounds. This primitive meal was washed down with beer from abundant casks. The line of procession extended a mile and a half, and contained five thousand people, nearly a quarter of the whole population of the city. Everything passed off with regularity and decorum; all branches of industry were represented, and even the farmers thronged into the city to take their place. In the evening the trades dined together, and the general sentiment was the State of New York and its speedy adoption of the new Constitution.

Their hopes were not long disappointed. The joyful tidings of the ratification at Poughkeepsie reached the city the next evening at 9 o'clock; the bells were immediately set a-ringing and salutes

fired from the fort and the Federal ship; the merchants who were assembled for their Saturday night's supper at the Coffee House, testified their joy by repeated huzzas, and a large body of citizens, headed by a number of the first characters, went to the houses of the members of the Convention and gave three cheers as a testimony of the approbation of the glorious event brought about by their united, unremitted and toilsome exertions. In short, a general joy run through the whole city, and several of those who were of different sentiments drank freely of the *Federal Bowl*, and declared that they were now perfectly reconciled to the new Constitution.

In the city the Federalists had from the beginning largely outnumbered the supporters of the States rights doctrine; in the words of Hamilton, the "Constitution was as popular in New York city as anything could possibly be," and the same sentiment spread over the interior counties so rapidly that Jay was able to write to Washington in September that the opponents to the Constitution were decreasing and temperate, and that those who wanted a new Constitution sought it rather as a measure to justify their past opposition than as expecting any real result from it. No more was heard of a new convention in New York.

How thoroughly true New York has been to the obligations she assumed when she entered the Union need not be related. No State has done more to shape the destinies of the Grand Republic than she, and none has reaped more solid benefits from the Constitution she adopted and the Union that she joined.

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS

## THE BATTLE OF MONMOUTH

MONMOUTH COURT-HOUSE, OR FREEHOLD, SUNDAY, 28TH JUNE, 1778

The evacuation of Philadelphia by the British was the first tangible result, in favor of the Americans, of the French treaty of Alliance. This was signed 6th February, reached Falmouth Harbor (Portland, Me.) 13th April, and was communicated to Congress 2d May, and celebrated in the camp at Valley Forge (6th) 7th May, 1778. The bitterest sufferers by the British abandonment of Pennsylvania were the loyalists. To them this revolution was misery, ruin and exile. Sir William Howe, at his own request, had been relieved of his command and superceded by Sir Henry Clinton. This was after the mutual fiasco of "Barren Hill, 18th May," in which both were concerned or present on one side and La Fayette on the other.

Clinton received the command of an army partially disaffected. The German element was no longer thoroughly reliable. As proof of this he had to dispatch at least one German regiment to New York by sea, fearing to trust it by land; he moreover lost, according to different accounts, by desertion, etc., from 1,000 to 2,000 in his twelve days' retreat through the Jerseys. Of these 600, principally Hessians, stole away to rejoin their wives, married during the winter sojourn in the "City of Brotherly Love."

Clinton evacuated Philadelphia on the 18th June, 1778. This operation was so ably conceived and carried out that he experienced no hindrance or even annoyance from Washington, although the latter was expecting and watching it. This movement began at 3 A. M., and by 10 A. M. everything—troops and material—were safely across the Delaware, and ready for the march through New Jersey to the sea.

The Hessian General and military critic, Baron von Ochs, in his "Reflections upon the New Art of War" (*Cassel*, 1817), pronounced Clinton's retreat across Jersey more remarkable than that of Moreau through the Black Forest in October (1st–15th), 1796, which the best judges have considered a masterpiece if not a miracle of soldiership.

The British retreat was impeded much more by heavy rain and more than extraordinary heat of the weather—the worst meteorological alternations for rapid movements—than by any military expedients and im-

pediments. So promptly, indeed, did Clinton move, that the American detachments sent to destroy the bridges, etc., could not complete their work sufficiently well, or on time to arrest his march.

The British moved in two divisions. Nothing is more discordant than the estimate of Clinton's and of Washington's armies, except the accounts of their collision at Monmouth. Irving says (III. 416), the former had "about 9,000 to 10,000, Washington a little more than 12,000 Continentals [regulars, in the best sense of the word] and about 1,300 militia." Washington, from certain strategic reasons, did not always state his numbers accurately; for instance, at White Plains, "and was brought to book for it." The discrepancy, about equal to the number of militia present, was excused on the plea that "no old 'war-horse' ever counted his militia as effectives." Marshall, admirable authority, referring to clear contemporaneous corroboration, says: "the British army was computed at 10,000 effectives; that of the Americans amounted to between 10,000 and 11,000." The arguments for and against hazarding an action were founded on some such relative figures. According to the British "Official Returns" of March 26, 1778, Howe's (afterward Clinton's) strength comprised 13,078 English, 5,202 Germans, and 1,250 [Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Maryland Royalists or] Provincials; total 19,350. Any such estimate for Clinton's active force in June would be a gross exaggeration. The American strength, on the other hand is, as a rule, always depreciated. If there is a detailed register of Washington's army, it has not been accessible, otherwise how are such discordant enumerations possible? The aggregate usually given is 15,000. Doubtless, including mobilized militia and temporary levies, it was very much greater than the British. Gordon (III. 133) quotes a letter of Washington of the 24th of June (four days before the fight) in which he says: "The enemy's force is between 9,000 and 10,000 *rank and file* [this is vague and like the late rebel returns]; the American army on the ground is 10,684, *rank and file*, beside the advanced brigade under General Maxwell of about 1,200 and 1,200 Militia." Add officers, non-commissioned officers, musicians, details, etc., and this might swell Washington's actual strength to over 18,000 continentals, etc. As to the militia there is no certain reckoning. Marshall says: "The militia had returned to their homes immediately after the action." A corresponding calculation, taking into account the admitted wholesale desertions, would give Clinton, all told, at the very utmost 13,000 fighting men.<sup>1</sup> An American writer who has paid close attention to this subject, remarks that Washington's "army was

fully equal in numbers to that of the enemy, and \* \* \* was not wanting in energy and nerve." It is most likely, counting regulars, mobilized militia and temporary levies, Washington's total was to Clinton's as 3 to 2.

Clinton's line of retreat from Philadelphia to Sandy Hook was about due north-east. Washington, as usual, crossed at Coryell's Ferry,<sup>7</sup> some thirty (40?) miles directly N. N. E. of Philadelphia, and thence moved almost at right angles forty to fifty miles eastward, to the encounter at Monmouth. Thus pursuing on two sides of the triangle, he had to march altogether from eighty to ninety, perhaps one hundred, miles, according to the roads; the English, following the hypotenuse, between sixty to seventy miles.

Clinton's train and baggage, including bat or baw-horses, etc., extended 12 to 14 miles. The protection of this long procession was confided to Knyphausen (perhaps on account of the proneness to desert evinced by the Germans). It was compelled to move on a single road, since there was only one then in existence which was practicable for carriages, and even this was heavy from rain and loose deep sand.

As soon as the Americans showed themselves in force on the 27th June, Clinton drew up or deployed the column or division under the immediate command of Cornwallis, and with which he remained along and across the roads, fronting, from S. W. to N. E., Monmouth Court-house or Freehold, as it should be more properly called. His troops, in fact, must have lain all about or around the settlement on the night of the 27th-28th. This village (or hamlet, a century since) is the capital of the alluvial county of Monmouth, which lies south of Raritan Bay and along the Atlantic from Sandy Hook to Manasquam Inlet, just north of the famous "Squam Beach." It is a central point at the intersection of three roads; the first, from Princeton and Trenton to the West, passes through Englishtown, some five to six miles distant to the W. or W. N. W., according to different surveys; the second, from (South) Amboy to the north, and the third, from Middletown to the N. E., and Shrewsbury to the east. The last two join a little east of the Court-House.

Almost the whole of Clinton's front, and particularly his left wing, was protected by a marsh and thick wood, and in his rear was a difficult defile. In regard to no engagement of the revolution is there less clear, defined or concurrent information than to Monmouth, fought on a brilliant Sunday, 28th June, 1778. It is a *tolu-bohu* of words, very much



like the fighting. The clearest digested statement is by the British General, Hon. Sir Edward Cust, a very impartial annalist, who wrote in 1862.

It would seem as if Washington might have started with the plan to stop Clinton, whose heterogenous force was not as unanimous in spirit as is generally believed, to hold him at the Raritan and its marshes with his disciplined troops, as Burgoyne was impeded between Lake Champlain and the Hudson, and everywhere on this river and its affluents; accumulate militia around him, as Schuyler did about Burgoyne, and then swarm him out—the Northern army from the Hudson working in as a part of the machinery—as the British army was disposed of September 13th—October 17th of the previous year. This might have actually occurred if Lee had done his whole duty, if Morgan had struck in on time, always supposing, as was doubtless correct, the Americans (between continentals and militia) outnumbered the enemy, perhaps two to one on the actual scene of the conflict or absolute point of collision.

Lee, in reality, in action, commanded the American advance, 5,000 strong, which was at first assigned to La Fayette, who is relieved of all or any blame through his actual, if not nominal, supersedure by Lee. The right wing, main body, was commanded by Greene and the left by Lord Stirling. [Washington was with the former, and Steuben was at first with La Fayette, and, afterward, with Stirling.] While Lee made a partial demonstration, not an actual attack, on Clinton near the Court-house, Morgan, just as in the Burgoyne battles, was to operate with his riflemen on the British left, while Maxwell and others, with Dickinson's militia regiments, threatened the British right and even right rear. Morgan did not get into action at all. He remained at Richmond Mills, three miles south of Freehold or Monmouth Court-house, in full hearing of the firing, and for some inexplicable reason did nothing. If all the forces, flanking and holding, had done their duty as Wayne discharged his, Clinton might actually have been "Burgoyned."

The skirmishing began between 7 and 8 A. M., and continued, through four distinct phases, until noon.

Clinton, perfectly aware that it would not do to allow any confusion to affect his twelve-mile-long baggage train, made a brisk return on Lee, with picked troops ["which could not easily be equalled," as was remarked by a contemporary] belonging to the division of Cornwallis. Lee gave way at once; and it is charged that the consequent disadvantages sustained by the Americans were due to his bad behavior, founded on

the intention to limit, if not frustrate a decided victory in favor of Washington. The Americans were driven back full two miles and a half. At the most critical moment Washington arrived, and all was disorder, if not even positive dismay; his presence gradually, if not immediately, restored the confidence which the troops under Lee had lost, in a great measure, through the fault or mismanagement of their commander. Checked in turn, Clinton assailed the American columns moving to flank him. The American left was roughly handled by the British cavalry and infantry; but ever reliable Wayne finally held the Royal troops in check, and with the cooperation of Greene to their left finally repulsed them, even after they were reinforced from Knyphausen's division. Here, in front of Wayne, the gallant British Lieutenant-Colonel (Brevet General?) Honorable H. Monckton fell. This spot is about two miles west from the Court-House.

Steuben first restored matters on the American left, and it is said that such was the confidence reposed in him by the soldiers "that they, although severely pressed by the enemy, wheeled into line with as much precision as on an ordinary parade, and with the coolness and intrepidity of veteran troops. Alexander Hamilton was struck with this change, and was afterwards heard to say that he had never known or conceived the value of military discipline till that day." Farther than this there is no use of endeavoring to solve what appears a military conundrum. Suffice it to add that, with fluctuating fortunes, both Generals fed the fight with fresh troops until Clinton fell back in good order *behind* a defile similar to that in *front* of which he made his first stand. By this time it was night; the firing and fighting, desultory, unsatisfactory, had lasted—through four other phases—seven or eight hours; a terrible ordeal in such an overpowering heat, and on such a soil.

This battle, "pitched" or "drawn," whatever it is styled by historians, was scarcely regulated and was not terminated by valor or by soldiership, but by the unbearable sultriness of the day. "Both sides, however, record that the extreme heat of this day was seldom equalled, and that the British and American soldiers alike felt their energies so oppressed by the unusual sultriness that they contented themselves with removing their wounded, and desisted altogether from active hostilities. On the side of the English fifty-nine soldiers are said to have perished in this action without a wound, merely through the excessive heat and fatigue." "A number of the Americans likewise died from the same cause, and it is said that in very many cases the tongues were so

swollen from heat and thirst that officers and men were rendered speechless." "The horses fell dead in troops." One Major-General lost three horses in succession from the same cause.

It is justly claimed that the vicissitudes and discipline of Valley Forge manufactured the American military personnel into an army, and the four phases of Monmouth proper, not the four preliminary skirmishes, developed the maneuvering capabilities of this army under fire, and thoroughly demonstrated its new fighting power. The word "victory" is so generally misapplied that as usual this title is claimed by both sides for Monmouth. If to frustrate the intention of an opponent, and carry out one's own purpose constitutes a triumph, the palm undoubtedly belongs to Clinton. He secured his retreat. If, however, to relinquish a field to which a rebel army has been drawn, and on which it should have been fought to the bitter end, and was not, is *not* a failure in the performance of the duty expected from a royal commander, it is difficult to understand what such a duty on his part can be construed to mean. *Escape* in this exigency was *certainly not victory*. An impartial examination leads to the conclusion that Clinton was too greatly outnumbered to justify a prosecution or renewal of the engagement on his part. To secure his train, he was reduced to making a return or counter-blow—a rear-guard fight—encountering the bulk of the American army with at most two-thirds of his own forces. Perhaps he did not bring over half his troops into actual collision with his opponents. Clinton's determination at Monmouth was a type of "Mad Anthony's" return upon Cornwallis at Green Springs, near Jamestown, Va., 6th July, 1781; of Longstreet, upon McClellan, at Williamsburg, 5th May, 1862. The fighting hero of the American army at Monmouth was Wayne; Washington must, in some degree, share even his marvellous influential strength with Steuben.

Washington certainly did not succeed in accomplishing what he set out to do. But he slept on the battle-field and buried the dead. Consequently, as in so many other instances, although militarily it was a drawn battle, nationally, it is recognized as a victory.

When the morning of Monday, 29th June, 1778, broke, and the Americans arose to renew the struggle, the English had gone, and had even carried off the majority of their wounded.

"Clinton marched without further opposition to Navisink [or Neversink], a highland in the neighborhood of Sandy Hook, where he arrived on the 30th, and found [Admiral] Lord Howe, who had got there the day before with the fleet from the Delaware. This was a more opportune occurrence than could have been

anticipated, for it had so happened that in the preceding winter a violent breach of the sea had cut off the peninsula of Sandy Hook from the Continent, and converted it into an island, so that it was necessary to throw a bridge of boats across the intervening water. This was now speedily and skillfully executed by extraordinary efforts on behalf of the seamen, and the whole army was thus passed over the new channel on the 5th of July, and were afterwards conveyed by sea to New York. Soon after this the Provincial army took up its position at White Plains [Westchester Co., N. Y.], \* \* where it remained till late in the autumn."

Monmouth was the last field in America whereon ten thousand men on *each* side contended for victory, or were even present. After this date the war was made up of comparative skirmishes or actions, whose *objectives* alone gave to them the dignity of battles. In one respect, however, it was THE Battle of the Revolution, for upon its parched, deep, sandy field occurred the "new birth" of the American regular soldier. Hereon he showed himself the first-class maneuvering as well as fighting power, substantiated subsequently on a thousand fields—in Canada, in Florida, in Mexico, at the West, and on the gory checker-boards of the "great American conflict" waged to crush or to sustain the mightiest Rebellion which ever convulsed a nation."

#### JOHN WATTS DE PEYSTER

<sup>1</sup> The writer arrived at these figures—13,000 for Clinton and 20,000 for Washington—by a careful but curious calculation. Since this article was in print chance threw in his way Von Elking's "Hulfstruppen," in which a Hessian officer present corroborates these estimates. This German says that Clinton "had scarcely 13,000 men"; "3,000 [cavalry and infantry] went off with [Admiral Howe's] ships"; that "Washington's strength was held to be about 20,000 men"; and that "the cannonade on both sides at Monmouth was heavier than was heard elsewhere during the war." His description of the fourteen-mile long baggage train is amusing. The affluent British officers dragged along with them masses of baggage, carriages, draft and saddle-horses, all sorts of servants, *mistresses*, and every kind of other useless stuff. If Clinton's traps had fallen into the hands of some of Washington's primitive or puritan regiments from the back settlements, these would have aroused in them as much astonishment as the surprise excited among Frederick of Prussia's "Monhs of the Flag," at the composition of the *impedimenta* of the French officers, captured after Rosbach. [Washington's 20,000; see Lossing's F. B. A. R., ii., 146-147 (1).]

<sup>2</sup> It is worthy of remark that the route followed by Washington, was the one almost invariably adhered to by him in all his movements in and through the Jerseys. On this occasion it was doubtless taken with a view to intercept Clinton at Brunswick. This route bore the same relation to the stereotyped line pursued by the British in the Jerseys, that the Shenandoah valley held to the usual line of the Union advance southwards, from the Potomac east of the Blue Ridge, and afforded the same relative advantages. It had water courses to block the enemy's way and serve as wet ditches to positions; passes as sally-ports; a mountain range as a line of permanent entrenchments, and opportune spurs as bastions or detached works. All the territorial or physical advantages were in favor of the Americans; all the *material*, of the British. During the Revolutionary War, New Jersey was a more difficult country for the Royalists to fight over than even Virginia proved to the Unionists during the "Slaveholder's Rebellion." It afforded the best defensive positions, defiles, marshes, miry streams, and beyond these and rising from them, gentle slopes—the very best disposition of land for the most effective play of artillery—stone houses for detached parties, and all the peculiarities which a weaker force could desire to hold or harass a stronger invader.

## SCHUYLER'S FAITHFUL SPY

### AN INCIDENT IN THE BURGoyNE CAMPAIGN

"The history of a battle," says Wellington in writing of Waterloo, "is not unlike the history of a ball. Some individuals may recollect all the little events, of which the great result is the battle won or lost; but no individual can recollect the order in which or the exact moment at which they occurred, which makes all the difference as to their value or importance."

If this remark is true in regard to a single battle, how much more is it applicable to a campaign covering several months in time and many miles in territory, during which numerous incidents and movements of opposing forces escape even an observant eye, or else, if known at the moment, are soon forgotten. It is in fact only after age has mellowed the picture that the services of different individuals and the bearings of various incidents, that have given color to the final event, can be critically studied and viewed in their proper light. In the memorable Northern Campaign of 1777, for example, while its general result was immediately apparent upon the fall of the curtain, yet the parts played by the several actors are not even now perfectly understood. The wonderful stimulus, however, given of late years to careful and systematic historical investigation is rapidly producing fruit; and many new and valuable facts, bearing upon different portions of our history, are continually being brought to the surface by persistent digging.

Learning a few weeks since that a son and grand-children of Moses Harris—one of those who acted an important, though not a prominent part in the Burgoyne drama—were still living in Warren and Washington counties in this State, I requested Mr. S. O. Cross of Sandy Hill, N. Y., a gentleman well known as a diligent local historian, to institute inquiries among them, with a view to obtain such reliable facts concerning their ancestor as were still remembered. Mr. Cross very kindly complied with my wish; and although himself cognizant for more than forty years with some of the incidents about to be related, he devoted several days to visiting the descendants, and while refreshing his memory with incidents already known to him he gleaned new ones of equal interest. The result of his investigations is now given to the reader.

Moses Harris, the subject of this sketch, was a man of more than ordinary mental and physical ability, and a cooper by trade. He was born on the 8th of November, 1745, in Dutchess county, N. Y., where his father, Moses, senior, had settled with a colony from Wales. The latter on the breaking out of the Revolutionary war was living on the Brayton Farm, about one mile south of Fort Anne village, but went back in the early spring of 1777 to Dutchess county, where he remained until Burgoyne's surrender enabled him to return. His son, who was an earnest advocate of the patriot cause, was accustomed to visit a Tory uncle, Gilbert Harris by name, then living in the town of Kingsbury, on a farm long known as the "Bill Colvin" or "The Thousand Appletree Farm," and now owned by Thomas Owens. At such times he invariably espoused the side of the Crown, completely deceiving his uncle, who would applaud his nephew's loyalty, and urge him to stand firmly by the king.

Young Harris, who during the early summer of 1777 was living in Dutchess county with his father and brothers, Joseph and William,<sup>1</sup> entered the American service under the following circumstances: General Schuyler had expressed to a friend his great need of a trusty spy to obtain information of the designs of General Burgoyne. Schuyler's friend, after a little reflection, replied that he knew just the man for his purpose, adding that not one in ten thousand was so well fitted for that dangerous and important service. Schuyler lost no time in sending for Harris, who readily fell in with the plans of that general.

Before setting out on his hazardous mission, he visited his Tory uncle, who asked him how he would like to serve the king as a messenger from Montreal to New York. The nephew seemingly entered into the idea with alacrity, and so completely did he hoodwink the uncle that the latter urged him to tarry until morning. About midnight he was aroused from sleep and informed that if he were really in earnest an opportunity had arisen to serve his king, and at the same time win future favor and great reward. He dressed himself, and followed his uncle to the barn, where a secret passage disclosed a room in the center of the hay-mow. Here he was introduced to three British officers, who told him they were seeking for a trusty messenger to carry communications between General Burgoyne and General Clinton. The uncle's recommendations and the young man's apparent honesty and zeal won the confidence of the officers, and Harris was engaged on the spot to enter his Majesty's service.<sup>2</sup> After delaying a day to make a canteen with three heads for the more safe conveyance of the dis-

patches, Harris visited Burgoyne, who, fully trusting him, confirmed the bargain with the officers, and immediately made him the bearer of dispatches to Clinton. On reaching Fort Edward he had an interview with Schuyler, who read and altered the dispatches so as to mislead Clinton and delay his advance towards Albany; and on his return, the dispatches were again opened and changed so as to completely puzzle Burgoyne.<sup>4</sup> The usual custom of Harris, however, on his trips south was to stop over in Easton with a Mr. Fish, who would take the papers to Schuyler's headquarters, where they were copied, altered and returned to the spy, and by him taken to Albany. Here they were delivered to one William Shepherd, who forwarded them to New York, giving Harris in return dispatches for Burgoyne from Clinton, which on the way back would, as usual, be subjected to the inspection of Schuyler.

Shepherd at length becoming suspicious of the King's messenger, tried to poison him. The attempt failed; but shortly after the Spy was arrested at Tripoli, near the dwelling of his old Tory uncle, and conducted to an island in the center of the big swamp east of Sandy Hill, where he was nearly killed by his captors in their endeavors to make him confess his treason. Moses Harris, the youngest son of the Spy, lately told Mr. Cross that the Tories strung up his father on a tree three times, to extort a confession of guilt. The prisoner persisted in declaring his fidelity to the king, and finally, having given the Masonic sign of distress, the captain of the gang—himself a Mason—let him go, remarking that it was possible a brother might otherwise perish unjustly.<sup>5</sup> This, however, in turn aroused the enmity of the Whigs, some of whom swore they would shoot him at sight. Jacob Benson especially, a staunch patriot, became so enraged that he lay in wait for him all of one night, threatening to "put a ball through the cussed Tory." But Swart, a loyalist neighbor, warned the supposed traitor in time, and the latter taking another route escaped the vengeance of the infuriated Whig. Indeed, the presence of mind of Harris never forsook him, and he always eluded the most dangerous traps. Once, as badly wounded, he was fleeing from danger, he escaped immediate pursuit by swimming the Hudson near Fort Miller, and took shelter with Noah Pain, a Whig, to whom he revealed in confidence his relations with Schuyler and the American army. His host respected his secret, and concealed him until he was able to resume his journey. So great, however, had now become the feeling against him, that Schuyler was

obliged to have him arrested and thrown into jail in Albany; but he was released by private instructions to the jailor as soon as the excitement among the Whigs had subsided.

Soon after his release he was sent by Schuyler to St. John's with false information to the authorities in Canada, by whom he was handsomely rewarded; but before leaving he was again suspected of duplicity. He seems, however, always to have so acted his part as to escape, and on this occasion, when summoned before his accusers, he, as was his wont, assumed the air and attitude of injured innocence. He tore open his ruffled shirt bosom, and baring his breast, called upon those present to shoot him then and there. It was, he said, worse than death to be suspected of disloyalty to his King; and once more he demanded that his mental tortures should be ended by death. So well feigned were his actions, that for the time being, he completely imposed upon the spectators. Not only was there no opposition to his leaving the room, but on his departure, he was again intrusted with important despatches for the Southern army.

He had not been long gone, however, before the authorities, regretting their action, sent an officer to arrest him. It was too late. The spy was no where to be found. Taking advantage of the darkness which by that time had come on, Harris hastened to put himself outside of the British lines; and within an hour he was well on his way to the American army. This haste increased the general suspicion. Swift Indian runners were put upon his track; but being fleet of foot, and possessed of great powers of endurance, he outstripped his pursuers, and reached Vaughn's Corners in the town of Kingsbury (Washington Co.) before he was retaken. At this point he was so fatigued and hard pressed, that in passing an old building used for boiling potash—which stood on a farm now owned by J. W. Brown—he dodged in; and clambering up a ladder, hid himself behind a large chimney. A moment after, the Indians came round to the place where he had entered. One of them ran up the ladder, but seeing no one, gave a grunt and returned to his companions. The Indians were not seen again; and it is supposed they went over to visit Gil Harris, who lived half a mile west. Harris's stratagem, in not pulling up the ladder after him, probably saved his life; for had the savages suspected the fugitive to be in the garret, they would have set fire to the cabin and thus destroyed him. In the evening he made his way to the American lines, where he was arrested as a spy, and closely guarded until his true character was known. The despatches of the Canadian au-



thorities, which he had managed to preserve, he delivered to Schuyler in person, as his friend Fish was sick and unable to act as the "go between."

At length he was so closely watched by Tory spies in Albany, that he was forced to abandon the British service, carrying the last message, with which he was intrusted by Burgoyne, to Washington. At the same time he bore with him to the Commander-in-Chief a commendatory letter from Schuyler, who had given him one hundred guineas—probably out of the secret service money. He was offered a good position in the Southern army by Washington, but he declined it; and throwing off his disguise as a Tory, he returned to Kingsbury, saying that "all the Tories this side of Hell should not drive him from his home." Nor did they. He remained on his farm until 1787, when, having bought a large tract of land in Queensbury, he moved his family thither the succeeding year. He never entered the Continental army, but became a pensioner in his old age for his services as a spy. He was married on the 10th of December, 1767, and had five sons—Moses, Charles, William, Bradly and George; and three daughters—Dolly Bigleston, Polly Brayton and Sally Lane. He died on the 13th of November, 1838, and a monument to his memory in the burial ground at Harrisena (Warren Co.) bears the following inscription:

*West side:* MOSES HARRIS—DIED—NOV. 13, 1838—AGED 89 YEARS—11 MO'S AND 24 DAYS—*North side:* IN JUNE, 1787, I MOVED WITH TWO OF MY BROTHERS, WILLIAM AND JOSEPH HARRIS, ON TO THE JOHN LAWRENCE PATTEN, AS YOU MAY SEE BY THE RECORDS IN THE LIVING'S OFFICE OF THE COUNTY AT THAT AGE IN 1786. BUT NOW I AM DONE WITH THIS WORLD AND RACE, AND NONE BUT GOD SHALL SAY WHERE SHALL BE MY ABIDING PLACE."

"I have visited his son," writes Mr. Cross "within a few days, and my conclusions are, that Moses Harris was the man of all others who risked most in becoming a target for both sides, thereby procuring information that resulted in the defeat of Burgoyne. Harris, like thousands of other common men who have done great service, passed into obscurity and was forgotten. A hundred years have elapsed and justice should now be done to one of the bravest of men, who lived in times that tried men's souls! His name should be placed high on the Saratoga Monument that is to record the results of all these heroic deeds."

WILLIAM L. STONE

<sup>1</sup>Wellington Papers, Aug. 8th, 1815.

<sup>2</sup> William became a noted Indian fighter, and passed through many a dangerous encounter. He, in company with a small party, was once surprised, while sitting around his camp-fire, by the Indians, near South Bay. On this occasion he was knocked down with a musket in the hands of a Tory neighbor by the name of Parks, and left for dead—not, however, before he had seized a stalwart Indian and thrown him into a burning log-heap, where he perished in the flames. He was afterwards captured under Sherwood at Fort Anne, and carried a prisoner into Canada, but contrived to make his escape.

<sup>3</sup> "Dr. A. W. Holden," writes Mr. Cross, "in his valuable History of the Town of Queensbury, says that the first private interview with the officers took place in a cave at Tripoli on the 'Half-way Brook.' I think this is a mistake, as I have fished all along its banks in that vicinity without discovering any cave, or the least resemblance to one. 'Gil' Harris lived about one mile from the brook; and I think I am correct in following the tradition which makes his barn the scene of the midnight interview."

<sup>4</sup> A similar trick was once played by Frederick the Great, who, after Liegnitz, 16th Aug., 1760, caused a letter to fall into the hands of the Russian General, Chernicheff, which induced the Muscovite, with every chance of success before him, to retreat precipitately. The incident mentioned in the text doubtless originated the "Canteen Story," told by General J. Watts de Peyster, in one of his able letters to the N. Y. Times on the "Burgoyne Campaign." See, also, Stone's Burgoyne, p. 342, note.

<sup>5</sup> The celebrated Mohawk Chief, Tha-yen-da-ne-gea (Brant), during the Revolution, also saved several captives on recognizing the "Grand Hailing Sign of Distress." Brant was made a Mason by Sir Wm. Johnson, at Johnstown, N. Y. See Stone's Brant.

<sup>6</sup> As supplemental to the above sketch it may be well to add, that Harris was succeeded in his delicate duties by Alexander Bryan, who, during the American Revolution, kept an inn two miles north of Waterford, on what was then the great road between the Northern and Southern frontiers. His house, naturally, was frequented by the partisans of each side, toward whom he behaved so discreetly that he was molested by neither, but was confided in by both. His patriotism, however, was well known to the Committee of Safety of Stillwater, by whom he was recommended to General Gates, on his taking command, as a suitable person to report the intended movements of the enemy. Bryan tarried in the neighborhood of Burgoyne's army—at that time lying between Fort Miller and the Battenkill—until he was convinced that preparations were making for an immediate advance. Then, on the 15th of September, in the early gray of the morning, he started with the tidings; and though pursued by troopers, he managed to escape, and arrived safely at the Headquarters of General Gates late the following night. Bryan afterward removed to Saratoga Springs, in the cemetery of which village there is a monument erected to his memory by his grandson (John A. Bryan, a lawyer of this city), bearing the following inscription: "In memory of Alexander Bryan. Died April 9th, 1825, aged 92 years. The first permanent settler, and the first to keep a public house here for visitors. An unpaid patriot, who alone and at great peril, gave the first and only information of Burgoyne's intended advance on Stillwater, which led to timely preparations for the Battle of Sept. 19th, followed by the memorable victory of Oct. 7th, 1777."

## JOHN BERRIEN MONTGOMERY

REAR ADMIRAL U. S. NAVY

John Berrien Montgomery was born at Allentown, N. J., November 17, 1794, the second son of Thomas West Montgomery, M. D., of New York, who died in that city in 1820, aged 56 years. Dr. Montgomery's grandfather, James Montgomerie, "of Upper Freehold," came to America with his father, William, of Brigend, from Ayrshire, Scotland, in 1701-2, and settled on Doctor's Creek, in Monmouth county, New Jersey. Eglinton, the name of this estate, is situated about two miles from Allentown.

The subject of this sketch derived his Christian name from his maternal grandfather, Hon. John Berrien, one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of New Jersey, at whose residence—Rocky Hill—Washington wrote his farewell address to the Army. Judge Berrien's second daughter married Nathaniel Lawrence, Attorney-General of New York from 1792 to 1795. Descended from a race of warriors, it was natural and in accordance with the fitness of things, that young Montgomery, together with his brothers Alexander and Nathaniel, should enter the navy just as this country was on the verge of war with England.

On the 4th of June, 1812, John Berrien was appointed a Midshipman and soon after proceeded with the first draft of men from New York city to Sackett's Harbor, Lake Ontario, and served successively on the Hamilton, Madison and General Pike. November 10th he participated in an unsuccessful attack upon Kingston, N. C., with the view of calling out the enemy's flag-ship, the Royal George; on April 27, 1813, he assisted at the capture of Little York (Toronto), and May 27th of Fort George and Newark. August 4th, 1813, he volunteered, with seven other officers and one hundred seamen, for service on Lake Erie, under Commodore Perry, joining the Niagara, and participating in the general naval engagement, September 10th, which resulted in the capture of the British squadron, for which service he received a sword of honor and the thanks of Congress.

August 4th, 1814, Midshipman Montgomery was present during the blockade and attack on Macinac, Lake Huron, where the enemy was repulsed with considerable loss. On the 18th of same month assisted to destroy a block-house and a British gun-brig after an engagement of

one hour. During the next six weeks he was employed in protecting the communication between Fort Erie and the hospitals at Buffalo, in the transportation of troops between the two shores of Lake Erie, remaining in that region actively employed during the remainder of the campaign, when he returned to New York, late in February, 1815, in time to witness the general illumination of the city in honor of peace.

In March, 1815, he was ordered to the sloop-of-war *Ontario*, at Baltimore, and sailed on the ensuing May in the first squadron under Commodore Decatur for Algiers, against which war had been declared. Arriving in the Mediterranean, the young midshipman had an early opportunity of meeting the Algerians upon their own ground, taking part in the capture of one of their frigates (50 guns), a brig (20 guns), and in the blockade of the port of Algiers, until the close of the war in July, 1815. He remained on the Mediterranean station until 1817, returning in August to Norfolk, Va., but was immediately ordered to the sloop-of-war *Hornet*, then fitting for sea at New York.

In February, 1818, he was transferred to the *Cyane*, and April 1st, 1818, was promoted a Lieutenant. During the next three years Lieutenant Montgomery was cruising upon the coast of Africa, returning to the United States in December, 1820. Almost at once he was ordered to the *Erie*, in which vessel he served during an uneventful period until her return from the Mediterranean in November, 1826, when he was detached and granted a well-deserved and hardly-earned leave of absence, the first in fourteen years of continuous sea service. During the year 1828-9 he was employed on recruiting service at Chambersburg, Pa., and in 1830 was ordered to the West Indies as executive officer of the *Peacock*; off Havana fell in with the flagship *Erie*, and was transferred by signal to that vessel as executive officer, and subsequently commanded her during a cruise in the Gulf and on the coast of Mexico. Upon returning to Pensacola, July, 1831, Lieutenant Montgomery was relieved from command of the *Erie*, and ordered as Flag Lieutenant to the *Natchez*, returning in her to Norfolk, Va., August, 1831, and once more detached on leave. From January, 1833, to February, 1835, he was on recruiting service in Philadelphia and New York. At the latter date he was ordered as executive officer to the frigate *Constitution*, at Boston. March 2d sailed for New York, and on the 15th from the latter port for Havre, France, to convey our Minister, Mr. Livingston, to the United States during the Indemnity agitation, and reaching home in July, 1835, applied for and received a leave of absence.

In March, 1837, he was ordered to command the receiving ship *Columbus*, at Boston; detached in April, 1839, and promoted to Commander, December 9, 1839. Continued on leave until May, 1841, when he was ordered to the recruiting rendezvous, Boston, serving there until February, 1844. In October of same year Commander Montgomery was ordered to his first important independent command—that of the new sloop-of-war *Portsmouth*, 20 guns, then fitting for sea at Portsmouth, N. H., and sailed, touching at Norfolk, Va., in January, 1845, for the Pacific Ocean, where he rendered distinguished and memorable service during the continuance of the war with Mexico. In a brief memorandum of the details of his service, in the late Admiral's handwriting, was found the following modest account of his operations on the Pacific coast:

"During the cruise of three years and seven months (1845-49) the officers and crew of the *Portsmouth* under my command, took possession of, and permanently established the flag of the United States at San Francisco, Sonoma, New Helvetia and Santa Clara, Upper California; maintained a blockade of Mazatlan, Mexico, and in March and April, 1847, hoisted the first U. S. flags at Cape St. Lucas, San José and La Paz, Lower California, which ports were held until relinquished at the close of the war. In October, 1847, in company with the frigate *Congress*, Captain Lavallette, bombarded and captured the fortified town and port of Guaymas, Gulf of California."

The unassuming sailor makes no allusion to the handsome and unusual recognition of his abilities and discretion in conducting the blockade of a long line of coast with but one ship-of-war, and the admirable diplomacy and firmness with which he managed a discussion, involving nice points of international law, with the representatives of five great nations, at a time when, with one war on our hands, it was especially desirable to keep out of any other disputes. A few selections from the official correspondence are appended hereto, preceded with some letters which passed between Commander Montgomery and Captain Fremont, U. S. Topographical Engineers, who, whilst earning the title of "Pathfinder," had recently arrived in the vicinity of San Francisco, and was dependent upon the navy for money and supplies.

But while thus fortunate in his professional relations, Commander Montgomery was subjected to a terrible bereavement in the loss of two sons, who were serving under their father in a public capacity. WILLIAM HENRY was just twenty-six years old, a passed midshipman, and acting master of the sloop-of-war "*Warren*." JOHN ELLIOTT, aged sixteen, was his father's secretary.

On Thursday, December 13, 1846, the launch belonging to the Warren (then in the harbor of Yerba Buena with the Portsmouth) left the fleet for the purpose of carrying public funds and supplies to Fort Sacramento (Sutter). The launch was under charge of William Montgomery, with Midshipman Daniel C. Hagunin of the Portsmouth as pilot, Elliott Montgomery and a crew of nine men: George Rodman, coxswain; Anthony Sylvester, Alexander McDonald, Samuel Turner, Samuel Lane, Milton Ladd, John W. Dowd, Gilman Hilton and Lawson Lee. After an absence of seventeen days fears were entertained for the safety of the party, and a thorough and protracted search was made up the San Joaquin and Sacramento rivers, but without result. For some time it was thought that the boat had been capsized in a squall, but many years after the grey-haired father was called to the bedside of a dying sailor, who confessed that he had taken part in the murder of the officers, and that the crew, after scuttling the boat, divided their plunder and separated. Although the late admiral would never discuss the subject, yet this theory has been adopted by the other members of his family.

Although sympathizing personally with the gallantry and enterprise which characterized the revolutionary movement of the foreigners resident in California, yet Commander Montgomery rigidly adhered to his instructions, which made him for the time a neutral, and his course was marked by the most judicious conduct.

With reference to the occupation of San Francisco (or Yerba Buena, as it was then called), we quote from Soulé's Annals of San Francisco, that "July 8, 1846, the American flag was on the morning of this day hoisted in the plaza or public square of Yerba Buena by Captain Montgomery, of the U. S. sloop-of-war Portsmouth, then lying in the bay. Two days before Commodore Sloat had dispatched a messenger to Captain Montgomery, informing him of his intention to raise the American flag at Monterey, and commanding him to do the same in the northern parts of the province around the bay of San Francisco. This Montgomery did at the above date, accompanied by a party of seventy sailors and marines and under a salute of twenty-one guns from the Portsmouth. The plaza at this time received the name of Portsmouth Square," and the street lying on the beach was called "Montgomery street. The name of SAN FRANCISCO was given to the town January 4th, 1847 by Lt. Washington A. Bartlett, U. S. N., who was the first Alcalde.

In April, 1849, Commander Montgomery was ordered to the Washington Navy Yard as Executive officer, and detached on leave November

1st, 1851. Promoted to Captain January 6th, 1853. In April, 1857, ordered to command the new steam frigate "Roanoke," at Norfolk, Va., and sailing thence to Aspinwall, returned in August, same year, to New York, with 250 of Walker's filibusters; thence proceeded to Boston, where the ship, requiring repairs and alterations, went out of commission, and all hands detached September, 1857. From this time to January, 1858, on duty as member Court of Inquiry on Retired Officers. April, 1859, Captain Montgomery was ordered to command the Pacific Squadron, and to hoist his flag on the steam corvette Lancaster, at Philadelphia, sailing in June for his destination. While upon this duty it was his fortune to revisit the scene of his service in 1846-8, and everywhere he appears to have been received with sincere gratification. Noticing the arrival of the Lancaster at Mazatlan, a correspondent of a prominent New York journal wrote: "The little harbor of Mazatlan had been honored for the first time since the Mexican war by the presence of a commodore or flag officer. Flag officer Montgomery is the first of his rank in our service who has indicated any interest in the commercial importance of the port. The Lancaster, Captain Rudd, arrived on the evening of the 28th ult. Salutes were exchanged the following day. The Governor and all the officials of the State visited the ship on the 30th, at the invitation of the Consul, and during the afternoon the ship continued crowded with a delighted and wondering multitude. The flag officer returned the visit of the Governor on the 31st, at the Government House, where he was received with the greatest possible demonstrations of respect and with full military honors. Nothing could have exceeded the delicacy of the reception and the marked personal respect which was shown him on all sides. It is said that no such demonstration was ever witnessed in Mazatlan. The Lancaster leaves to-day on a short visit to Guaymas, but will return to this port in about twenty days, and thence proceed to Acapulco, Panama, etc."

While at Panama in October, 1860, a young officer of our fleet was arrested near the British consulate by a guard from H. B. M. ship Clio, Captain Miller, stationed there for the protection of the consulate (during recent local disturbances). Although almost instantly released by the officer of the English guard, the matter came to the ears of Captain Montgomery, who took prompt measures to resent the outrage, and demanded an apology and the instant cessation of all interference with citizens of the United States in their passage through the public streets of the city. The British commander called upon Captain Montgomery and tendered a satisfactory apology "for the error of his subordinate."

When the late war opened Captain Montgomery personally assured himself of the status of his officers by assembling them upon the flagship in Panama Bay and causing the prescribed oath of allegiance to be administered with the most impressive solemnity, setting the example in his own person. Only one officer in the entire squadron—then the largest afloat—declined to take it. Many, supposed to be wavering, were confirmed in their fealty, a result largely due to the energy and patriotic action of the flag officer. Not long after, in the regular correspondence of the New York Tribune from Washington appeared the following:

“In a crisis like the present, when the army and the navy have exhibited so many apostate sons, it is cheering to find such loyalty to the Union as is indicated by the following extract from a private letter of Commodore Montgomery, Flag Officer of the Pacific squadron.  
\* \* \* As a patriot, an officer and a gentleman he is *sans peur, sans reproche et sans tache*. He says: ‘I honestly believe, under an all-wise Providence, that great and permanent good to the Union under our present glorious Constitution will result from our present agitation. I glory in the patriotic course pursued by Major Anderson. For my own part, knowing and having acknowledged no obligation but that which I solemnly swore to the Constitution and Union nearly fifty years ago, it would, indeed, be humiliating to be now reduced to the position of being a citizen of a seceding section of our country; and while two stars and stripes of our proud flag shall be found together I shall adhere to it with my whole heart, affection and devotion. I have great hopes in the wisdom, patriotism and strong sense of Mr. Lincoln, who may, by an all-wise Providence, have been reared for the present crisis in our own history. *That the Union will endure and arise from her present difficulties in greater strength and permanency—I will say, in greater glory than ever—I fully believe.*”

If these memorable words sound prophetic, may we not confidently anticipate the ultimate full and triumphant realization of his patriotic and pious utterance?

January 2, 1862, Captain Montgomery was relieved from command of the Pacific squadron by Captain Bell, taking with him, as reported, “the best wishes of the entire native and foreign population, and of every officer and sailor in the fleet, to all of whom he has endeared himself by his kind and courteous manners, his moderation and good sound sense.”

In May following he was ordered to command the Navy Yard at Boston, Mass., where he continued to render very important services in



came here in his sloop-of-war, Portsmouth. He went ashore and inquired for the means of grace. Nothing of the kind to be found. 'Well,' said he, 'I will be preacher; I will perform these duties; we will have services every Sunday.' And they did, month after month; and the noble Captain stayed here and proclaimed the truth and read the Word of God, and taught the people the way of salvation. And oftentimes when I go down through that magnificent thoroughfare called by his name and look at those stately edifices, I seem to see them founded on the prayers of that great and good man, who dared to stand up in San Francisco and regularly and constantly present the Word of God to the people."

Admiral Montgomery had two brothers, Alexander Maxwell, M. D., who was Acting-Surgeon's Mate on the Essex, in Porter's fight off Valparaiso, March 28, 1814, and died when in command of the Naval Hospital, Brooklyn, January 3, 1828; and Nathaniel Lawrence, who entered the navy in 1810, when but ten years of age; he was in the fight of the President with the Belvidere, June 23, 1812, where he lost an arm; and was aid to McDonough in his victory, September 11th, 1814, where also he was wounded; he was commissioned as Lieutenant on his sixteenth birthday, the youngest office ever thus commissioned in the American navy; he died in 1825 in the West Indies, of yellow fever, while in service. The Admiral had four sisters: Margaret, wife of John P. Shaw, Purser U. S. N.; Maria, wife of Commodore William S. Inman; Julia, wife of William M. Biddle, of Philadelphia; and Eliza, wife of Bishop McCoskry, of Michigan.

The Admiral married in 1821, Mary, daughter of William Henry.

## THEODORE F. RODENBOUGH

### CORRESPONDENCE

U. S. SHIP PORTSMOUTH, }  
BAY OF SAN FRANCISCO, June 3, 1846. }

*Sir.*—On the 31st ultimo, the day previous to my sailing from Monterey, a courier from Lieut. Gillespie to the U. S. Consul arrived, bringing the only definite intelligence of your movement and position since my arrival at that port on the 22d of April last. The instructions under which I am now serving and which may detain me until late in the fall, or longer, upon this coast, have relation specifically to the object

of affording protection to the persons and property of citizens of the United States, and of maintaining a watchful care over the general interest of our country without reference in any manner to the enterprise in which you are so actively engaged, the motive and object of which I am ignorant, except so far as I may have been rightly informed by paragraphs casually met with in public prints.

I beg leave, however (availing myself of the return messenger), to assure you, Sir, of the interest I feel in the successful prosecution and issue of the public interests committed to your

direction, and without desiring information further than you may deem necessary to enable me to aid and facilitate your operations, to express my sincere desire and readiness to serve you in any manner consistent with other duties.

Permit me to say, Sir, that if you should find it convenient to visit the United States Ship Portsmouth during her stay in this port, that I, with the officers of the ship, will be most happy to see you.

I shall remain here probably three weeks, unless unforeseen circumstances require an earlier movement, and my present intention is to return to Monterey.

I am, Sir, very respectfully,  
Your obedient servant,  
JOHN B. MONTGOMERY,  
Commander.

Captain J. C. FREMONT,  
Upper California.

VERBA BUENA, }  
June 9, 1846. }

Sir.—Herewith I have the honor to inclose a requisition for supplies made upon me by Captain Fremont, of the U. S. Topographical Engineers, who is in command of a party of some fifty men engaged upon an important scientific expedition. You will perceive that Captain Fremont states his party to be nearly destitute, and that under the unfriendly feeling of the government of this country, the existing position of affairs, he is unable to obtain supplies, and in any case only at very exorbitant prices.

From the above mentioned circumstances I am induced to enclose this requisition, and respectfully request you to supply the same, or such part of it as you may be able to spare; being fully assured it will afford you great pleasure to render assistance to a different arm of the service, engaged upon a laborious and dangerous expedition, exposed to every kind of danger and the greatest hardships men can endure; oftentimes living upon horse flesh, and at times without any provisions whatever. Captain Fremont is also in want of funds for the purchase of animals, as upon leaving for the United States it will be necessary for him to purchase more horses, his present supply being travel-worn

and almost unfit for the saddle. The exorbitant rate at which the Government bills are exchanged induces me to beg you to supply Captain Fremont with Fifteen Hundred (1500) Dollars, if the same can be furnished without injury to your own particular service, for which he will give the necessary receipts or bills upon the Department. \* \* \* \* Captain Fremont is now encamped on the Sacramento, at the mouth of Feather river, where he awaits my return with such provisions as I may be able to obtain. Hoping you will be able to make the supply I will only add, that in the event of the party receiving from you the assistance requested, you may be assured the same will not only be highly appreciated by the President and Departments, confer an obligation upon Capt. Fremont and myself, but will receive the heartfelt thanks of a party of some of the bravest and most determined men, who are happy in suffering privations while serving their country with a zeal and fidelity unsurpassed by any other.

I am, Sir, very respectfully  
Yr. mo. obt. servant,  
ARCHI'D H. GILLESPIE,  
1st Lieut. U. S. M. Corps & Special & Confidential Agent for California.  
Com'dr JOHN B. MONTGOMERY,  
Com'dg U. S. Ship Portsmouth.

U. S. SHIP PORTSMOUTH, }  
BAY OF SAN FRANCISCO, June 10, 1846. }

Sir.—Since writing you by Neal on the 3d inst. I have been informed by Lieut. Gillespie of your present position and circumstances and made acquainted with your design soon to proceed South with your party as far as Santa Barbara, before striking across the country for the United States. I am also informed by Lieut. Gillespie of your having expressed to him a desire for the presence of a vessel of war at St. Barbara during the period of your sojourn in the vicinity of that port. Now, Sir, I am happy to say, that I feel myself at liberty to visit any or all the ports on this coast should the public interests require it, and if on the receipt of this you shall still think that the presence of a ship of war at Santa Barbara may prove serviceable

to fresh instructions, before sailing for another destination, and that the duties of the blockade should not be interfered with. I could not but regard the allowance of communication under the circumstances as being strictly just to neutral interests, as since the withdrawal of the *Cyane* and *Warren* from this coast in October and November last an impression has been widely extended throughout the Pacific—and reaching Europe as early (I believe) as the beginning of January last—that the blockade had been raised, and that obstacles to free commerce with the ports on the west coast of Mexico no longer existed.

The same privilege, you will observe, is claimed by the Prussian Minister in his letter of the 4th January, with the remark that such concession "has not been refused to the German ships arriving off Vera Cruz by the Commander of the American Fleet in the Gulf." The insufficiency of my force having been urged by the Spanish consul as an objection to enforcement of the blockade—the justice of which I began sensibly to realize—I placed an officer and twelve men from the *Portsmouth*, with a six-pounder and small arms, on board of a prize schooner, with orders to block up the entrance to the old port—the *Portsmouth* having charge of the main harbor, across the entrance of which she was anchored so close in as effectually to intercept everything attempting to pass. \* \* \*

On the 25th of March, finding my stock of provisions getting very low—the crew having been confined to half allowance of bread since leaving California—and some part of the rations entirely exhausted, I deemed it proper (if possible) to provide for the speedy execution of duties assigned me on the west shores of this Gulf, which seemed the more important since hearing from Mexico that a large extent of said shores were embraced within the line of 26° of latitude recently proposed by our Government as the boundary between the United States and Mexico. \* \* \* To close my report of service off Mazatlan it only remains to inform you, Sir, that on the 11th inst. Lieut. Revere, in charge of the prize tender *Josen Eliza*, stationed near the old port, captured the Mexican schooner *Magdalena*, from Guaymas bound to Mazatlan, with a cargo

of upwards of forty thousand pounds of flour, which for better preservation I received into my empty bread-rooms, and employed this vessel (of 25 tons) in the service of the blockade until the day of my departure, when finding her very frail and unsafe, even to accompany us across the Gulf—rather than destroy her I yielded to the earnest solicitation of the Spanish consul (the late consignee of the vessel and cargo) and turned her over to him to be restored to her former proprietor, who was represented to be an indigent and worthy resident of Guaymas.

I have the honor to enclose a statement of the names and flags of neutral vessels fallen in with and warned off from this port of Mazatlan during its blockade by the *Portsmouth*.

I have, &c.,  
JNO. B. MONTGOMERY,  
Commander.

Commo. JAMES BIDDLE,  
Commd. in Chief of the  
Naval Forces of the U. S. in the Pacific.

U. S. SHIP PORTSMOUTH, }  
SAN JOSÉ, L. CALIFORNIA, }  
April 22, 1847.

Sir.—By Lieut. Revere I have the honor to inform you that after effecting an arrangement with the Commander of the British Frigate *Constance* at Mazatlan for the certain delivery of a letter to Lieut. Commandant Turner, of the *Erie*, in the event of his appearing off that port, I sailed from thence for this coast on the 25th of March and arrived here on the 29th; after exchanging communications with the authorities on shore, a force was landed from the ship and the Flag of the United States hoisted in place of the Mexican on the 30th of March under a national salute; from thence I sailed for San Lucas, where the flag was hoisted on the 3d inst., and at La Paz, the capital, on the 13th inst.

The authorities and people generally have manifested a friendly disposition toward us, and appeared satisfied with a change of Flags. \* \*

The blockade of Mazatlan was effectually maintained by the *Portsmouth* for nearly six weeks, although generally opposed and protested against on the ground of illegality, and the ser-

vice was not relinquished until I had satisfactorily secured the means of communicating Commodore Stockton's orders to Lieut. Commandant Turner as directed, and the low state of my provisions admonished me of the necessity of immediate attention to duties assigned me on this coast. I think it proper, Sir, with the view of averting from others the serious embarrassments through which I deemed it my imperative duty (in obedience to specific orders) to persevere in maintaining the recent blockade of Mazatlan, to apprise you that unless commencing *de novo* by proclamation, any attempt to re-establish a blockade of one or more ports short of all named in Commodore Stockton's proclamation of August last, will be strenuously opposed by the representatives of neutral powers. Nothing but the amicable forbearance and courtesy of Sir Baldwin Walker, of H. B. M. Frigate Constance (such as could only with safety have been exercised by a superior to a very inferior force) prevented a serious difficulty (possibly collision between our ships) growing out of conflicting orders respecting the blockade.

Having captured at Mazatlan a small Mexican vessel with 42,450 pounds of flour and some olives, I have caused two ovens to be built on shore at this place in order to bake up 10,000 pounds for the use of my crew, our present supply being nearly exhausted (although confined to half allowance of bread only since leaving San Diego), and forwarded the residue by the Admittance, several articles of provisions and stores are already exhausted, and the quantity of others on board will allow of my continuance here only twenty or twenty-five days, when unless supplied, I shall be compelled with great reluctance to leave a station where several vessels might, I think, be most advantageously employed in cutting off succours from the enemy, and breaking up a most iniquitous traffic and intercourse between American ships and San Blas, Mansinillo and other Mexican ports to the south of the Gulf, which I have every reason to believe is now carrying on, for the encouragement of which a proclamation has been issued by the authorities at Tepic. \* \* \* I enclose, Sir, the various items of news received from Mexico, which will be found highly inter-

esting; one of the sheets contains the proposition recently made by the United States to the Mexican Government, by which it will be seen that a great portion of this Gulf is enclosed within our proposed boundary; it will undoubtedly require some modification before accepted by Mexico. I have, &c.,

JNO. B. MONTGOMERY,  
Commander.

The Commander in Chief  
of the Naval Forces of the  
United States in the Pacific.

NAVY DEPARTMENT, }  
July 29, 1847. }

*Sir.*—In transmitting to you the enclosed copy of a note and its enclosures received at the Department of State from the Chargé d'Affaires of Great Britain, I avail myself of the occasion to express the satisfaction with which the Department has observed the proof that you have succeeded in performing the delicate duties entrusted to you by the Commander of the Pacific Squadron, without infringing the rights of neutrals.

I am, Sir, Respectfully,  
Your obt. servant,  
J. Y. MASON.

Comdr. J. B. MONTGOMERY,  
Comdg. U. S. S. Portsmouth,  
Pacific Squadron.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, }  
WASHINGTON, 23d July, 1847. }

*Sir.*—I have the honor to transmit to you herewith a copy of a note and its enclosure just received at this Department from the Chargé d'Affaires of Great Britain in this city, expressing the acknowledgements of the British Government for the kind and considerate manner in which Captain Montgomery, of the U. S. Frigate Portsmouth has conducted himself towards British subjects while he has been employed in blockading the Port of Mazatlan.

I have the honor to be  
Very respectfully, Sir,  
Your obt. servant  
JAMES BUCHANAN.

Hon. J. Y. MASON,  
Secretary of the Navy.

WASHINGTON, 22d July, 1847.

Sir.—I have much satisfaction in transmitting to you herewith the copy of a dispatch in which I am instructed by Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State to convey to the United States Government the acknowledgements of Her Majesty's Government for the kind and considerate manner in which Captain Montgomery, of the United States Frigate Portsmouth, has conducted himself towards British subjects whilst he has been employed in blockading the Port of Mazatlan.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to you, Sir, the assurance of my highest consideration.

JOHN F. CRAMPTON.

The Hon<sup>ble</sup> JAMES BUCHANAN,  
&c., &c., &c.

[No. 4.] FOREIGN OFFICE, {  
June 30, 1847. }

Sir.—Captain Sir Baldwin Walker, command-

ing Her Majesty's Ship Constance, on the west coast of Mexico, has mentioned in his reports in very favorable terms the kind and considerate manner in which Captain Montgomery, of the United States Frigate Portsmouth, has conducted himself towards neutral vessels whilst he has been employed in blockading the Port of Mazatlan, and I have to desire that you will take an opportunity of conveying to the United States Secretary of State the acknowledgements of Her Majesty's Government for Captain Montgomery's courteous treatment of British subjects upon this occasion.

I am, &c., &c.,

PALMERSTON.

J. F. CRAMPTON, Esq.,  
&c., &c.

NOTE.—The correspondence between Commander Montgomery and the representatives of foreign powers during the blockade (referred to in the foregoing) although extremely interesting is omitted.

LETTER OF  
LAWRENCE WASHINGTON

PRELIMINARY NOTE.—Lawrence Washington was the son of Augustine Washington and Jane Butler, his first wife, and the eldest half brother of General Washington.

When quite young he manifested a military taste, and seems to have been animated by that heroic impulse which afterwards inspired his distinguished younger brother. In his brief life and services he proved himself a brave soldier, showing he inherited the warlike spirit of his ancestors, the bold De Wessyngtons. He first went to the wars with General Wentworth, who taking four thousand men with him, engaged in an expedition against Carthegena, in South America, aiding the naval forces there, conjointly in command with Admiral Vernon.

In this expedition the British troops, both sailors and soldiers, suffered terribly from pestilence consequent to the climate, which decimated the ranks. Lawrence Washington then contracted the seeds of disease which lingered for years in his system and finally proved fatal.

He seems especially to have won the favor and confidence of Admiral Vernon, who continued a friendly correspondence with him for some years afterwards, and bestowed upon him a medal struck in commemoration of the capture of Porto Bello.

It seems at one time to have been Lawrence Washington's intention to go to England and join the regular army, as his taste and training inclined him. The old French proverb says, "*La*

*carrière ouvert aux talents*," the implements to him who can handle them. And this brother of our *Pater Patriæ* seems peculiarly to have possessed that courage and faculty to act—to do; to which Carlyle, in his *Heroes and Hero Worship* applies the German term, "*Tugend* (*Taugend*, *dow-ing* or *Doughtiness*.)"

But he was young—and he loved. Cupid oft makes havoc of hearts that shot and cannon balls spare. So he who had hitherto been victor was vanquished, and surrendered at discretion to the charms of Anne Fairfax.

She was the daughter of the Honorable William Fairfax, of Belvoir, formerly a distinguished officer in the British army, then President of his Majesty's Council in the Colonies, and a gentleman of high consideration. They were betrothed in the spring of 1743, and married in July of the same year.

By the recent death of his father Lawrence had inherited, according to his will, the fine estate of Hunting Creek, on the Potomac near Alexandria. Here, on a beautiful and commanding eminence, he erected the simple, substantial mansion that has since become our American Mecca, calling the spot in honor of his gallant friend the Admiral, Mount Vernon. Having settled in his home with his lovely bride, Lawrence became a man of prominence, not simply from his wealth and position, but from his fine talent and ability. He was a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses and also Adjutant-General of his district. Besides this, he was agent for his cousin, Lord Fairfax, in the management of his immense estates.

Over his boy brother George he watched with almost paternal care and tenderness, having him frequently at Mount Vernon as a favorite and petted guest. George was only eleven years of age when his father died.

But in the midst of his usefulness and popularity, young and beloved, Lawrence's health finally failed so seriously that he took a trip to Bermuda, hoping to be benefitted. Here he grew rapidly worse, and feeling there was no hope returned to his home and soon afterwards died, at the early age of thirty-four. To his only child, an infant daughter, he bequeathed his estates; and in the event of her death without heirs, to his brother George. Into his hands, by this child's early demise, the property finally reverted. Thus General Washington became the master of Mount Vernon. He extended the house very considerably by the addition of a large room at either end. One was the library; the other, a lofty, beautiful room, is called the Banquet Hall.

In the writer's possession there is a portrait of Lawrence Washington. The fine, oval, youthful face is singularly handsome, but has in it that expression of strange, thoughtful seriousness, that seems the foreshadowing of fate to those the "love of the gods" has doomed to die young. His complexion is dark as a Spaniard's. The eyes deep, large, earnest, under strongly marked, well-arched, black eye brows, seem to have caught their dusky splendor from a summer midnight. The mouth is finely curved, its expressive lips are full of tender possibilities. He has a noble forehead, high and broad; a handsome aquiline

nose, and firm clear cut chin. His hair is arranged in a queue behind, slightly raised above the brow and smoothed on either side, with formal curls over the ears that are sable in hue and silken as the eye brows and long lashes. He is dressed in the British uniform, red coat and blue vest, displaying a portion of the ruffled shirt above. A black chapeau is under his arm, ornamented with bow and button on its side of velvet and pearls. In his gallant bearing there is a glint of the old time cavalier.

The following interesting letter, written by Lawrence Washington to his father, giving a full account of the Carthegena expedition, has never before been published.

The resolute character of the writer forcibly expresses itself where he says, "I am resolved to persevere in the undertaking," and have "learned to live on ordinary diet, to watch much, and disregard the noise or shot of cannon."

Is it not probable that the noble example of the elder brother may have exercised a strong influence upon the character of the younger one. Such as this brief sketch has outlined him, was the owner and founder of Mount Vernon. ELLA BASSETT WASHINGTON

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TO CAPT. AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON, AT  
FREDERICKSBURG, VIRGINIA

HON'D SIR: I have long expected the favour of a letter, but to my great concern, never yet rec'd one from Virginia, tho I have writ many. I shall avoid saying much of our Carthegena Expedition, the success of which you will soon have in print. We, in short, destroyed eight forts, six men-of-war,

six gallioons and some merchant ships ; what number of men they lost we know not ; the enemy killed of ours about six hundred and some wounded, and the climate killed us in greater numbers. Vast changes we have in each regiment ; some are so weak as to be reduced to a third of their men ; a great quantity of officers amongst the rest are dead. Col. Gooch rec'd a wound but is very well recovered.

What we are next to do is a secret, some talk of the Havanna others Panama, some la vera Cruz, but perhaps others more probably St. Iago de Cuba.

We are all tired of the heat and wish for a cold season to refresh our blood. I mentioned the extravagance of this Island before, but they have now raised the price of everything that I really believe I shall be under a necessity of drawing Bills. I have remained on board Admiral Vernon's ship ever since we left Hispaniola vastly to my satisfaction.

Our Regiment has not rec'd that treatment we expected but I am resolved to persiver in the undertaking. War is horrid in fact but much more so in imagination. We there learned to live on ordinary diet, to watch much and disregard the noise or shot of cannon. I hope my lotts are secured, which if I return shall make use of as my dwelling. We take many valuable prizes but no doubt they are all inserted in your papers from the Jamaica.

I hope the hundred pounds I owe Mr Wm Gooch is either discharged or the interest punctually p'd. Most people imagine our Regiment placd on the very best footing and that we shall be continued in North America, but I

hope not at the expense of the Colonies.

Some talk of recruiting in America. If so I shall apply for one and there do the best I can to inform you of the affair which however is so intricate and contradictory that I do not care to assert any particulars, the Sea and Land forces relate it differently. If the sailors can claim much honour I pertake of it as Capt of the soldiers who acted as Marines ; but we meet no opposition though really some of the attempts were bold or rather rash.

Most of our American Transports are discharged wherefore imagine it no sign of our speedy return. My best respects to my Mother, Aunt, Bro,s, sisters, &c. I am Hon'd Sir

Your ever dutiful Son,

LAW'CE WASHINGTON.

JAMAICA, *May 30th, 1741.*

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.—Among the relics that have been presented to the Ladies' Mount Vernon Association is an antique engraving of Admiral Vernon, which may be seen by visitors in the show case at Mt. Vernon. He has a fine broad, good-humored face, thoroughly English in contour, and wears a full flowing wig, with the long vest and elaborately-trimmed coat of the period ; also the insignia of his rank and position.

There is a stretch of sea at the back of the picture, with ships in a naval engagement. The Admiral's hand grasps a sword, and at his side is seen a cannon. ELLA BASSETT WASHINGTON

#### THE FAMILY OF PENN

*From the London Morning Chronicle*

We have been highly amused by a letter to the Courier from " Wm. Penn,



one of the Hereditary Lords, Proprietors and Gouvernor-Generals of Pennsylvania," who is mightily offended that President Victoria should in his address have spoken of the "examples of Penn, Washington, Jefferson and Bolivar," and flatters himself that he has fulfilled his duty in rescuing his "great grandfather's memory from a foul association with the executioner of the heroic André, the patron of the miscreant Paine, and the marauder of Peru."

LONDON, Dec. 24, 1824.

To the Editor of the Courier :

"SIR : Through the channel of your kindness, I wish to submit to the public the impression made on my mind by the address of President Victoria, as reported in your paper of the 23d instant. In no small degree I claim a right of personal interference on this occasion conceiving, as I do, the right which our law invests in the representatives of ancient and honorable families, of watching over and protecting the monumental trophies of their ancestors, as typical of the imperious duties owed by them to the memory and fame of the distinguished dead, from whom they trace their descent. In the composition in question (which from the specimen which you have inserted of it savours more, in my opinion, of the puppet show than of the Cabinet school) the examples of Penn, Washington, Jefferson, and Bolivar are brought forward as parallel incentives to a line of policy which I hesitate not to brand with the imputation of rank Jacobinism.

"In preposterously pressing the authority of my justly celebrated progenitor into such a company, the old adage of

*ab uno disce omnes* is unfairly and perversely travestied into *omnibus disce unum*. Though bowed down to the ground, under the loss of feudal power superior, and territorial opulence equal to any now enjoyed by any of the families now ranged beneath our gracious sovereign's imperial and paternal throne, no Member of the House of Pennsylvania will ever swerve from those principles of devoted loyalty and uncompromising consistency which induced its founder to repay the well-placed confidence and merited munificence displayed by King Charles the Second, in a charter granting privileges as proud as an English monarch ever invested in an English subject, by a zeal in behalf of his unhappy brother's sinking and desperate cause, so prominent as to include his name in one of King William's earliest proclamations, along with those of Lords Clarendon, North and Darmouth, and Bishop Kent. By alluding to this single fact, prominently placed on historical record, I flatter myself that I have fulfilled my duty in rescuing my great grandfather's memory from the foul association with the executioner of the heroic André, the patron of the miscreant Paine, and the marauder of Peru. I should not be at all surprised to find M. Victoria following up the theory, which he has so ingeniously struck out by coupling the name of Louis XVI. with those of La Fayette, Robespierre, and Bonaparte.

"I am, Sir yours &c.,

" WILLIAM PENN,

"*One of the Hereditary Lords, Proprietors and Governor-Generals of Pennsylvania.*"

Bravo, descendant of William Penn—

bravo, ex-hereditary Lord of Pennsylvania! "Though bowed down to the ground *under the loss of feudal power* equal to any now enjoyed by any of the families now ranged beneath our gracious sovereign's imperial and paternal throne," yet the example of the House of Bourbon has not, it would appear, been lost on the representative of "the House of Pennsylvania."

Ah, to think of the mortification of a member of the house of Pennsylvania—a house which, in the memory of some Scotch Highlander, perhaps, was about ten times greater than the House of Brunswick, to think only of his celebrated progenitors being compared to the *marauder of Peru*!

How different the latter end of a house from the beginning! Think only of a great grandson of William Penn, who when Charles II. sent an order down to Oxford, that the surplice should be worn according to the custom of ancient times, fell upon those students who appeared in surplices, and tore them every where over their heads; who stood it out so lustily against constables; and who in his most celebrated work, "No Cross, No Crown," spoke so contemptuously of the proud man that is mighty big with the honour of his ancestors, and can tell you of his pedigree, what estate, what matches, but forgets that they are gone"; to think of the descendant of such a man, affecting to defend his memory, and in the same breath dwelling with complacency on his late feudal power and territorial opulence. But let us not trample on the fallen. The foible of the Representative of the House of Pennsylvania, Ex Lord

Proprietary and Feudal Chief, is as harmless to others as the poor inmate of Bedlam, who struts about in his cell, his brows bedecked with a paper crown. Would that all the representatives of great Houses were as little capable of injuring others!—*The Globe and Emerald, New York, June 3d, 1825.*

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#### NOTES

JOHN HARING.—In Colonel Ward's article in the April number of the Magazine, it is stated that Orange county sent John Herring to the Continental Congress of 1774. This is an error of spelling which many historians fall into, who mention John Haring. Mr. Bancroft apparently overlooks him, making the number of members of this Congress to have been 55. John Haring was undeservedly omitted in the Biographical celebration in Independence Hall, July 1st, 1876. He took his seat in the Continental Congress on September 26th, 1774. Before the signing of the Articles of Association he went home, for private reasons, and not on account of disaffection. His attendance at the Congress appears to have been punished by his removal from the office of County Judge, to which he had been appointed March 29th, 1774. He was elected to the Continental Congress of 1775, but gave satisfactory reasons for not going. He served in the Continental Congresses of 1785, '86 and '87. He was a member of the first four Provincial Congresses of New York; under the State Government he was County Judge from 1778 to 1788, and State Senator from 1781 to 1790. He was a member

of the New York Constitutional Convention of 1788, and voted against the adoption of the Federal Constitution.

He resided in Orangetown, New York. John Harings have been as common there as John Smiths elsewhere, a fact which renders it difficult to determine the birth and death of any particular one. However, I am informed by Mr. Blauvelt, the pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church at Tappan, that an aged inhabitant told him that Judge Haring is the person commemorated as follows :

"Sacred to the memory of John Haring, Esq., who departed this life April 1st, 1809, aged 69 years, 5 months and 22 days."

Among the early settlers of Orange county there were four Harings—Abraham, Pieter, Cornelis and Cozyn. Their respective wives were Derichea, Gritje, Cathe and Marytie. Abraham was born November 14, 1681, and died March 18, 1772. His eldest son, Abraham Haring, Jr., was born October 20, 1709, and died November 29, 1791. He married Martyntie Boomgaeret. According to a baptismal record, their son Jan was born September 28, 1739. This converted to New Style agrees with the gravestone quoted above. F. BURDGE.

BLOCK ISLAND.—Mr. De Costa, in his article on Verrazano (II 267) says : "This triangular island (meaning Block Island), which, after the mother of Francis I. he called *Luisa*." This is an error ; it was called *Claudia* by Verrazano, as you will see by the reduced fac-simile of the map in the Catalogue of the Carter-Brown Library. J. R. B.

A LANDMARK DESTROYED.—The old cedar tree at Weehawken, beneath which the duel between Hamilton and Burr was fought, July 11th, 1804, has been recently cut down. It stood about 150 yards south of the toll-gate, and east of the railroad track. As it was in no one's way, its destruction must have been the work of ignorance or vandalism. I have a distinct recollection of seeing it standing, in December or January last, when I took a winter afternoon's walk from Weehawken to Hokoken. The stump of the tree is still visible.

C. W.

BRANDYWINE.—It is said that General La Fayette disapproves of the proposed commemoration of the battle of Brandywine, because it was a defeat, which, he thinks, ought not to be celebrated, although his blood was first shed there in the cause of independence. Besides, he expects by the 11th of September to be on board of the Brandywine—not only out of the fresh water, but, perhaps, half seas over.—*Democratic Press*, July, 1825. W. K.

A TRAVELED MOHAWK.—A Boston paper says: "In the late vessel from France came passenger Peter Otsiquette, who we are told is a son to the King of the Six Nations, and whom the Marquis de la Fayette some time since sent to France to be educated. He speaks the French and English languages with accuracy, and is acquainted with most of the branches of polite education—musical, &c., and is on his way to the Indian country."—*Daily Advertiser*, August 6, 1788. J. A. S

**INDIAN ANTIQUITIES IN RHODE ISLAND.**  
An Indian pottery establishment has been discovered in the town of Craigton, Rhode Island. It has been lately visited by the President and the Librarian of the Newport Historical Society. Some unfinished dishes were found by them of the Indian manufacture, and were secured for the Society's cabinet at the Redwood Library in Newport. The establishment consists of a large cave of soft limestone. This cave was the seat of a large manufacture, and evidently many vessels have been taken from it for the Indians' use. In the cave some of the dishes have been left half finished, and some broken in the manufacture. The Indians used chisels and hammers, formed of a hard stone found in the neighboring hills. With these rude instruments the Indians made their articles of pottery, which, before the arrival of Europeans on these shores, they probably distributed throughout the length and breadth of the land.

*Newport, R. I.*

D. K.

**CONGRESSIONAL ETIQUETTE.**—Letter from John Jay to Don Diego Gardoqui, the Spanish Ambassador :

*"Office for Foreign Affairs, }*  
*"21st June, 1785. }*

*"Sir*—I have received the letter you did me the honour to write on the 2nd June instant. The etiquette which will be observed on your reception by Congress is as follows, viz. :

At such time as may be appointed by Congress for a public reception, the secretary for foreign affairs will conduct you to the Congress chamber, to a seat to be placed for you, and announce you

to Congress; the president and members keeping their seats and remaining covered. Your commission and letters of credence are then to be delivered to the secretary of Congress, who will read a translation of them, to be prepared by the secretary for foreign affairs from the copies to be left with the president. You will then be at liberty to speak (and if you please, deliver to the secretary of Congress in writing) what you may think proper to Congress, who will take what you may say into consideration, and through the secretary for foreign affairs will communicate whatever answer they may resolve upon. When you retire, you will be reconducted by the secretary for foreign affairs. A visit will be expected by every member of Congress, as well those who may then be in town as others who may afterward arrive during your residence here."—*Life of Jay*, I, 200.

J. A. S.

**ANECDOTE OF COMMODORE JOHN RODGERS.**—"Whilst Captain Rodgers was in the merchant service he commanded a ship named the *Jane*, belonging to Baltimore. On a voyage in this ship he was in Liverpool during an election for members of Parliament.

"According to the laws of England, the military are removed three miles without the city. A flag representing General Tarleton (then a candidate) on horseback, trampling the American colours under foot, was paraded through the streets of Liverpool. This flag caught the eye of Captain Rodgers, and as he at that time, though a seaman, actually was a member of Col. Washington's Troop of Horse in Baltimore, and had

his regimentals on board his ship, he hesitated not a moment, but equipt in that uniform, and accompanied by a friend, undertook and did demand at the hustings from General Tarleton: 'Why is the American flag represented in that degraded state?' The General replied: 'You have run a great risk of your life, but I assure you that I am entirely ignorant of such display. I will, however, sir, endeavour to suppress it,' adding 'the mob rules here during elections.' After this had past, Tarleton observed: 'Your uniform is military; pray, sir, tell me what corps it is attached to.' 'Sir,' replied Rodgers, with his hand touching the cuff of his coat, 'this is the uniform that was worn by Colonel Washington at the Cowpens.' It is well known that Washington defeated Tarleton there during our revolutionary contest. Tarleton was pleased with this spirited conduct, and, officer like, esteemed Captain Rodgers for the love he bore for his country, and sent him an invitation to dinner after the election was over."—*Public Advertiser*, June 10, 1811.

W. K.

A FROLIC AT THE WALTON'S.—If there were giants in those days they were not above a jollification occasionally, if not very often. Hear William Livingston's confession to Miss E. T. (we spare blushes of her shade), in a letter of the 17th Nov., 1744. "As but a few days have elapsed since your departure hence, nothing momentous has happened either relating to births, deaths or marriages, which when they offer or any other thing material I shall give you as fresh information as my hermetical kind of life will

permit. However, I must not omit that we had the wafel frolic at Miss Walton's talked of before your departure. The feast, as usual, was preceded by cards, and the company so numerous that they filled two tables; after a few games a magnificent supper appeared in grand order and decorum, but for my own part I was not a little grieved that so luxurious a feast should come under the name of a wafel frolic, because if this be the case I must expect but a few wafel frolics for the future; the frolic was closed up with *ten sunburnt virgins, lately come from Columbus, Newfoundland*, and sundry other female exercises, besides a play of my own invention, which I have not room to describe at present; however, kissing constitutes a great part of its entertainment."—*Sedgwick's Life of William Livingston*. MOMUS.

FRENCH DOCUMENTS RELATING TO AMERICA.—Attention has been invited in the Magazine to the first two volumes of an important series of documents concerning the discoveries and settlements of the French in the West and South of North America. The series it is understood, will comprise three volumes on the discovery of the lakes and the Mississippi, made up from the writings of D. de Casson and Gallinée, Joliet and Marquette, C. de La Salle, Tonti, Joutal, &c.; one volume on the settlement of Detroit and of the lakes, from Du Lhert, de la Mothe, Cadillac & Co.; two volumes on the colonization of Louisiana and the shores of the Gulf, from d'Her ville, Bienville, Penicaut, &c.; one volume on the intermediary ports, from Bisot de Vincennes (Indiana), Bourgmont

(Missouri), Juchereaude St. Denis (Natchitoches) Fort du Quesne (Pittsburgh), &c.; two volumes on the Far West, from the Varennes de la Veranderye (father and son), Boucher de Niverville, &c.

These volumes are printed verbatim from the French text. One of them contains a charming mezzotint portrait of Cavalier de la Salle. The expense of the undertaking is borne by the United States Government. A careful translation should be made. EDITOR.

A DISTRESSED LOYALIST.—One very cold day last winter (says a late London paper) a group of paupers, thronging the gate of Northumberland House, one of them contrived to throw a letter into the court yard, directed to the Duke, the contents of which were that "Peter L——y, Esq., late of Maryland, stood among the crowd of beggars for charity." In about an hour a servant opened the gate, and called out, "Peter L——y," who then went into the house, and the Duke, enquiring into the cause of his misfortunes, made him a present of thirty guineas.—*N. Y. Packet, Sept. 28, 1786.* PETERSFIELD.

THE IROQUOIS FORT.—Mr. John Gilman Shea, we are glad to learn, is editing for General John S. Clark, of Auburn, the result of his investigations as to the route taken by Champlain in his expedition of 1615 against the Iroquois, and the site of the Fort or Castle attacked by the French with their Indian allies. General Clark could not have put himself under surer guidance or in better hands. We have a foretaste of the book we presume in the note on "Champlain's

Expedition into Western New York, in 1615, and the recent identification of the Fort by General John S. Clark" in the last number, No I. of vol II., of the Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography.

Mr. Shea takes occasion to call attention to an erroneous interpretation of General Clark's location of the Fort [I-572] an inadvertence which was corrected in the next number [I-632].

General Clark's conclusions are looked for with great interest, when we expect to hear from both Mr. Marshall, and Mr. Geddes in reply. EDITOR.

THE VERRAZANO PORTRAIT.—The statement of Mr. de Costa, that the portrait which accompanies his article on the letter of Verrazano, in the February number was "faithfully reproduced for the first time" to accompany his article, although literally true, is yet subject to explanation. If by *faithfully* he meant that it was a fac-simile from the plate in the volume of "Uomini Illustri Toscani" a copy of which is in the Astor Library, he is correct, but it is just to Messrs. Bryant & Gay, the editors of a Popular History of the United States, to say that a wood-cut from the same portrait may be found on page 176 of that valuable work. EDITOR.

## QUERIES

FAMILY OF COLONEL GEORGE CROGHAN.—What, if any, was the relationship between Colonel George Croghan, the Indian agent and trader, who was sent on an expedition to the Ohio after the peace of 1763 and General George Croghan, who so bravely defended Fort

Stephenson in the war of 1812, and who was afterwards U. S. Inspector-General?

W. C. P.

CURIOSITIES OF THE PRESS.—During the visit of Lafayette to New York in the Summer of 1825, copies of the Brooklyn Star and Long Island Patriot, containing the proceedings of the celebration of the Fourth of July, were elegantly printed on satin for presentation to the distinguished patriot. Have any of these curious impressions been preserved?

PETERSFIELD.

KIGHTING OF GENERAL AMHERST.—When General Amherst arrived in New York in 1760, after the conquest of Canada, he was invested with the insignia of an English order of knighthood by General Monckton. Dunlap states that it was the order of the Garter, and other writers subsequently have repeated the statement. But was it the order of the Garter?

J. B. B.

E PLURIBUS UNUM.—What is the history of the motto on our coins—"e pluribus unum"?

POPULUS.

THE KINGS OF CANADA.—Smith's description of the Indian sachems who visited England in 1710 corresponds fully with the plate printed in the March number of the Magazine (II, 152), and explains the use of the European mantle in lieu of the Indian blanket. These plates, complete in the Carter-Brown-Library, are to be found separately in other collections. They are in mezzotint, and about a foot in length, but they cannot be the "*small cuts sold among the people*," to which Smith

alludes. Can any one give information as to the existence of any of these "small cuts" in this country?

ILLUSTRATOR.

## REPLIES

DE CÉLORON'S PLATE.—(II, 129, 308.) I find in the May number of this Magazine a communication from R. S. Robertson, of Fort Wayne, Indiana, stating that he finds a discrepancy between the narrative of De Céloron, as given by me, and the accompanying chart of Father Bonnecamps. He says that the *Fort des Miamis* is designated on the chart as one of the places where leaden plates were deposited; whereas the narrative states that the sixth and last plate was buried at the intersection of the great Miami and the Ohio. He therefore calls for an explanation.

Mr. Robertson has mistaken the mark on the chart which Father Bonnecamps used to represent the position of *Fort des Miamis*, for the character by which he denoted the places where the plates were deposited. Mr. Robertson will find, on a close examination, that that *mark* is in the form of a *greek cross*. The burial sites are designated by the Bourbon *fleur de lis*, of which there are only six on the map, the one, representing the plate last buried, being at the confluence of the Great Miami with the Ohio.

In order to adapt the chart to the size of the magazine, the scale had to be so reduced that some of the lettering and characters are quite indistinct.

The object of the expedition was to obtain constructive possession of the Ohio country, and to perpetuate the evidence thereof by *procès verbaux* and

the deposit of memorial plates. This was done at the mouths of the principal rivers, by virtue of which sovereignty was claimed to the sources of their remotest tributaries.

Having already had for several years *pedis possessio* of the site of Fort Wayne, it was unnecessary for the French to go through the idle ceremony of depositing a leaden plate in the soil, and that they did not do so, the evidence from De Céloron's Journal is quite conclusive.

O. H. MARSHALL.

Buffalo, N. Y.

MONTCALM'S SKULL (II, 369).—Within the precincts of the chapel of the Ursuline Convent at Quebec lie buried the remains of General Montcalm. A marble slab placed on the wall by Lord Aylmer in 1832, contains the following inscription: "Honneur à Montcalm! le destin en lui dérobant la Victoire, la récompensé par une mort glorieuse!"

In 1837, it being necessary to repair the wall, an aged nun, Sister Dubé, who had as a child attended the funeral, pointed out the grave of Montcalm. The skeleton was found and the skull placed in custody of the chaplain.

QUEBEC.

SUGAR REFINING (II, 369).—The art of sugar refining was first practiced in New York city. In the early settlement the colonists were content with Muscovada, brown or earthed sugars of West India manufacture; refined sugar was a luxury of later date. Archibald Kennedy, collector of the port of New York, in a report to the Lords of Trade, January 18, 1737, makes the following state-

ment: "From the year 1730 sugar baking and its refining have been for home consumption and *transportation hence to other districts on the continent*, and to the West Indies, and latterly the distilling of rum and other spirits; for these only are two houses erected."

The priority of the manufacture of rum from molasses in Massachusetts was probably the foundation of the erroneous statement referred to by your correspondent.

REFINER.

# BOOKS WANTED.

*We beg to inform our subscribers that hereafter we shall devote so much of this column as may be necessary to a department of BOOKS WANTED. Through this medium collectors will be enabled to communicate with each other, and thus perhaps acquire books for which they have sought elsewhere in vain, or dispose of books for which they may have no further use. Collectors desiring to avail themselves of this column will please give their addresses in full, so that those who wish to communicate with them can do so directly, and not through us.*

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son." Morton was a self-made man ; such small advantage of college education as he had being obtained by his own exertions. Under the various calls for troops made between 1861 and 1865, Governor Morton sent to the field 208,367 men, every call being promptly and fully met. Of the many war Governors the record of none is brighter than that of Morton, and no State excelled Indiana in cheerful and patriotic alacrity.

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**CURRENT DISCUSSION. A COLLECTION FROM THE CHIEF ENGLISH ESSAYS ON QUESTIONS OF THE TIME.** Edited by EDWARD L. BURLINGAME. Vol. I. International Politics. 8vo, pp. 368. G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS, New York. 1878.

Mr. Burlingame has done good service in collecting and publishing together the chief articles which have recently appeared on subjects of immediate interest. This, the first of the series, admirably printed and in most convenient form, is made up of nine articles from such pens as those of Gladstone, Goldwin Smith, Freeman, &c., on the international questions of the day; the Turkey, Montenegro and Russia imbroglio; the future of Egypt; the political destiny of Canada. Volume second will contain papers by Frederick Harrison, Huxley, Mallock and others on Questions of Belief.

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**THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF THE WEDNESDAY EVENING CLUB.** Instituted June 21, 1777. 8vo, pp. 145. Press of JOHN WILSON & SON, Boston. 1878.

An elegant little volume, giving an account of this celebrated social organization which was founded a century ago. It was formed of representatives from the different professions and departments of life, so limited in number that the whole roll for a century only contains one hundred and seven names. There are here a few sketches of some of the prominent members. The subject is local, and the general reader will not find much of interest or amusement in its pages.

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**MEMOIR OF ROBERT PARKER PARROTT.** By FREDERIC DE PEYSTER, LL. D., F. R. H. S. 8vo, pp. 16. (Privately printed.) New York, 1878.

This interesting little memoir, from the pen of the distinguished President of the New York Historical Society, will be gratefully received by the countless friends and admirers of this military officer, whose name is of world wide fame

as the inventor of the "Parrott gun." Mr. Parrott was born in New Hampshire in 1804, was graduated from West Point third in honor in 1824, was Assistant Professor and Professor at the Military Academy from 1824 to 1829, and engaged on ordnance duty till 1836, after which he was assigned to the West Point Foundry, located at Cold Springs, then under the direction of Mr. Gouverneur Kemble. Here he made the experimental trials which resulted in the famous rifled gun which bears his name. He died on the 24th December, 1877.

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**SOUTHERN HISTORICAL SOCIETY PAPERS.** May, 1878. Edited by Rev. J. WILLIAM JONES, D.D., Richmond, Va.

The May number contains an explanation and correction by Colonel Walter H. Taylor of his former article on the numerical strength of the armies of Gettysburgh, and an article on Grant as a soldier and civilian by General Dabney H. Maury, in which charges are made against Secretary Stanton of the gravest character, on what is said to be "unquestionable authority." The unquestionable authority is not, however, given, and the statement is, therefore, not worth repetition.

We learn that Major Walthall, whose recital of the incidents attending the capture of Jefferson Davis was noticed in our May number, takes exception to the manner of that notice. The article was generally reviewed and the author not named.

General James H. Wilson, in an account of this affair in the Philadelphia Times, published in 1877, said, "*It will be seen that Davis did not actually have on crinoline or petticoat, but there is no doubt whatever that he sought to avoid capture by assuming the dress of a woman.*" This we take to be the true story, and these words were quoted without ascription of authorship in our May review.

Major Walthall, in his criticism of General Wilson's assertion, uses the following words: (S. H. Soc. Papers, p. 110.) "*As we have said, the President was fully dressed. He hastily took leave of his wife, who threw over his shoulders a water-proof cloak or wrapper, either as a protection from the dampness of the early morning, or in the hope that it might serve as a partial disguise, or perhaps with woman's ready and rapid thoughtfulness of its possible use for both these purposes. Mr. Davis also directed a female servant, who was present, to take an empty bucket and accompany him in the direction of the spring.*"

Between these statements there is no substantial difference. He that can find one,

"— could distinguish and divide  
A hair, 'twixt south and south-west side."





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## THE VERRAZANO MAP

THE Verrazano Map, of which the North American section is now presented with the coast names for the first time, was drawn by Hieronimo da Verrazano, the brother of Giovanni the Navigator. Concerning Hieronimo, comparatively little is known. The late Buckingham Smith would not believe that any such person as the map maker was ever known, and associated the investigations of Tiraboschi with "speculative history." What he refers to in this phrase is a passage in a letter written by Annibal Caro from Castro, in Sicily, prior to October, 1537, and addressed to members of the household of M. di Gaddi, at Rome. In the course of his letter, Caro says: "As for you, Verrazano, a seeker after new worlds and their wonders, I cannot as yet tell you anything worthy of your map; for we have not yet passed through any country which had not been discovered already, either by you or your brother." A "slight examination" of the life and writings of Caro was sufficient to show that at this time he was a teacher in the Gaddi family, and that, while absent on a journey, and "sportively addressing his pupils," he "makes reference to their studies and exercises in geography and map making." Such was the theory that Mr. Smith devised for the purpose of getting rid of the map maker. The subject is referred to here for the purpose of illustrating one of the methods employed in seeking to discredit the voyage of Verrazano.

When some knowledge of the map of Hieronimo was afforded by an imperfect photograph furnished to the American Geographical Society, it became sufficiently clear, even to the prejudiced, that the Verrazano addressed in 1536 by Caro was no school boy, but that the map maker alluded to was a person who had achieved a reputation seven years before, he being no other than the author of the Verrazano Map of 1529, now preserved in the Borghian Museum of the Propaganda at Rome. In the year 1876, however, some documents were printed at Paris in the *Revue Critique*, which proved anew the relationship between

Giovanni and Hieronimo. These documents exist at Rouen, being powers of attorney executed by Giovanni, in which, May, 1526, he refers to "Jerosme de Varasenne, his brother and heir," signing himself "Janus Verrazanus"—this being the only copy of his autograph now known to exist. Jerosme, or Hieronimo, appears to have been his brother's agent. In 1536 he was in some way connected with the household of Gaddi, a rich Florentine resident at Rome. Probably he maintained the relation of a familiar friend. Of his death, at present, we have no account. The identity of Hieronimo never should have been doubted any more than the voyage of Giovanni. In the autograph of Giovanni, which appears in the Rouen document, the name is spelled, as in the map, with a single *z*. The following is a *fac simile*:

"Janus" also appears in the Carli version of the Letter. "Verrazano" is spelled with double *z*, but that version, as already pointed out, is not the original. The double *z* is introduced by error. The photographer of the map in Rome made the same error, writing in double *z*, when the original spelling, perfectly legible, was before him. The single *z* occurring in both the Rouen document and the map is significant, while the recurrence of Janus in that document and in the Carli version of the Letter, so far as it indicates anything, teaches that the Letter and the Rouen document proceeded from the same source. A manuscript sermon by one of the family, according to Mr. Brevoort, is signed with a single *z*.<sup>1</sup>

The Map of Verrazano forms one of those indefinite, yet effectual, protests made against the system of Ptolemy towards the middle of the sixteenth century, when the shape of the American continent was being developed. The system of Ptolemy supposed that no continent existed in the Atlantic, and that it was possible to sail from Western Europe to India. This was the view of Columbus, who had no original ideas, being a mere copyist, and died in the belief that he had actually demonstrated the truth of the old theory. Thus Strabo (c. 1.) wrote: "Nor is it likely that the Atlantic Ocean is divided into two seas by narrow isthmuses, so placed as to prevent circumnavigation. How

much more probable that it is confluent and uninterrupted? Those who circumnavigate the earth do not say that they have been prevented from continuing their voyage by any opposing continent, but through want of resolution and the scarcity of provision."

The Map of Verrazano represents the improved Italian cartography at the time when it had reached the peculiar phase, expressed not only by the outlines of the map, with its narrow isthmus separating the Atlantic from the Pacific Seas, but by the observation of the navigator himself, where he says to the King of France, "My intention in this voyage was to reach Cathay, on the extreme coast of Asia, expecting, however, to find in the new land some such obstacle as there has proved to be, yet I did not doubt that I should penetrate by some passage to the Eastern Ocean." He then refers to the fact that the Ptolemaic system supposed an open sea between Europe and Asia, without intervening land, a theory that Hieronimo was relinquishing with regret. October 15, 1524, Cortes wrote to the Emperor of Spain that he intended to send a fleet to search for a strait between Florida and Newfoundland; while in 1525 Gomez undertook such a voyage.

The Verrazano Map is the earliest known map which shows an isthmus near latitude 42° N. The author fixes the date of the map at 1529, by saying that "Nova Gallia" was discovered five years since. The words "Mare Occidentale" are *not* found on the map.

The earliest Spanish map of North America now known to the geographical world, was made in the year 1500 by Juan de la Cosa. It shows a solid coast line, while Cuba appears properly represented as an island. Ruysch, in his map of 1508, shows a coast line, but it resembles that of Eastern Asia, upon which he engrafted the outlines of Newfoundland. Cuba appears as an island of almost continental proportions.

Before Ruysch's Map appeared at Rome, a map of the world was engraved in Lorraine, being originally intended for publication in 1507, though it was not brought out until published in the Ptolemy of 1513. Evidently it was drawn between 1501-4, and sent from Lisbon to the Duke of Lorraine. At all events the engraver finished his work before Duke René's death, which took place December 10,<sup>9</sup> 1508. At this period the Portuguese were active in the Gulf of Mexico, and doubtless explored Florida. There is a manuscript in the Admiralty at Seville, which shows that in May, 1503, Juan de la Cosa went to explore Uraba; and that, July 13th, he sent a courier to his government, complaining that the Portuguese had been to the country discovered by Bastides. In August, Cosa went to Spain, to lay the whole matter before the

Court, as the Portuguese had arranged to make still another voyage. At Segovia, Cosa presented to the Queen two charts of the New World. These, apparently, are lost. (Ramon de la Sagra's "Cuba," II, 488.) The Lorraine Map of 1513 (Llewellyn's "Moyen-Age," II, 145) contains nothing in particular that is taken from either Cosa or Ruysch, though it appears to have had its origin somewhat in common with the latter. It indicates the progressive spirit so evident in Martyr's Map, published in 1511, which laid down Florida as a "*beimeni*." On this point the reader may also consult Varnhagen. ("Le Premier Voyage de Amerigo Vespucci," 1869, p. 24.) The map of 1513 shows North and South America, with Florida and the Gulf of Mexico fully defined, though the Cape is placed in 35° N. With this map we have the commencement of the North America portion of the Map of Verrazano, whose author, either without sufficient study, or by a clerical error, adopted the wrong latitude, which was too high by about eight degrees. For the extreme northern portion of his map, Hieronimo used some chart similar to that of Pedro Reinel, which appears as Number III. in the accompanying sheet of sketches. The intermediate portions of the coast were made up from material and hints afforded by his Brother's Voyage. Another reason perhaps for leaving the latitude of Florida as given in the map of 1513, and as also found in one of the maps of Kunstman's Atlas (Sheet 4) may be found in the fact that Giovanni did not explore Florida, while at the time Hieronimo drew his map he had not heard of the Exploration made in that region by Ayllon, 1523. He knew, however, of the Voyage of Garay, made to the northerly part of the Bay of Mexico, in 1521, for the purpose of discovering any rich cities that might be situated along the coast; thus carrying on the work of Cortes and Ponce de Leon, Garay being succeeded by De Soto. Garay's survey was extended nearly to the peninsula of Florida. The limit of his voyage is stated upon the Map of Verrazano, precisely as upon the undated sketch given by Navarrete (III, 148) in connection with the Cedula of Garay. The legend is omitted in our present representation of the Verrazano Map on account of the lack of space. It runs, however, as follow: "*Qui comincio a discoprir franc de garra ultima della Nova Hispania*;" or, "here begins the voyage of Francis Garay, the limit of New Spain." By commencing with the Cape of Florida eight degrees too high, the central portions of the coast shared in the error, which is not eliminated until reaching Newfoundland. This must be understood very distinctly, since confusion will otherwise ensue when the reader comes to examine the regions representing the Bay of New York and the Rhode Island

coast, which are placed six or seven degrees too high. Under the circumstances, the latitude may be thrown out altogether, as the configuration of the coast is recognizable.

Prior to the time when this map was made, a passage to the west, through the North American Continent, was supposed to exist, notwithstanding the fact that the map of 1513 gave a conjectural coast line as high as latitude  $55^{\circ}$  N. This point, therefore, renders it necessary to refer to the "Isole del Mondo" of Benedetto Bordone, written in 1521, being sanctioned by the Pope the same year, and by the Venitian Senate in 1526, though not printed until 1528. This work (L. Primo, pp. 6 and 11 verso) gives two maps, which, taken together, exhibit the chief portions of North and South America. With respect to North America, the remarkable thing is, that for its outlines Bordone adopted the outlines of Greenland as found upon the Zeno Map, published at Venice in 1558.<sup>1</sup>

After speaking of regions of Northern Europe, Bordone says; "To these is added the island newly discovered by the Spaniards and Portuguese, in which there is a country called Laboratore, which is in the Western Ocean, trending towards the north part, west opposite Ireland. It is eighteen hundred miles long, and extends towards the west two thousand miles, and thence turns south and south-west, in a manner that it forms a strait with the new world, which is east and west with the Strait of Gibraltar, and this part extends a thousand miles; and from what the navigators say until the present day, though no person has set foot upon the land, it is well inhabited." The maps accompanying the account agree perfectly with the description, which we must remember was prepared for publication and approved three years before the voyage of Verrazano. Bordone next proceeds to describe the people according to Pasqualigo, who gave an account of the voyage of the Cortereals, published in 1508. Bordone's work having been published in 1528, was doubtless seen by Hieronimo, who, instead of copying the open strait, put a narrow peninsula in that region, according to his Brother's Letter.

That the Map of Verrazano was drawn at the period claimed is certain, since a copy of it was presented to Henry VIII. If it had been the forgery of a late period, the maker would have complimented the navigator sufficiently to avoid the errors of latitude. This chart is evidently the one referred to by Annibal Caro in 1537.

Amongst the names placed by Jerome upon the peninsula of Florida are those of "Dieppe" and "Livorno," which, it has been said, were



given to indicate the beginning of his brother's exploration on the American coast. Livorno, however, appears as "G. Livor," or the Gulf of Leghorn, applied to the waters on the west coast of Florida by the map of 1513, which is number IV. of our sketch. The name, however, disappears in the later editions. The names taken from the map of 1513 were used by Verrazano in entire good faith, as was the case with those from Reinel.

The exploration of Verrazano, instead of being limited by the names on the map, beginning with Livorno, is indicated in part at least by three flags, of which the most southern stands near the isthmus of the western sea. When the latitudes of the map are corrected, the flag is found where, according to the Letter, it should be found, namely, near 34° N. The northernmost flag probably was not intended to show the limit of the voyage, but rather the limits of the region explored by Verrazano, as the Breton flag succeeds the three flags of Verrazano. We know that these flags were intended to indicate the claims of Francis I., because upon the original map they are blue, which about that period was made the color of France, in opposition to the white flag of England. Francis I., it would appear from Vernouel (*Les Couleurs de la France*, p. 25), had something to do in confirming the use of this color. These flags bear no device whatsoever, and the precise time when the lilies came into general use is not apparent.

A careful study of the map will show that, with all its defects, it possesses excellencies not found on any other map of the sixteenth century, and proves at the same time that, with the exception of Florida and Newfoundland sections, it was based upon an original survey of the Atlantic coast from North Carolina to Cape Breton. Speaking of the Letter of Verrazano, Mr. Smith says that it "was written at a time so far back, that the entrances of the coast of the 'Lay of the Land' were imperfectly or not at all known, and that it was dated too far forward, to be in proper relation with the progress of maritime discovery." Nothing could be more remote from the truth than this. Rhetoricians tell us that, if we wish to test a figure, we should paint it. The same is true of a geographical description; and when that of Verrazano is thus treated its value is evident. Hieronimo, in a sense, painted the voyage of his brother, the Navigator, the result being so admirable that it required nearly a hundred years for geographers to make any real improvement upon his work. As Mr. Smith never saw the Verrazano Map and knew nothing whatever about it, he may be excused for giving utterance to opinions like those set forth in his "Inquiry."

The false latitudes of the map have prevented it from being understood. In considering it, therefore, the latitudes must be discarded. When this is done, the student will have no difficulty in recognizing the outlines of the North Atlantic coast. For general correctness, the delineation is not equalled by any map of the sixteenth century. Much that is wanting in the Letter appears in this Map. The peninsula of Florida is unmistakable, and, moving northward and striking the coast in the region of the Carolinas, we find the well known Cape Hatteras in Cape "Olimpo." Near "Santanna" is the mouth of Chesapeake Bay, and at Palamsina is the entrance of the Delaware. The coast of New Jersey follows with the well known Sandy Hook at its northern extremity; "San Germano" marking a large bay, which is the Bay of New York. This bay is exaggerated, because it formed a prominent point in the narrative. The peninsula indicates Long Island, supposed to be attached to the Continent, and which was not known to be an island until the seventeenth century, the entrance to Long Island Sound being narrow and filled with islands. The coast still stretches eastward, beyond the Island of "Luisa," or Block Island, to a cape called "Bussa," and a long Syrtis indicating Cape Cod and Nantucket Shoals. The harbor of Verrazano is given east of Luisa, as "G. del Refugio." Passing Cape Cod, the coast turns more northward, and then, properly, eastward again. The great river near the Cape of "San Luis" might stand for the Penobscot or the Saco, the latter being, perhaps, the more probable. From this region to Cape Breton the map has no special features, the coast being delineated as it often was in subsequent times, the Bay of Fundy not appearing with much distinctness, if at all. No map now known to the public of an earlier date than the seventeenth century, except Homem's, 1558, shows that bay, though its existence was known, the peninsula of Nova Scotia having been compared to the peninsula of Italy, 1575, as indicated in the previous chapter.

Under the circumstances, it is remarkable that the outline of the coast should be so recognizable. In the Map of Ribero, based upon the Voyage of Gomez, 1525, no indication whatever is found of the peculiar region between New York Bay and the Penobscot. Gomez is credited with having observed and named the Hudson "San Antonio," which Verrazano mentions as the river of the "Steep Hills;" but, if he came to New York Bay and went eastward, he has given no hint whatsoever of the region now embraced by Long Island, Connecticut, Rhode Island and Massachusetts. As it is, we have no account of his visiting the region in question, and it would be quite as reasonable to suppose that

the naming of the Hudson on the map of Ribero was one result of the Voyage of Verrazano, in 1524. The Penobscot is the only region clearly defined by Gomez, and his visit cannot, perhaps, be denied. In the Ribero map, Sandy Hook is wildly exaggerated. Attention has already been called to the fact that many supposed that it was intended to represent Cape Cod; whereas that cape has no representation in the sixteenth century maps, beyond what was given by Verrazano. After the year 1529, the knowledge of the coast between the Delaware and the Penobscot suffered a decline. The map of Hieronimo was used, but the high latitudes given to the region confused the copyists, and Long Island eventually disappeared, being known no more until it reappeared in the Dutch "Figurative Map" (Holland Documents) in connection with the explorations of Adrian Block; though Allefonsce evidently knew of the existence of Long Island Sound. In the meanwhile the coast was represented in a crude fashion, New England being obliterated, while a great gulf, which Dr. Kohl confused with the "Gulf of Maine," was thrown in between Sandy Hook and the Penobscot. Apart from the Verrazano Map, and those which show its influence, Cape Cod had no place in recognized geography until 1602, when it was seen by Gosnold, and received the name that it will bear to the end of time. This view of the subject is amply vindicated by the careful study of the maps subsequent to Verrazano. Let us next proceed to notice the effect of this map upon subsequent delineations of the coast.

The earliest existing map now known, showing the influence of the Verrazano Map, is that of Agnese, 1536, with an open sea and isthmus near 40° N. There is nothing to indicate that Agnese *preceded* Verrazano. Besides, the map referred to by Carli, October, 1537, must have been in existence in Italy for some time at the date of the Letter.

The Ptolemy of 1540 breaks up the solid continent, which on the map of 1513 extends from 35° N. to 55° N. It also shows an open sea in a modified form, the land northward being called "Francisca," a name evidently recognized by the Portuguese prior to Cartier's voyage in 1534.

The influence of the Verrazano Map is next seen in the plan of a globe published by Gerard Mercator at Louvain, in 1541. This work, republished and accompanied by a celestial globe in 1551, was bought for a trifle by a representative of the Royal Library at Brussels in 1868, when the collections of M. Benoni-Verelst were disposed of at Ghent. The plans contemplated a globe about fifteen inches in diameter. It was dedicated to Nicholas Parrenat, Lord of Granville. In 1875 it was

reproduced in *fac simile* by the Belgian Government, the edition being limited to two hundred copies. Though it bears the date of 1541, the material from which it was composed belongs to an earlier period, as it makes no reference to the explorations of Cartier. The Sea of Verrazano is not indicated. The North Atlantic coast line appears to have been drawn in accordance with "some of his great globes," which Willes says (Hakluyt III, 25) "continued the West Indies, even to the North Pole, and consequently cut off all passage by sea that way." The central portion of the coast line would appear to have been copied out of the Verrazano Map, showing thereby that the map in some form was probably known to Mercator. The general plan of Mercator's globe resembles that of Vlpius, made the following year, indicating that both may have worked from a common model, one using coast lines and the other names from Verrazano. The globe of Mercator, like the Map of Verrazano, shows the Bay of New York, Long Island and the regions of Narragansett and Cape Cod. The Syrtis of Verrazano is represented differently by Mercator, showing possibly the influence of some other map. The whole region near that Syrtis is dotted to indicate the shoal water found on modern charts. The nomenclature of the map is different, and one is at loss to know upon what principle Mercator at this early period introduced some of the new names, as there is no distinct account of any voyage to the region which might have suggested them. Cape Cod appears to be indicated by "Mala-brigo," which would signify commotion or strife, the meaning being analogous to the "Bussa" of Verrazano, and the "Baturier" and "Mallebarre" of Champlain. In fact, all navigators who saw the cape incline to designate it with reference to the tumult created by the shallow water on the coast. The Island of Luisa is not laid down by Mercator, though we shall see that it appeared in his subsequent map. The Italian names of Verrazano are discarded, his work not being designed for use by people of that nation. The peninsula of Florida and the neighboring region bear names that appeared in several maps of Ptolemy, beginning with 1513. The central latitudes are also thrown too high, as in the Verrazano Map; and, to get rid of the excessive eastward projection of the latter's coast line, Mercator at the wrong point extends his coast line northward, making the part corresponding with Long Island trend in that direction, instead of toward the east. But whatever may be the deviation, there can be little doubt but that Mercator was influenced by Verrazano.

The open Western Sea of Verrazano reappears upon the globe of

Of this, however, no proof is given, and the error may be explained easily, though it appears in a very sumptuous and valuable work somewhat recently published at Rome, and entitled "*Studj Bibliografici*," etc. At page 358, under the year 1528, is the following: "177 [No.]. *Carta Nautica di Gerolamo Verrazzano*." This is the map of which we speak, and from which our copy was taken by the writer. At the most, we could refer nothing more than the mechanical execution of this particular map to Hieronimo. In the volume referred to, the true Verrazano Map is catalogued in its proper place.

Turning next to the Ptolemy of 1548, we find a map drawn by Gastaldi, which is the counterpart of Ruscelli's. These two cartographers worked together. This map recognizes the Sea of Verrazano, and repudiates Ribero. Another map in the same volume recognizes Verrazano *without* the open sea. It puts a cape in 40° N., taken from Ramusio's map of 1534, and incorporates northward a coast line from Verrazano, at the same time expunging the reference to the voyage of Gomez. In this map a triangular-shaped island ("Brisa") lies opposite one of the deep indentures. It bears six of the Verrazano names, three of which are peculiar to the Florentine, namely, "Angoulesme," "p. Refugio," and "Monte de Trigo." It will be observed, however, that the parts of the coast line used are removed from the central portion of the coast where they were placed, and removed to Nova Scotia, for the purpose of keeping them in the *latitude* erroneously assigned. It is evident that the Italian geographers had obtained no new knowledge of that part of the coast, and were laboring under the mistake into which they were led by the false latitudes of Hieronimo. Therefore, the delineation of the entire coast of Long Island, Rhode Island, Connecticut and Massachusetts was carried northward to the region of Cape Breton. This mistake was perpetuated by others, who had no fresh surveys of the coast to show them where the delineations in question belonged. Thus error was accumulated upon error.

To the names already given as occurring on the Verrazano Map, those of "Nurumbega" and "Brisa" may be added. The latter is intended for "Luisa." The map by Gastaldi, found in Ramusio's third volume of 1556, follows the Verrazano outline more closely, though, through a mistake of the Engraver, who blunders twice, "Brisa" becomes "Briso," while the island loses its triangular form. In the same volume of Ramusio is a map that relates to Parmentier's voyage to the East Indies. 1529, when he named three islands, respectively, "La Parmentière," "La Marguerite" and "La Louise," in honor, first of

himself, and afterwards of the sister and mother of Francis I. Two of the names appear in the map as "La lauyse" and "La formetie" (Vitel's "Histoire," II, 88). Thus the Regent had *two* islands named in her honor. Gastaldi's map of 1556 evidently was intended to illustrate the Letter of Verrazano.

Two years later, Homem, at Venice, drew a map which again recalled the Verrazano Map, through Gastaldi, and by means of the names "Monte de Trigo" and "Golesme" for "Angolesme." The Island of Luisa and the "Port of Refuge" are delineated, but their names are omitted. Again, in 1561, Ruscelli reproduced, substantially, a copy of Gastaldi's map of 1548. In these maps there is no reference to the name of Verrazano, though his voyage is recognized by the nomenclature.

We next come to Mercator's map of 1569, when the plan is found to be entirely different, this evidently being in accordance with those of his work which, according to Willes, *did* open a gulf between "the West Indies and the extreme northern line." Willes (Hakluyt, III, 25) mentions that the globes of the Italian Moletius, whom he associates with Mercator, possessed the same features. This map of 1569 shows all the new discoveries in the North, but leaves the Atlantic coast line in a poorer condition than in 1541. Mercator had now seen the map of Ruscelli and Gastaldi in the Ptolemies and in Ramusio's Collection of Voyages, and he allowed himself to be overruled by them. Accordingly he placed the indented coast and the Island of "Briso" where the mistakes of Gastaldi and Ramusio had located them, near Cape Breton, and omitted his former representations of the coast covering the line between New Jersey and New York. In the place of this he left a great bay occupying the space that should have been given to the outlines of Long Island and the New England coast. He was nevertheless true to the Verrazano idea, as expressed both in the Map and Letter. This is an important point, for he had now read the Letter and was reassured of the fact that there should be a triangular shaped island near latitude  $41^{\circ} 40' N.$ , also that the region should be made approachable by water from the West. He accordingly laid the island down, with Norumbega at the West, in common with Allefonsce, calling this island "Claudia," instead of Luisa, giving the name of the wife and not the mother of Francis I. The origin of the names "Briso" and "Claudia" on the map of Mercator is therefore perfectly clear. In the future this map may be remembered for its *double* representation of the Island of Luisa and the Verrazano Voyage.

Finally we proceed to England, and learn that a map was presented

resentation of Cape Breton, he nevertheless amended all the latitudes, while the outline of the New England coast is noticeable for its resemblance to Gastaldi's, evidently drawn from a copy of the Verrazano Map, possessing variations similar to those on the map of Henry VIII. The island of Gastaldi, called "Briso" through the fault of the engraver, is called "Claudia" by Lok; but the *relative position* is the same in both maps, the island lying west of the Gulf of Refuge, which contains other islands, with two separate islands eastward, while further west is the region called, on the other maps, "Angouleme." Lok, like Gastaldi, makes Norumbega insular. Lok changes names, but delineates the corresponding *things*. He changes the shape and position assigned to the island of Luisa by Mercator, though he adopts the name of Claudia, instead of Luisa. He also rejects the error of Mercator in duplicating the island. Lok understood perfectly well that the two islands, called by Mercator Claudia and Briso, were the same. He indeed supposes that Claudia was the correct name for the mother of Francis, but Hakluyt knew that Lok was in error; and, in the margin of the Verrazano Letter, says, "Claudia was the wife of King Francis," thus correcting Lok, not Verrazano. Therefore, until it can be shown that not only the *name* of Luisa but the *island itself* was wanting in the map of Henry VIII, it will be useless to deny that that map, like the Propaganda copy, contained a clear recognition of the Voyage.

If it should be said that Lok *did* take the island, as well as the name, from Mercator, it may also be said that he copied the Azores from Mercator, and therefore that the Azores were not in the map of Henry VIII. It is too late now, however, to pursue such a line of disputation, as the reality of the influence of the Verrazano Map throughout a long period is something that in the future may not be denied.

It remains to make few observations concerning the nomenclature of the map, which, however, will demand continued study in the future. The names are about one hundred in number, and some of them are repeated, in accordance with the practice of old cartographers. On the Florida section the influence of the names on the map of 1513 is noticeable. Several of the names are not easily explained,<sup>4</sup> though "Olimpo" is probably Cape Olimpe, in Cyprus. "La Victoria" is a name used upon the South America portion of the map. It is a reminiscence of Magellan. Proceeding up the coast, it will be perceived that various names are suggested by the Letter of the Navigator, and have a manifest fitness. Near the Gulf of St. Lawrence is "Baia Sancti di Ioanni." At this point the map of Allefonsce has a relation to that of Verrazano,

showing "Isle de Saint Johan." Some of the names of the Newfoundland section are not quite legible on the original map, and where doubtful readings occur, they have been indicated. The significance of the most of the names, however, is apparent at a glance; "farilhan" being the "Farralones," or detached rocks, a name found in every part of the world in various forms, but with a single meaning. "Monte de Trigo," is the Spanish for wheat. In the voyage of Cartier (Hakluyt, III, 213) there is a reference to this mountain, described as a "hill like a heap of corn." Fuoco is Fire Island.

About twenty of the names found on the central portions of the coast are French, more or less disguised in an Italian dress. But the author soon perceived the fact that they were taken from a route of travel across France from Dieppe to La Rochelle, a route with which Hieronimo was acquainted, as it is sufficiently evident that he passed some time in France, probably in attending to the interests of his brother. Beginning at Dieppe, the route passes Longueville and St. George, touches at Rouen, where Giovanni had provided for the recognition of Jerome, his "brother and heir," as his commissioner and "attorney." Thence the road runs direct to San Germano, or St. Germain-en-laye, the favorite residence of Francis I., whose name was associated with the principal places mentioned. The Forest of St. Germaine, one of the largest in France, was perhaps in mind when Hieronimo wrote "La Foresta" upon his map, though at the same time he must have remembered the splendid forests described in the Letter. "Lamuetto" may have been suggested by the *muette*, or famous kennel built by Francis I. in the forest, though a village of the name still exists. "Belvidere" might perhaps recall the terrace of St. Germaine, which commands the celebrated view of Paris. "Casino," or the little house, if one were inclined to indulge the imagination, might have referred to one of the pavillions,<sup>8</sup> but Casino is also connected with San Germano in Italy. Selva de Cervi recalls the deer parks of Francis in the "Selva Ledia," as well as the deer parks of America. Around St. Germaine the two brothers may have lingered from time to time, awaiting the decisions of Francis respecting the expeditions that interested him so greatly.

Next the route passes to Vendome, a place famous for its connection with the family of Francis I.; thence on by the way of St. Anne, St. Savin and Mont Morrillon, the latter signifying the black grape, which appears to have been translated into the Italian "Morrelo," or nightshade. Afterwards Nantiat is reached—in the map called Lanun-



tiate, which may refer also to the festival of the Annunciation, which occurred while Giovanni was on the coast. Thence the road touches Angoulême, the birth place of Francis, who was called by Louis XII. "Le gros garçon d'Angoulême." Next we find St. Savinien and Aux-pruneles, conducting to La Rochelle, the Navigator being described by Herrera as "Florin de la Rochelle." Names like San Siano and San Gorgio doubtless had Italian connections, yet it is curious to observe how these names, taken together, indicate the route between the two great seaports of France. The nomenclature, therefore, is similar to what might have been expected from an Italian some time resident in France, where, in the sunshine of royal favor, Hieronimo probably compiled his map, at the same time attending to the interests of his brother. The Navigator's "little book" doubtless afforded suggestions to Jerome. "Le figla di navarra" appears to refer to the King of Navarre, the husband of Margurite of Angoulême, sister of Francis I. It might also be considered a recognition of Margurite herself, as she was acquainted with American exploration, and based one of her stories upon incidents in the voyage of Roberval.\*

This same route of travel is indicated upon the globe of Vlpus, 1542, which was copied from the Verrazano Map. In this series we have the additional names of Normanvilla, near Dieppe, and Port Royal, the home of the Jansenists favored by Margurite; while on Ramusio's map of 1556 is found "Paradis," the name of Margurite's Hebrew teacher.

Ramusio in 1553 said that Oviedo (who rejected Ribero) and some "excellent Frenchmen" had sent maps to Italy, and that they would be put in their proper place with some reports of New France, amongst which no doubt was the Verrazano Letter. The reports were not printed until three years after, and possibly other maps were in the meanwhile acquired. But whether so or not, a sketch of the Verrazano Map was used in the map of 1556. Jerome doubtless left sketches with the French navigators. In this connection it must, however, be observed that the use of the Verrazano Map by Ramusio was anticipated no less than *fourteen years* by the Florentine globe maker. It is, therefore, probable that the drawings, which appeared to have been received by Ramusio about the year 1553, were those which related to Cartier. The sketch published by him in 1556 makes no mention of Cartier, while the fact that Canada is left blank shows that it was drawn at an early period, before that region was known. We, therefore, may claim Ramusio's map, in one sense, as a Verrazano Map.

Some of the sketches by the "excellent Frenchmen" were used in France, simultaneously with their appearance in Italy, in 1542. The great map of Henry II. (see Jomard's Atlas) bears eight of the Verrazano names in a modified form, as follows: C. du Mont, R. des canoes, R. de bône Viste, Les Germaines, Auorobaga, C. de longue, R. hermofo, Môt de trigo. To these might be added; R. des Palmes and R. de bône mere. The maker of this map appears to have known of the "Syrtis" of Verrazano.

Dr. Kohl, not being acquainted with the Verrazano Map, did not understand the origin of Ramusio's, while for the same reason others have made the most of what was supposed to be a fact, namely, that the French map of 1542, drawn in the time of Francis I., contained no reminiscence of the Voyage of Verrazano. The identification of these names, however, should moderate the objector's zeal.

Botero (*Ralationi Universali*, ed. 1640, p. 173) says that the French gave the names "porto del refugio, Porto reale, il Paradiso, Flora, Angoleme." It would thus appear that he had seen a Verrazano Map, or the globe of Vlpus, and perhaps both. The authority for his statement is not given, but whether he had any authority or not, it is sufficiently true, since the names resulted from a French voyage.

With this brief description and defense of the Map of Verrazano, we rest the present discussion. In treating of the names we have confined ourselves to those found upon the North American portions. In due time it is to be hoped that the entire map may be produced in *fac simile*, since it merits at least that much attention on the part of geographers. No subsequent examination of the Map, however, will be likely to render the American names much clearer. Acids applied to the parchment might perhaps make the orthography of several words a little more distinct, but those about which there can be any real doubt are beyond question quite unimportant. Our own readings have been confirmed by the independent judgment of two very competent ecclesiastics and scholars, resident at Rome, to whom the writer is indebted for his introduction to the priceless maps of the Borghian Museum of the Propaganda. The reader may not therefore look forward to any substantial improvement in the rendering of the coast names upon the Verrazano sketch accompanying this discussion. The modern student now for the first time sees before his eyes, "traced all alonge the coaste from Florida to Cape Britton," the "many Italian names" that met the wondering gaze of Henry VIII., of Michael Lok and Richard Hakluyt, as they bent over the "mightie large olde mappe" which, as the latter

informs us, was made by Verrazano. Whether the copy preserved at Rome is the original map or not, it may now be difficult to determine. If not original, is beyond doubt a fair copy of a very early date. That a copy was presented to Henry VIII. can no longer be questioned. There is found on the map the kind of ships, with both sails and oars, that were built in the Breton ports at the time (July 12, 1522), when Andrew, Bishop of Murray, Scotland, according to Gaillard (*Histoire François Premier, VII, 223-4*), exhorted Francis I. to make himself master of the sea; but what is more to the point, a variety of facts and arguments concur in proving that Hakluyt's testimony is true, and that we have before us a copy of a very ancient document, marked by all the peculiarities of authenticity. The historic world may, therefore, possibly incline to believe that it has not waited until now in vain for the Propaganda to yield up its testimony to the Voyage of Verrazano.

In closing we desire to call attention to a few points which have been substantiated in discussing the Letter, the Voyage and the Map. With respect to the Letter, it has been made to appear that it certainly existed in two version—Ramusio's and Carli's—and probably in French and Spanish; strong reasons even lead to the conclusion that the original version was written in French. Again, by a comparison of texts, the charges against Ramusio have been dissipated. With respect to the date of the Letter, the discussion yields fresh proof, and establishes the fact that it was written at the period claimed. Now, also, that the contents of the Map are known, we are able to prove that the Map was based upon the Letter; and since a copy of the Map itself was presented to Henry VIII. by Giovanni da Verrazano, the Letter must have existed prior to 1527-8; thus disposing of the theory that it was the work of a forger near 1540-5. In dealing with the Voyage, it has been shown that it could not have been deduced from the map of Ribero, 1527, as physical impossibilities interfered; the same also being apparent from the fact just stated, that the Letter preceded the Map presented to Henry VIII., 1527-8, and, therefore, that both Letter and Map described the Voyage before the work of Ribero existed. The internal evidence of the Letter to the authenticity of the Voyage has also been developed, showing the inaccuracy of the charge that the descriptions of the country and people found in the Letter do not agree with what actually existed; since it has been shown that the accounts are at variance with those of untravelled European writers of those times, and convey facts that could have been gleaned only by an actual voyager, like Verrazano, in sailing along the coast, the descriptions often being so striking as to be copied

by subsequent adventurers, and being full, also, with respect to those parts of the coast of which nothing was known.

The genesis of the Map has likewise been pointed out for the first time, and the chart of Hieronimo da Verrazano takes its proper place in the old Cartology within about three years of the date of the Voyage; while its influence upon later maps has been rendered apparent in a way that was impossible before the Verrazano coast names were made known. Thus, at every point, there is exhibited the action of a strong and intelligent mind in free communication with the new world, and we therefore claim that Verrazano is Vindicated.

## B. F. DE COSTA

<sup>1</sup> This is now published for the first time, the copy having been made for the writer by authorization of the Prefect of Rouen.

<sup>2</sup> *Géographie du Moyen Age*, vol. ii, p. 145, and the Chart, numbered 118, in the Atlas. Also, see "*Examen Critique*," vol. iv, pp. 116-18.

<sup>3</sup> It is given in a modified form, and the north-east portion, called "*Terra de Lavoratore*," is formed according to the Map of Cosa, or from some map that agreed with Cosa's. But why did Bordone adopt Zeno's Greenland as America? To explain this fully would require more space than can be given to the subject at present, and it must suffice to say that in 1521 the knowledge of Old Greenland had been lost (Northmen in Maine, p. 38) and Zeno's account of that country was partially discredited, the view given by Ptolemy being adopted by Bordone, as later, and consequently the more reliable. Both the pre and post-Columbian editions of Ptolemy made Greenland a part of Europe, pushing out into the sea from Norway. Bordone followed this conception, thinking that Zeno was wrong in placing the name of Greenland upon the countries at the west. That he actually saw the Zeno map in 1521 or earlier is not only evident from the outlines of his own map, filled in with mountains after the style of Zeno, but also from his drawing of Iceland, or "*Islanda*." The style of the letters forming the word "*Islanda*" are exactly like those of Zeno, and the curious and convincing fact is that Bordone uses the same style of letter in *no other map*. Whoever examines this subject will find the most decided proof that Bordone was familiar with the Zeno Chart in 1521, which overturns the theory that that map was a forgery of the period of 1558. Bordone's, which shows a strait opening through the Western Continent, near the latitude of the Azores, marked "*Stretto pte del môdo novo*;" "*the strait, part of the New World*." The region south of this strait bore the title of the New World, which had been laid open by the Spaniards, it being thus conceded by him that Zeno made the discovery of land at the West. The testimony of Bordone is all the more valuable, for the reason that it is *indirect*. This geographer makes no allusion to Zeno, and evidently had not seen his narrative, though familiar with the map.

<sup>4</sup> The Italian photographer of the Verrazano Map gave one of these names, written upon the photograph, as "*p. dara Flor*," which might be interpreted "*punta de la Florida*;" but our own reading is "*p. daraptor*," probably a mangling of "*C. delitontir*" on the map of 1513, which, in turn, was a false reading of "*C. elecanti*," or "*Aliconto*." "*Lamulette*" once appears as "*bomuetto*," an error easily recognized.

<sup>5</sup> Geographers must keep clear of Fluellen at Agincourt (Henry V., A. iv, s. 5). "*I warrant you shall find in the comparisons between Macedon and Monmouth that the situations, look you, is both alike. There is a river at Macedon, and there is also moreover a river at Monmouth; it is called Wye at Monmouth, but it is out of my prains what is the name of the other river, but 'tis all one; 'tis alike as my fingers is to my fingers, and there is salmons in both.*"

<sup>6</sup> "*Heptameron*," Story, lxvii, relates the alleged experience of a wife left with her husband by Roberval on a desert island. It was vulgarized and adopted by Thevet. "*Cosmographie Universelle*," ii, p. 1019. See also Harrise's "*Notes*," etc.

## CHAMPLAIN'S EXPEDITION OF 1615

### REPLY TO DR. SHEA AND GENERAL CLARK

The first number of this magazine (Jan., 1877) contains an article on the Expedition of Champlain against the Onondagas, in 1615. It was founded on a communication read before the New York Historical Society in March, 1849, in which I had discussed the evidences which exist as to the route of the expedition, and the site of the Iroquois fort which it besieged. My position having been questioned by several eminent historians, who claimed a more western location for the fort, the main object of my last article was to fortify my former conclusions. In it I endeavored to trace Champlain's route across Lake Ontario to its south shore, and from thence to his objective point. While my location of the fort in the Onondaga, rather than the Seneca Country, has generally been approved, some difference of opinion is entertained as to its exact site, as well as to the precise route by which it was reached.

General James S. Clark, of Auburn, in a paper read before the Buffalo and New York Historical Societies, and Georges Geddes, Esq., of Camillus, in an article in the last September number of this magazine, vol. I., p. 521, while they agree that the site was in the Onondaga Country, dissent from my views in other particulars. Dr. John Gilmary Shea, in a recent article in the Penn Historical Magazine, vol. II., p. 103, coincides in the main with General Clark. I am glad that a writer of Dr. Shea's ability has taken the field. I have read his paper attentively, and fail to see that it has disproved any of my main positions.

It may be proper to state that General Clark's address, thus reviewed and endorsed by Dr. Shea, has never been published. It was delivered before the above societies during my absence in Europe. Since my return, I have endeavored, without success, to obtain a copy. I can only judge of its contents from the references in Dr. Shea's review. That the General is accurately quoted therein, may be inferred from his having reproduced the article, with verbal corrections, in an Auburn journal.

In a published address, delivered last September before the Pioneers' Association at Syracuse, General Clark stated the conclusions to which his investigations had led him, but gave no facts or arguments to support them. In doing so, he used the following emphatic language:

"I claim especially to understand the record of Champlain by following his narrative *verbatim et literatim*, and accepting his estimates of distances, his map and illustrations. I stand on no uncertain ground. I understand this question thoroughly. I know that I am right. I desire no misunderstanding on this question. I take the affirmative and throw down the gauntlet to all comers; and if any choose to enter the list, I have the most unbounded confidence that it will not be me that will be borne from the field discomfited. I identify the site as certainly as any gentleman present can identify his wife at the breakfast table after ten years of married life," etc., etc.

It is to be regretted that General Clark has not accompanied his challenge, so forcibly stated, with the proofs and reasons on which he relies. The public could then judge whether such historians as O'Callaghan, Parkman, Broadhead, Laverdière and his neighbor Geddes are, as he asserts, mistaken in their conclusions. It is quite evident that General Clark is an enthusiast in his *Study of Aboriginal History*. A certain amount of zeal may be desirable in the investigation of such subjects, but conscientious convictions, however decidedly entertained, are not always in harmony with just conclusions. It is only by patient and candid investigation, by comparing, weighing and sifting the evidence, that historical truth can be elicited.

I will consider in their order: *First*. The authenticity and accuracy of the map. *Second*. The starting point of the Expedition on Lake Ontario. *Third*. The route across the Lake. *Fourth*. The landing on the south shore. *Fifth*. The march on the beach. *Sixth*. The inland route to the Fort. *Seventh*. The location of the Fort.

THE AUTHENTICITY AND ACCURACY OF THE MAP.—In order to account for the many manifest discrepancies between Champlain's text of 1619 and the map annexed to the edition of 1632, I suggested that the map and the latter edition were not the work of Champlain and never passed under his personal supervision. I gave my reasons for this opinion on pages 5 and 6, vol. I, of this magazine.

Dr. Shea replies to this, that "the map is evidently Champlain's, and he was too good a hydrographer for us to reject his map as a guide for parts he actually visited." This, however, is assuming the authenticity of the map, the very point in issue, without noticing the objections I advanced. If the map were actually constructed by Champlain, it is of course competent evidence, without however being conclusive where it differs from the text. It is not possible, however, to reconcile the two. Where they disagree, one or the other must yield, and in accordance with well settled rules of evidence, the text must govern.

The most competent critics who have examined the edition of 1632, to which alone the map is annexed, including Laverdière, Margry and Harrisse, agree that it bears internal evidence of having been compiled, by a foreign hand, from the various editions previously published. No map accompanied the original narrative of the expedition, published in 1619.

I claim that by inspection and comparison with reliable topographical maps of the country traversed by Champlain, no ingenuity can torture the dotted line on the chart into an accurate representation of the route he pursued, as described in his text. The discrepancies will be indicated, as the various points on the route are passed in review.

I trust my readers will follow my argument with the Champlain *fac-simile*, which is annexed to my article in Vol. I of this magazine, and a reliable chart of the easterly end of Lake Ontario. All my measurements are taken from the Lake Survey Charts, recently published by the United States Government, and the most reliable maps attainable of Jefferson, Oswego, Onondaga and Madison counties.

THE STARTING POINT.—The narrative states that the expedition descended what is now known as Trent River, which empties into Lake Ontario, and after short days' journeys, reached the border of Lake Ontario. It then proceeds. I give the original French, as Champlain's works are quite rare, and copy from the edition of 1619, modernizing the old French orthography: "où etans, nous fimes la traverse en l'un des bouts, tirant à l'orient, qui est l'entrée de la grande rivière St. Laurens, par la hauteur de quarante-trois degrés de latitude, où il y a de belles îles fort grandes en ce passage."

Where then was the starting point of the expedition? Gen. Clark says "Kingston." Dr. Shea says, "from a peninsula beyond (east of?) Quinté Bay, on the north shore," agreeing with Gen. Clark that it must have been at Kingston. There is some confusion among geographers as to the extent of Quinté Bay. Some represent it as reaching to Kingston.

Quinté Bay proper, according to the best authorities, extends no farther eastward than the eastern extremity of Prince Edward Peninsula, called Point Pleasant. It is often called the River Trent, being as it were an extension of that stream.

Champlain evidently considered, and correctly so, that when he had passed Point Pleasant, he had arrived at the Lake. He says that the river he descended "forms the passage into the lake," and a little farther on, "we traveled by short days' journeys as far as the border of Lake Ontario, where having arrived, we crossed," &c.







Having fixed the starting point at Kingston, Gen. Clark claims that from thence he "ran east a distance not given, thence southerly to a point fourteen leagues (35 miles) from the commencement of the River St. Lawrence." Champlain says, the *crossing* embraced fourteen leagues. How the starting point at Kingston, much less the extension of the route eastward from Kingston, is "reconciled with the map," does not appear.

I claimed the starting point to have been opposite the eastern end of Point Pleasant, and in this I am sustained by both map and text.

According to the text, the crossing began as soon as they reached the lake, and that occurred when they passed out of the river (or bay) at Point Pleasant. Champlain does not say that they went an inch east of that Point. I quite agree with Dr. Shea's translation of the words "tirant à l'orient," and of the passage in which it occurs. Those words have no reference to the *direction* pursued by Champlain, but to the *end of the lake* which he crossed.

"Having arrived at the borders of the lake, we crossed," he says, "one of its extremities which, extending eastward, forms the entrance of the great River St. Lawrence, in 43 degrees of latitude, where there are very large beautiful islands on the passage." I suggested this interpretation some months ago to the Superintendent of the translation of Champlain's Voyages of 1603, 1613 and 1619, now being made for the Prince Society. I am inclined to believe that General Clark's extension of the route eastward to Kingston, originated in a mistranslation of those words. His construction of the route certainly requires "*tirant à l'orient*" to refer to the *direction* pursued by Champlain, which is in conflict with Dr. Shea's translation, while the route I propose is in entire harmony with it.

Dr. Shea further says, "That Champlain was actually at the head of the St. Lawrence, of which he gives the latitude, seems almost certain. For one who had founded a trading settlement on the lower river, the examination and exact locating of the head of the river, when he was so near it, seem imperatively demanded."

It must be remembered, however, that Champlain was on a war expedition, aided by only a few of his own countrymen, with several hundred Huron and Algonkin warriors, approaching a hostile country. Under such circumstances he would hardly have gone so far east, and so much out of his way, to make geographical or hydrographical observations, either during a cautious approach or a hurried retreat.

Although Champlain gives the latitude of the entrance of the river, instead of that furnishing an argument in favor of his having been there,

It did not seem probable that Champlain, accompanied by so large an army, would boldly land on an enemy's shore, exposed to observation for twenty miles in two directions, with scarcely a hope of successfully concealing the canoes which were so essential for his return voyage. *Second.* Because Henderson Bay, long previous to the settlement of the country, had been a favorite landing place for the Indians passing to and from Canada, as is well attested by tradition. The name of "Indian Wharf" still bears witness to the fact. A portage road led from the landing to Stony Creek, called by the French the "*rivière à Monsieur le Comte.*" That the expedition landed there, was a mere suggestion derived from the probabilities of the case. I do not insist upon it. In good weather an equally favorable landing could have been made in the small cove at the mouth of Stony Creek, though not so secluded from observation. It is not possible, from the meagre details of the narrative, to state with any certainty, much less to prove the exact point of landing. That it took place at Little Sandy Lake, selected by General Clark, is not probable, and for the following reasons:

Assuming for the present what I expect to prove in the sequel—that the expedition followed the sandy beach of the lake no farther south than Salmon River, where it left for the interior—we must look, according to the text of Champlain, for the following conditions between the places where he landed and where he left for the interior.

THE MARCH ON THE BEACH. — Champlain says: "*Les sauvages cachèrent tous leurs canaux dans les bois, proche du rivage. Nous fîmes par terre quelques quatre lieues sur une plage de sable, ou je remarquai un pays fort agreable et beau, traversé de plusieurs petits ruisseaux, et deux petites rivières, qui se dechargent au susdit lac, et force etangs et prairies.*" "The Indians concealed all their canoes in the woods near the shore. We proceeded by land about four leagues over a sandy beach, where I observed a very agreeable and beautiful country, intersected by many small brooks and two small rivers which empty into the said lake, and many lakelets and meadows."

On referring to the map, we find it furnishes nothing in addition to the above, except it represents three small bodies of water as lying along the route parallel with the shore, which are undoubtedly those referred to by Champlain under the name of "*Etangs.*" There are still existing three such collections of water between Stony Point and Salmon River, two of which are known by the name of North and South ponds, and the largest by the name of Little Sandy Lake. The latter is about 3,000 acres in extent. Dr. Shea says: "General Clark identifies the

three small lakes noted on the map, as North and South Ponds, in Jefferson County, and Little Sandy Lake." But if Champlain landed at Little Sandy Lake as claimed by General Clark, he would not have passed by North and South Ponds, as they lie north of that landing. The probabilities exist, therefore, that the landing took place farther north, and either in Henderson Bay, or at the mouth of Stony Creek, as before stated.

Dr. Shea says: "Mr. Marshall holds that the expedition passed Salmon River. The next stream is Salmon Creek, which Mr. Marshall holds is the Oswego." Dr. Shea has entirely misunderstood me in this particular. I claimed that the expedition left the lake at Salmon River. I did not even name Salmon Creek, nor did I state that the expedition ascended or even saw the Oswego River. I said that it crossed from the mouth of Salmon River to the outlet of Oneida Lake, and from thence passed to the fort, distant four leagues from the fishery.

One reason I gave for discrediting the map was that the dotted line seemed to enter the "Oswego River," that being the only stream having numerous lakes at its sources; but I distinctly averred that such a route was "highly improbable, unnecessarily circuitous, and could not possibly be reconciled with the text of Champlain." Vol. I, p. 6 of this magazine.

THE INLAND ROUTE.—My reasons in favor of the mouth of the Salmon River as the point of departure for the interior are as follows:

*First.* It is the southernmost and last point on the lake in the direct line of travel between Stony Point and the foot of Oneida Lake. The mouth of Salmon Creek lies west of that line, requiring a detour that would increase the travel without affording any corresponding advantage. *Second.* The mouth of Salmon River—the *Otihatangué* of the early French maps—has always been a noted place in Indian history. It is mentioned on the oldest Ms. maps of the Jesuit missionaries found in the French Archives at Paris. A trail is laid down on several of said maps, running direct from that point to the great fishery, called "Techoiroguen." Franquelin, the celebrated geographer to Louis XIV., in his "*Carte du pays des Iroquois*" of 1679, calls the trail "*Chemin de Techoiroguen à la Famine*." La Famine was a name applied by the Jesuits to the mouth of the Salmon River, in allusion to the sufferings experienced there by Monsieur Du Puys and his companions, in July, 1656, from want of provisions. It has generally been called by later writers, "*Cahihonoüaghé*," which may be a dialectical variation from *Otihatangué*. A Ms. map of 1679, says: "it is the place where the most of the Iroquois and Loups

fair to use it in testing the soundness of their positions. The original is a well-executed copper plate line engraving, inserted in the editions of 1619 and 1632. The copies reproduced by Lavèrdiere, and in this Magazine (vol. 1., p. 561) are wood cuts, and do not, of course, do justice to the original. The latter represents the fortified village as bounded on two sides by two streams, emptying *into* the lake from elevated ground in the rear; whereas the inlets into Nichols Pond are on opposite sides, not contiguous to each other. The pond is quite insignificant, scarcely an acre in extent, nearly surrounded by a marsh of perhaps four acres more, which may, in wet seasons, have formerly been overflowed. *Fourth.* The view represents the lake as much broader than the palisaded water front of the fort, and the fortified village as quite extensive, much larger than Nichols Pond could ever have been. The latter therefore fails to answer the conditions required by the engraving. *Fifth.* General Clark says, that "the fortified village on Nichols Pond was occupied from about 1600 to 1630." The mean between the two happens to be the exact year of Champlain's invasion. How has General Clark ascertained those dates? How does he know that the village had not ceased to exist long anterior to Champlain's invasion? In fixing limits to the periods of aboriginal occupancy, it would be more satisfactory to have the evidence cited. In regard to this village, if one of any considerable extent existed on Nichols Pond, all we can certainly know is, that it belonged to the Stone Age. Who can tell when its fires were first kindled,—when, or how they were finally extinguished? History, and even tradition are silent. *Sixth.* General Clark concedes that the expedition was directed against, and besieged a fort of the Onondagas. Why then does he seek to locate it on a pond in the ancient territory of the Oneidas? *Seventh.* The site of the fort, as claimed by General Clark, is on the water-shed between the sources of the Susquehanna and the tributaries of Oneida Lake, an elevation of nearly 1,000 feet above the latter. To reach it would have involved an ascent so difficult and toilsome for an army like Champlain's, that he would hardly have failed to notice the embarrassments in his narrative. *Eighth.* The siege lasted six days. If the fort had been on the heights of Fenner, a beacon light in its neighborhood could have flashed a summons to the confederate tribes, and brought such prompt assistance that the besiegers would speedily have been attacked and overwhelmed. Champlain would hardly have trusted himself so long in a hostile country, and so far from his landing. *Ninth.* Champlain mentions the islands in Oneida Lake. General Clark assumes the knowledge of their

existence could only have been derived from their having been seen by Champlain from the hills near Nichols Pond, forgetting they are only four miles distant, and in plain sight, of the place where he crossed the Oneida outlet. *Tenth.* Champlain says they raised the siege of the fort, and began their retreat on the 16th of October, and reached their canoes on the 18th, a march quite incredible, if from so distant a point as Nichols Pond, encumbered as they were with their wounded, and impeded by a driving snow storm on the last day.

Having discussed the location of the fort, aided by the text and engraved view of Champlain, let us now see what assistance can be derived from the map, claimed by General Clark and Dr. Shea to be so accurate and authentic. Whenever the text and map agree, they must be accepted as conclusive. Where they do not, and particularly in those instances where the map differs from well authenticated modern surveys, I prefer to reject it, whether it was made by Champlain or not.

That it does not agree in important particulars, either with the text or with the actual topography of the country, is clearly evident, as I have already shown and will now endeavor to point out more in detail. The map differs from the text, *First.* In landing the expedition directly at the point on the south shore of Lake Ontario, where it passed into the interior, instead of first carrying it for at least "four leagues along the sandy beach of the lake," as clearly represented by the text. *Second.* In representing Champlain to have landed at a stream—claimed by General Clark to be Little Salmon Creek—and to have passed directly inland from the mouth of that stream, and to have crossed it twice before reaching the fort. *Third.* In representing, at the sources of that creek thus crossed, three large and two small lakes, near the largest two of which the expedition passed. If, as General Clark holds, neither of those lakes is Oneida Lake, then the five lakes thus delineated on the map are not noticed in the text at all. Champlain is utterly silent in regard to them, and rightfully so, for in point of fact *there are no such lakes in existence.* They will be sought for in vain on any reliable map of the country. *Fourth.* The map differs from the text in another important particular, that is, if the theory advanced by General Clark and Dr. Shea is correct. The route, as indicated on the map, after winding among those mythical lakes, and leaving the sources of the Little Salmon, passes directly by a southwesterly course to the Iroquois fort. This fort is located, *by the map*, on the easterly end of a lake, assumed by both General Clark and Dr. Shea to be Oneida Lake, the outlet of which flows into Lake Ontario. If it is not Oneida Lake, then that lake is not represented on

the map at all, unless it is one of the five imaginary lakes on the sources of the Little Salmon, which is disclaimed by General Clark. But the route of the expedition, as shown by the map, instead of crossing the outlet of what he claims to be Oneida Lake, as distinctly asserted by the text, does not go near it. Dr. Shea says, General Clark and Mr. Marshall agree that Champlain crossed that outlet. I certainly do, because the text asserts it. But the map contradicts it. It is for General Clark to reconcile the two. Both General Clark and Dr. Shea repudiate the map when they say, "the dotted line of the march on the map, to coincide with Champlain's text, should have continued across Oneida outlet, which it already approaches on the map." They are in error in saying that it approaches the outlet. The whole length of the lake lies between them. If the dotted line had crossed the outlet, where, on the hypothesis of General Clark, would it then have gone? *Fifth.* If the map locates the fort at the east end of Oneida Lake, as it certainly does on the theory of General Clark, what then becomes of his location on Nichols Pond, at least 10 miles in a direct line south of that lake? *Sixth.* The map places the fort on a small lake, the outlet of which empties into Lake Ontario. But the waters of Nichols Pond flow into Oneida Lake, first passing through Cowasselon, Canaserago and Chittenango Creeks. How is this discrepancy reconciled?

Dr. Shea impugns the correctness of the *fac-simile* map in one particular. He says: "In the reproduction in the magazine the dotted line goes to the town; in the original, however, it stops before reaching the lake near which the town is placed." I do not understand the force of this criticism. Both the original and *fac-simile* place the town on the lake. The dotted line of the *fac-simile* quite reaches the town, while that of the original falls two or three dots short of it. The line of the original is evidently intended to exhibit the route as extending to the town whether carried quite to it or not. Does Dr. Shea mean to be understood that the expedition did not reach the town by the line indicated?

The considerations which I have presented conclusively show that the map and the text are irreconcilable, and that one or the other must, in some of the particulars, be rejected. I prefer, for the reasons already stated, to be governed by the text. Yet Dr. Shea says that "General Clark seeks a theory which will reconcile the text and the map." Whether he has found it the reader can now decide. The effort to harmonize what cannot be reconciled has led to much of the obscurity and confusion which have involved this subject. The route of the expedition, as claimed in my two articles, is certainly the most natural, the most feasible, and the

most in harmony with the narrative of Champlain. No other across the lake, and inland to the fort, presents so few objections, and no other which has yet been suggested can stand the test of critical examination. As to the location of the fort, I reached the conclusion, after a careful consideration of all the data that could be obtained—a comparison of the map and text of Champlain, a study of the topography of the country, aided by the best maps attainable, and by correspondence with persons familiar with the various localities—that the objective point of the expedition, the fortified village of the Onondagas, was on the lake which bears their name.

I have seen nothing in the publications of General Clark, or in the learned article of Dr. Shea, to disturb my first impressions. Certainly no other place so free from objection has been pointed out. The strong language used by General Clark in support of his views, while it is in keeping with his enthusiastic convictions, is not justified by his facts or reasons. His conclusions are valuable, to the extent only in which they are sustained by reliable data. I understand that he has ready for the press, a work on the "Homes and Migrations of the Iroquois." Possibly it will contain his views more at large on the questions here discussed. Whenever any additional facts and arguments to disprove my positions are presented, I will give them a candid and careful examination. I am constrained to believe, however, that we cannot hope for any new data, but must be content to rest the case on the scanty records of Champlain, the testimony of the early travelers, and the few relics, which time has spared, of the era in which the Iroquois met and successfully resisted the firearms of the white man, in the heart of Central New York.

O. H. MARSHALL



## WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

### GOVERNOR OF NEW JERSEY

William Livingston, whom we may term, after the present fashion, the great war Governor of New Jersey during the struggle for independence, was the son of Robert Livingston and Catharine Van Brugh of Albany, and was born in that town in November, 1723. Dying in 1790, his public career covered the most stirring period of our colonial history. His boyhood was passed with his grandmother Van Brugh at Albany, an interesting episode in which was a year spent among the Mohawks with a Gospel Missionary, when, as he himself recorded, "he studied the language and had a good opportunity to learn the genius and manners of the natives." The value of the information thus acquired is better understood when we reflect that the Indian tribes were a perpetual source of danger and anxiety to the colonies. Livingston's biographer, Theodore Sedgwick, relates of him that his ambition was to become a painter, and to study in the schools of Italy. In this he was not encouraged by his family. The arts had few advocates during the stormy days in which his lot was cast, and the restless colonies were in more need of statesmanship than culture. He was graduated from Yale College in 1741 at the head of his class, one of the six persons in the New York Province who had received a collegiate education.

He at once begun the study of law in the office of James Alexander, a native of Scotland, who had settled in New York in 1715, and stood at the head of his profession. No better training and example than that to be found in the study and practice of the best Scotch lawyers, a model picture of whom was familiar to our youth in the person of the precise and genial counsellor Pleydell, as drawn by the inimitable Scott. Not only in his professional example, but in the higher walks of political ethics, the influence of Alexander was a happy one on the young student. The sturdy counsellor was first among the advocates of popular rights, foremost in resistance to the oppressions of the Crown. The earlier generations of Livingstons had been aristocratic in their sympathies, but that which came upon the stage with the subject of this sketch was true to the cause of liberty. Philip, one of the brothers of William, was a signer of the Declaration of Independence. No doubt their opinions

were guided, if not shaped by the eminent Scotchman. Alexander did not neglect his students, and added the gay science of mathematics to the ordinary drill in jurisprudence; this was the evening entertainment. Livingston preferred occasional diversions, and chafed against the minute drudgery. An essay in the *Post Boy*, under the signature of Tyro Philoleges, satirizing this mode of teaching the young idea, shows the state of Livingston's mind at this period. A pasquinade the next year, on an incident which happened in the family of Mr. Alexander, charged upon Livingston and not denied by him, was the cause of a rupture between master and pupil, and occasion of the latter passing to the office of William Smith, then a leading Whig lawyer. Scotchmen are not the most patient of men. Alexander was hot-blooded and Livingston had enough of northern irascibility to make of him an unequal and not always agreeable companion. The breach, however, was soon healed.

About this time Mr. Livingston made a matrimonial alliance with Miss Susannah French, a daughter of Philip French, a gentleman who had owned a large tract in New Jersey. This lady was a grand-daughter in the female line of Major Anthony Brocholls, Lieutenant-Governor of the New York Colony under Andros, and Commander-in-Chief in 1677. Miss French was living with her aunt Mary Brocholls at the time of the wedding, and with her Mr. Livingston and his bride remained for the first year, after which they resided for some years in Water street. In 1768 they removed to a house on the corner of William and Garden (now Exchange Place), a building later occupied by the Post Office. Here they remained until their final removal from the city.

Besides his legal occupation Mr. Livingston was engaged in literary and political pursuits, published with William Smith, Jr., the first digest of the colony laws, and began a miscellaneous journal, entitled the "*Independent Reflector*," which gave ample scope to the rather sharp, dry and pungent character of his intelligence and wit.

In religion Livingston was true to his ancestry. "The faith of his mother Lois and his grandmother Eunice" was in him also, and he defended it stoutly by word and pen. In 1758, when the Church was the dividing line in politics, he was sent to the Assembly. The liberal party were mostly dissenters, and the opposition now took the name of the Livingston party, though not controlled by the family. His standing at the bar was shown in his choice as the first President of the Moot, a club formed in the fall of 1770 for the discussion of legal questions.

Cities in the last century offered few of the attractions which we find

so numerous in this; the gentlemen who did not own a country establishment were exceptions. The Livingston manor on the Hudson was the property of the eldest son, as was the fashion in the days of hereditary law. Perhaps his wife's influence was seen in the choice made of New Jersey for a family seat. Here in Elizabethtown, in 1760, Mr. Livingston made a purchase of eighty acres of land, which he later increased to one hundred and twenty, and stocked with many varieties of fruit trees imported from England. Of the sixty-five pear trees then planted the modern fruit grower will only recognize the Beurées or butter pears, the Ambrée, St. Germain, Bergamot and the familiar Vergaloo. He finally withdrew from the city to Elizabethtown in 1772, and resided in the village until the fall of 1773, when the famous mansion [a print of which, showing the house as it appeared before its later alterations, prefaces this sketch] was ready for occupation.

Thoroughly American in spirit, and so far prejudiced that he almost wholly declined intercourse with the English officers who made "*la pluie et le beau temps*" for the city, Mr. Livingston showed his republican simplicity and avowed his liberal tendencies by giving to his mansion the plain, significant name of LIBERTY HALL.

In 1774 Mr. Livingston was elected to represent New Jersey in the first Continental Congress, and again re-elected in 1775; in both bodies he did good service. Recalled in June, 1775, to take command of the Jersey troops, he lost the opportunity of signing the Declaration of Independence. In June, 1776, Franklin, the Colonial Governor, having been deposed, he was chosen to fill his place, and became the first Governor of the State of New Jersey. His opponent at this election was Richard Stockton. This gentleman found his compensation for his defeat in the privilege of affixing his name to the Declaration of Independence.


In September, Livingston resigned his commission and entered upon the arduous duties of his office. His addresses to the Legislature are full of patriotic sentiment; and his pen did constant and excellent service in private and public manner. Conspicuous among his publications was a parody in reply to the bombastic general order with which Burgoyne opened the campaign which terminated at Saratoga. This squib so exasperated the royalist General that the price put upon Livingston's head was, he himself writes, raised from five hundred to two thousand guineas. In the fall of this year, 1777, he was re-elected Governor without a dissenting voice. So thoroughly and well-ordered were the forces of the State under his rule, that when Washington turned upon the British in New Jersey, the firing of a tar barrel and the discharge of a

cannon instantly collected four thousand of her militia in the time of harvest to co-operate with the grand army. His time was wholly given to public duties. In 1780 he wrote that he had not, in four years, given fourteen days attention to his family.

During the war New Jersey was a maneuvering ground for the two armies, and Liberty Hall was seldom a safe residence; indeed, on several occasions the family were annoyed; on one, February, 1779, by a detachment sent from New York to seize the person and papers of the Governor, the latter of which were only saved by the presence of mind of his daughters. Liberty Hall was the scene of many noteworthy incidents. Washington and Lafayette dined in its ample hall, and in its spacious drawing-room a daughter, Sarah Van Brugh Livingston, the pure and childlike expression of whose countenance has been admirably preserved by the pencil of Pine, was married to John Jay.

The Governor returned with great delight to his mansion in 1783, and for the first time in seven years "spent a summer in the shadow of his own vine and fruit tree." After so long a nomadic existence, he enjoyed with additional relish the home and rural life for which he had an ardent passion. He wrapped himself up, to use his own words, "in a sort of *otium cum dignitate*." He was constantly in his garden with his spade, and took pride in his reputation as a New Jersey farmer; but as has been the fate of many another, from Cincinnatus to our later day, who would have found happiness in retirement, his country could not spare his intelligent service. He retained his office of Governor till the close of his life. In 1785 he was chosen Minister to Holland, to succeed Mr. Adams. He was sorely tempted to accept, because of his knowledge of the Dutch language and his acquaintance with many of the Court, but felt unwilling to leave his home. In 1787 he was member of the Convention which framed the Federal Constitution. In person he was, in middle life, tall and spare, later slightly corpulent; in dress, careless, almost slovenly, but his biographer informs us that he was a capital fisherman and wrote a bad hand, two unerring marks of a gentleman. He was an excellent Latin scholar, read and wrote French and Dutch with ease, and was thoroughly acquainted with English literature.

He continued to reside at Liberty Hall until his death, which occurred on Monday, the 25th July, 1790. As Tacitus says of Agricola, he was "*felix in opportunitate mortis*." His eyes closed upon the Republic, full of honors, with the Federal Constitution he had helped to frame in successful and happy experiment under the guidance of Wash-



ington. Among the men of this historic period, no one affords a more interesting study than this staunch, original and devoted friend of the liberties and rights of man.

Of thirteen children by Susannah French, seven survived him. I Henry Brockholst, better known as Brockholst, who was Colonel in the Continental army, and later Judge of the Supreme Court of New York. II. William. Of his five daughters, Susan, married to John Clive Symmes; Kitty, first to Matthew Ridley of Baltimore, second, to John Livingston; Mary, to James Linn; Sarah, as before stated, to John Jay.

Liberty Hall was later occupied by Countess Meinziowitz, a daughter of Peter Van Brugh Livingston and niece of the Governor of New York, who had the bad taste to change the name of the historic mansion to "Ursino." The exterior appearance of the house has been changed by the addition of a story, but otherwise the old building is the same as when its walls echoed to the tramp of Hessian soldiery, whose passage through the corridors left marks still visible in sabre cuts and hacks on the bannisters. It is now the property of Mr. John Kean. It stands upon the left side of the Springfield turnpike, beyond the Elizabeth river, and about three-quarters of a mile to the northward of the railway station in the village. It is nearly shut out from the road by thick shrubbery, and overshadowed by the foliage of large trees, among which no doubt the "mazzard" or black cherry trees, which the Governor planted with his own hand.

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS

Handwritten text, mostly illegible due to extreme fading and noise. The text appears to be organized into several paragraphs, possibly separated by lines or small indentations. The handwriting is cursive and dense.

Handwritten mark or signature at the bottom right corner, possibly a stylized 'C' or a similar character.





**LIBERTY HALL**  
*Residence of Governor Livingston,—Elizabethtown, N. J.*





## THE SIEGE OF SAVANNAH

1779

AS RELATED BY COLONEL JOHN HARRIS  
CRUGER*Communicated by Henry C. Van Schaack*

SAVANNAH, November 8, 1779

*My Dear Sirs*—By this time I presume you are under great uneasiness and apprehensions for the fate of Georgia, invested by Sea Land and by the combined powers of France and the Southern rebel Colonies; the former with a fleet of 25 sails of the line and above a Dozn frigates, and between 3 & 4000 Land forces, and the latter with between 2 & 3000 troops. I kept a memorandum of the proceedings of the siege for my own satisfaction. I send you herewith a Copy of it for yours; it contains almost every Circumstance that with propriety I could commit to paper; in addition to it I may add that never did a sett of people meet with a greater Disappointment than did on this occasion the Rebel Gentry and their great & good Allies. They came in so full of Confidence of succeeding, that they were at some loss where to lay the blame, each abusing the other for deceiving them. The french have still some frigates cruising off our harbor, notwithstanding wh two Express Boats are just now going away, one for England & the other for N. York; the odds are in my opinion against either of them going safe. Mrs. Cruger is now here, very well, after having suffer'd on her passage exceedingly by a most violent storm & being detain'd a prisoner for a month on board the French fleet. Sir James Wallace & Generl Garth are carried to France, as

is Captn McKenzie of His Majesty's ship Ariel, who was also taken with several other vessels bound hither off Tybee. *We are all hands sufferers by this unfortunate invasion. The difference is we have acquired glory and our Enemies Disgrace.*

By Captn Galbreath in August the last Conveyance from this to England, I did myself the pleasure to write you separately & fully, my not doing so at present is not having anything very particular to write, at least what would require troubling you with separate Letters. If Mr. Van Schaack is in England, I beg to be affectionately remember'd to him.

I thank God for the enjoyment of my health in a very unhealthy Country, & I pray to God to grant you health, with every other Blessing & Comfort of this Life, & am very much,

my dear Sirs

Yr much obliged &amp;

very affectionate humble Servt

J. H. CRUGER

Nancy desires her most affectionate Regards to you & Mrs. Van Schaack.

HENRY CRUGER SENR }  
HENRY CRUGER JUNR } *Esquires.*

MEMORANDUM of a very critical period in the province of Georgia a little previous and during the Siege of Savannah by the combined powers of France & the American Rebels by Sea & Land, under the command of the Count D'Estaing.

Five Sail of Count D'Estaing's fleet discovered off Tybee ye 3d<sup>rd</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup>, ye 6th ye Sail chased Capn Whitworth going express to New York into Tybee; from this time for a week forward more

& more of the french Ships were daily seen. Sunday night & Monday morning, ye 12th & 13th, the french landed their Troops, above 3000, at Burley ye 18th. Count D'Estaing by a flagg summoned the Town in the name of ye King of france, boasting exceedingly of his very formidable fleet & great Army, flushed with victory from their late success at St. Vincents & Grenada—threatning an assault, & carefully pointing out all the horrible Consequences of so desperate a measure, reminding the Genl that he would be responsible by an ill judged and fruitless opposition. The Genl summoned the Field Officers upon the Count's Letter. The purport of their answer was—that British Soldiers never could think of surrendering under any circumstances without some kind of conditions, & terms being allowed them. The next Day recd the Count's answer, that according to the rules of War the Besieged & not the Besiegers were to propose terms. We asked 24 Hours to consider, which was readily granted—we having nothing else in view but to steal time till we could be reinforced with the Beaufort Garrison & throw up some works in our front & on our flanks, where we were almost naked, a bad Abbatis excepted, & our whole force, (Militia included) not exceeding 1200 Men, forming a front from right to left near two Miles. Under these circumstances, weak as we were, from the extensiveness of our line without Battery or Breast work, we were determined to have fought Monsieur had he thought proper to come on, tho' the odds were against us, as the french had then laying before us between 2 & 3000 Men; but to re-

turn, as says the Parson when, like me, he wanders from his subject—our plan succeeding by the fortunate arrival of Colo Maitland with the Beaufort Garrison, about 900, we sent the Count for answer (as soon as the 24 Hours were expired) that in a Council of the Principal Civil and Military Officers it was *unanimously agreed & determined to defend the Town*. Here endeth all Truces till ye 25th of Septr, when the French sent out a Flagg for ye purpose of collecting their Wounded & Burying their Dead, the consequences of a sortie made upon them that Day by three Companies of our light Infantry. Our loss was 1 officer of ye 71st, kill'd, & 21 Rank & File, kill'd & wounded. The loss of ye french, kill'd & wounded, about 120. The greatest part of ye first & second week that the french lay before us they were exceeding busy in making Batteries, bringing up their Ships' Guns, 18, 12 & 9 pounders, Mortars & Ammunition, & intrenching themselves; nor were we behind them in labour by night & by Day, building Batteries & redoubts, under the direction of the indefatigable Captn Moncrief, Chief Engineer, to whom we must in a great measure attribute the preservation of Savannah & its Garrison.

The 20th Septr, about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a Mile from Savannah, the Rose, Man of War, was sunk in ye River, & a Day or two after that three Transports, about 2 Miles lower down the River, were also sunk to stop the Channel, but without effect, as a french Frigate & 2 large Rebel Gallies pass'd them ye 28th Septr & 2nd of Octr; the frigate & Gallies opened & kept up a continual firing

upon the Town for the whole Day, doing no other mischief than breaking some windows and frightening the Women and Children, from this time till the Siege was raised they continued firing more or less every Day & night without hurting a Man. On Sunday night ye 4th Octbr at 12 o'Clock the French opened their Bomb Battery, consisting of 7 or 8 Mortars, & continued throwing Shells till revelee next Morning, when they opened at once all their Battering Artillery, wch was immediately returned wth equal fury from ours, which shook the very elements until the Cannon became too heated to fire any longer; a cessation then took place for a few Hours, when the firing was renewed & continued pretty constantly Day & Night from both sides from Guns & Mortars—the Enemy's shells were 10 Inches, ours 5½. Carcasses were thrown for 2 nights, wch only burnt 2 Houses—their shells, tho perpetually flying, did little or no damage, but their shott greatly injured the Town; scarcely a House has escaped, several are irreparable. The whole Rebel Army all this time, Continentals & Militia, about 2500, under Genl Lincoln, laying idle, so much despised by the french as not to be allowed to go into their Camp, no communication together.

On the 9th at Day break Count D'Estaing, with his Grenadiers & pick'd Men of his Army, to ye amount of 4000, appeared on our right flank, where he expected to force the line and enter ye Town. The Lord fought on our side, & totally defeated the blood thirsty purposes of the Enemy, who talk'd of nothing but putting all to the Sword. —

We had not 300 Men engag'd. The Enemy advanc'd in three Columns with Count D'Estaing at their Head. The Ground near the place of attack, which might have been very favourable to them, by interposition of Providence proved just the reverse; their Columns were thrown together in confusion, flank'd by our Batteries with grape. We buryed about [of] our line 300. The french allow they lost that Morning, kill'd & wounded, 700, & that their expedition to Georgia by sickness, &c., has cost them 1200 Men besides 67 of their officers kill'd, several of whom were of high reputation; the Counts D'Estaing & Polasky, both badly wounded at ye lines, the latter since Dead; the loss ye Rebels sustained we have not been able to ascertain, tho many of their best Troops & their most forward Genius had the Honor of falling with their great & good Allies, who held them exceeding cheap, with the most sovereign contempt. Our loss during the Siege was 2 Captains, 2 Subalterns & 32 Rank and File kill'd, & fifty odd wounded. At the same time that Count D'Estaing attackd our right the Rebel Genls McIntosh, Huger & Williamson attacked our left flank with about 1200 Men, chiefly Militia, but whether it was meant as a real attack or a feint is hard to determine, as under cover of a very thick fog they came on & went off with only the loss of half a Dozen kill'd & 20 or 30 wounded. From ye 9th we continually expected a second attack from Monsieur, in hopes of recovering their lost reputation, till ye 19th, when we discovered that ye French had filed off to the right to Embark, and ye Rebels to the left to March to their re-

spective quarters in this Province, the Carolinas & Virginia.

Novr ye 4th, We recd intelligence yesterday that the French fleet had left Tybee & were out of sight, greatly chagrined & as much disappointed, the Georgia Gentn Rebels were so confident of succeeding that they brought their wives & families from Carolina with them.

The Vigilant 3 Gallies, several Transports, with all ye convalescents, the Provisions, Artillery & Stores coming from Beaufort not being able to reach us, but by getting in a Creek into shallow water, where ye french Men of War could not get at them, *are safe*.

ENDORSEMENT.—*The above Memo. by J. H. Cruger of a critical period in Georgia a little before and during siege of Savannah was sent to his father & brother.*

*H. C. Jr.*

#### LETTER OF A PHILADELPHIA QUAKER 1769

PHILADELPHIA, March 5th, 1769.

Esteemed Friend :

I have thy acceptable favour of the 13th of February, which afforded me much pleasure, as I apprehended it came from a Gentleman descended from the same family as I am, and is the first I have ever met with of the same name ; and my father, Samuel Reynell, often told me if I ever met with any that spelled their name in the same manner he did, I might depend they were of the same family ; that he had never met with any, but that his father, John Reynell, who became a Quaker in the latter end of the reign of Charles the Second,

being bound over to attend the Quarter Sessions at Exon. On that account, in the beginning of James the Second's reign, when his name was called in court, the Chairman asked how he spelt it, which when he had told him, he took his seal out of his pocket, with his coat of arms, and gave it to him, saying, "You are one of my family, you are discharged."

His grandfather, Richard Reynell, was the clergyman of North Tawton in Devon, and had an estate there, and left it to his son, who was a man of bright natural parts, but no economist, and he spent it. My father when I was a boy, took me there and showed it me, and told me that ought to have been his, but his grandfather had spent it.

My father left North Tawton when he was a young man, and came and settled in the City of Exon, where I was brought up, and lived till I was in the 18th year of my age, when my father sent me to Jamaica to live with a nephew of his, by the mother's side, to be a merchant ; his name was Samuel Dicker, he acquired a very large estate there and returned back to England, bought an estate at Waltham, built a fine bridge in the way there, and was choosen member of Parliament in his own county where he was born.

I did not like Jamaica, it being a very wicked place, so I did not stay there quite a year, but came here, where I have been now near 42 years, and am in the 61st year of my age. Providence has been pleased to bless me with some small share of this world's goods, but has also been pleased to take from me all my children, which were five ; how-

ever, I do not repine, he is a good and gracious God, and has done much more for me than I deserve, who am a poor unworthy creature, and if in his great goodness he will receive me into the arms of his mercy at last, it is all I have to ask. I am the only surviving male branch of our family. I have a sister living at Exon, named Mary, who is married to Andrews Henry Groth, who have one son, named John Reynell Groth. I have had the satisfaction to see them in this country, but they would not stay in it. These are all that are left of the family. Thus have I given thee as particular an account of my family as I am capable of, and if it gives thee any pleasure or satisfaction, I shall be glad I gave it thee.

I am the person who had the honour first to sign the letter or memorial, addressed to the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain, on which thou art pleased to express thyself in so handsome and kind a manner. We were in hopes that we had pointed out what was for the interest of both countries in so clear a manner as to induce the Ministry to agree to the repeal of the acts complained of; and I think if they had a true regard for the interests of their country, they would readily have done it, but that doth not appear to me to be the principal thing they have in view; but rather how they shall support themselves in power, and carry into execution their plans for depriving the Americans of their liberties and privileges.

The point in dispute is a very important one; if the Americans are to be taxed by a Parliament when they are

not nor can be represented, they are no longer Englishmen, but slaves, who are to have their property taken away at any time and will and pleasure, which they are not willing to be; therefore it is no wonder they have strongly remonstrated against it—and taken such other measures as they apprehended were most likely to put a stop to the encroachments that were making on their liberties, and as their petitions, addresses, and remonstrances, have not had their desired effect, they are come to resolutions not to import any more goods from Great Britain, unless it be a few articles they cannot do without, and to encourage manufacturing among themselves, which I apprehend will prove of great benefit to this country, and if it proves a loss to Great Britain, they may thank themselves for it, it is their own imprudent conduct that has been the occasion of it. I will make no apology for writing thee this long letter, but assure thee I am, with the utmost regard and respect, thy assured friend.

JOHN REYNELL.

To Rev. W. H. Reynell.

*Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. 94, p. 223.

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#### NOTES

BIRTH PLACE AND PARENTAGE OF JACOB LEISLER.—Our historians give us no information as to the parentage of Jacob Leisler. The question regarding his birth place, which was mooted a hundred years ago and more (*Collections of N. Y. Hist. Soc.*, 1868, pp. 422-425), appears to be settled by reference to the entry of his marriage, 18 March, 1663, in the Records of the Reformed Dutch

Church in New York : "Jacob Leysler, *van Franckfort*." An important and well-nigh exhaustive article which appeared some months ago in the New York Genealogical and Biographical Record (vol. vii, pp. 145-151), entitled "Leisler : First Three Generations," offers a conjecture as to the surname of Jacob Leisler's mother. It would however seem quite as likely that the Susanna Leydsler, who was one of the sponsors at the baptism of Jacob's eldest child, 10 February, 1664, may have been his sister.

In the absence of any definite statement on the subject, I venture the surmise that Jacob Leisler was the son of one Jacob Victorian Leisler, of Frankfort. The register of the "Académie," or University of Geneva (*Livre du Recteur*), contains this entry :

"Johannes Henricus Leislerus Jacobi Victoriani filius Francofordensis S. S. theol. stud. (sacrosanctæ theologiæ studiosus) nomen dedi 19 die Julii 1659."

Was our Jacob a brother of this John Henry, and a son of Jacob Victorian ?

The supposition, warranted by the identity of the family name and the locality mentioned, is strengthened, I think, by some additional considerations :

(1) The identity of the surnames. Jacob, perhaps the eldest son of Jacob (Victorian), gives the same surname to his eldest son, and names his second son John. His eldest daughter Susannah (mar. Michiel Vaughton) bestows the name John upon her first two sons, and calls the third Jacob.

(2) The dates given are favorable to this theory. Jacob Leisler came to New

Netherland in 1660, the year after his presumed brother's matriculation at the Academy of Geneva. They belonged therefore evidently to the same generation.

(3) The mere fact that a Leisler pursued theological studies in Geneva does not go far to prove that the family was of Swiss or of French Huguenot extraction, for in those days Geneva was the resort of young men from every country where the Protestant faith had spread—from Poland, Hungary, Bohemia, and northern Europe. But taken together with the fact that Jacob Leisler was in New York the one prominent patron and the trusted agent of the Huguenots who found refuge here, it certainly adds color to the report which Du Simitière gives, from the lips of some of the old French refugees in New York, that Jacob Leisler "had retired from France for the persecution," (*i. e.*, his family had so retired,) "that he spoke French, that he was a Swiss" and had a brother in the French service. (*Collections of N. Y. Hist. Soc.*)

Frankfort was at an early day an asylum of the French Protestants. The first who established themselves in that city were fugitives from the Netherlands under the persecution instigated by the duke of Alva (circ. 1567). They formed, says Weiss, a community of about three hundred persons, increased from time to time by accessions of families from France under later persecutions.

That Jacob Leisler came to New Netherland from Frankfort, therefore, is no evidence that he was of German extraction. It would seem reasonable to allow some weight to the early test-

imony in favor of a French extraction ; and this consideration, together with the discovery of a Leisler studying theology in Calvin's Seminary, inclines me to the belief that Jacob and John Henry may have been the sons or the remoter descendants of a refugee from France, who had joined the little colony of Huguenots in Frankfort.

I may add—as not altogether foreign to the subject—that the eldest son of Jacob Leisler's daughter Françoise (Francina) and of Thomas Lewis was baptized in the *French Church*, New York, 2 February (born 29 January) 1695-6. "Eltie Leizeler" was one of the sponsors.

These considerations give perhaps a shade of probability to another of Du Simitière's recollections, which may have been dismissed by others as hitherto by myself very lightly. "Mrs. Farmer, daughter of Abraham Gouverneur, who married Milborne's widow, told Mr. Hartier (Hastier), a few days after the above date (31 May, 1769), that Mr. Leisler was *an Elder of the French Church in New York* ; but if so it must have been long before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes." (*Collections of N. Y. Hist. Society, u. s.*) The French Church in New York, now represented by the "Eglise du Saint-Esprit," was not founded until the year 1688—three years after the Revocation; a few months before Leisler's assumption of power, and three years before his death. But it had been preceded by the French Church worshipping in the Fort, with Daillé as its pastor (*Magazine of American History*, vol. i, pp. 91-93). To this congregation, some of the members

of the Dutch Church of New York were transferred—among them Paul Richard, Leisler's friend. No records of this early French congregation exist. But the testimony of Leisler's grand daughter\* to the effect that he was connected with it, seems to be entitled to some weight. This fact would account for Daillé's visits, and his zealous mediation with Governor Sloughter on Leisler's behalf. Especially would it explain Leisler's relation to the Huguenot colony of New Rochelle. Holding office among the earlier refugees in New York, his interest in the newly arrived, and his agency in establishing them at New Rochelle, would be most natural. Why else, a German† by birth, ecclesiastically a Dutchman, an officer of the English colonial government, should so bestir himself for the advantage of a company of strangers, it is not easy to see. CHARLES W. BAIRD.

\* Maria, youngest child of Abraham Gouverneur and Mary, widow of Jacob Milborne and daughter of Jacob Leisler, married Jasper Farmer (N. Y. Gen. and Biog. Record, vii, 64).

† "I a germane." (Letter of Leisler; *Documentary History of the State of New York*, vol. ii, p. 9.)

SPANISH JEALOUSY RESPECTING HER AMERICAN POSSESSIONS.—The following Note was written by Pallas, the learned Russian Naturalist and Traveller, and appeared in 1780 in the *Neue Nordische Beyträge*, Vol. III, at St. Petersburg, a very interesting series of scientific papers and narratives, many of which relate to our recently acquired possessions in Northwest America. The IXth paper in Vol. III, is a translation from the English, of Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega's voyage in 1775, along the



coast northwards from San Blas to North Lat.  $57^{\circ} 58'$ . (See "Miscellanies, by the Hon. Daines Barrington," London, 4to, 1701; also, Introduction by Navarreta to the "Viage hecho por las goletas Sutil y Mexicana," Madrid, 1802.)

Pallas is speaking of the mistrust shown by Spain towards strangers, and the English more especially, as regarded its American possessions.

"In the year 1766 Lord Morton, then President of the Royal Society, applied to the Spanish Minister near the English Court for a permission allowing an English Astronomer to go to some place in California for the observation of the Transit of Venus in 1769. This was at once denied, and when Lord Morton then proposed that Father Boscowich, a foreigner and Roman Catholic, should be allowed to go, he was listened to more favorably, but an effort was made to embarrass the permit with various conditions, and finally it was rejected, on the ground he was a Jesuit, whose order at that time had been driven out of Old and New Spain.

About the same time Chappe d'Aute-roche got a permission for a like purpose. The consequence was that among his papers a description of the present State of Mexico was found, which the dear friends and allies of the Catholic King published for the edification of the enemies of Spain.

I once made an application to Prince Masserano, who was so much respected during his residence in England, to permit a German named Kukhan, well known as a skillful taxidermist, to start from Vera Cruz and go to any given point in Mexico, under proper condi-

tions, merely for collection of natural curiosities. Although this request was backed influentially, the Minister excused himself from communicating it to his Court, on this ground that it had been laid down as a rule not to allow any stranger to cross any part of its American possessions." J. C. B.

THE MAGIC CIRCLE OF THE YUMA CONJURORS.—This notice on a performance of Yuma conjurors is a verbal copy from a passage of a long and elaborate ethnological and linguistic sketch on the Tulkepáya and Yávpai tribes of Central Arizona, lately sent by Mr. William H. Corbusier to Major T. W. Powell, United States Geologist, Washington, D. C., and refers to the short sojourn of these wild tribes on the Rio Verde Reservation, abolished in 1875. They were from there removed to the San Carlos Reservation in the southeastern part of that territory. A ramada is a hut or ephemerical structure made of green limbs or branches of trees and shrubs.

"All the medicine men meet occasionally and with considerable ceremony make medicine. They went through the performance early in the summer of 1874 on the Reservation, for the purpose of averting the diseases with which the Indians were afflicted the summer previous. In the middle of one of the villages they made a round *ramada* some ten feet in diameter, and under it, on the sand, illustrated the spirit land in a picture about seven feet across, made in colors by sprinkling powdered leaves and grass, red clay, charcoal, and ashes on the smooth sand. In the centre was

a round spot of red clay, about ten inches in diameter, and around it several successive rings of green and red alternately, each ring being an inch and a half wide. Projecting from the outer ring were four somewhat triangular-shaped figures, each one of which corresponded to one of the cardinal points of the compass, giving the whole the appearance of a Maltese cross. Around this cross and between its arms were the figures of men with their feet towards the centre, some made of charcoal with ashes for eyes and hair, others of red clay and ashes, etc. These figures were eight or nine inches long, and nearly all of them lacked some portion of the body, some an arm, others a leg or the head. The medicine men seated themselves around the picture on the ground in a circle and the Indians of the different bands crowded around them, the old men squatting close by, and the young men standing back of them.

After they had invoked the aid of the spirits in a number of chants, one of their number, apparently the oldest, a toothless, grey-haired man, solemnly arose, and carefully stepping between the figures of the men, dropped on each one a pinch of a yellow powder which he took from a small buckskin bag which had been handed to him. He put the powder on the heads of some, on the chests of others, and on other parts of the body, one of the other men sometimes telling him where to put it. After going all around, skipping three figures however, he put up the bag and then went around again and took from each figure a large pinch of powder, taking up the yellow powder also, and

in this way collected a heaping handful. After doing this he stepped back and another medicine man collected a handful in the same way, others following him.

Some of the laymen in their eagerness to get some, pressed forward but were ordered back. But after the medicine men had supplied themselves the *ramada* was torn down and a rush was made by men and boys, handfuls of the dirt were grabbed and rubbed on their bodies or carried away. The women and children, who were waiting for an invitation, were then called. They rushed to the spot in a crowd, and grabbing handfuls of dirt tossed it up in the air, so that it would fall on them, or they rubbed their bodies with it, mothers throwing it over children and rubbing it on their heads. This ended the performance."

A. S. GATSCHET.

*Washington, D. C.*

THE SEA SERPENT.—The progress of modern science is gradually rendering it possible for an individual to refer to the "Sea Serpent" without being laughed at. Nothing is clearer than the fact that a large number of creatures of the class referred to once existed. Scientists now give us their anatomy. The question, therefore, is, not whether such creatures are among the possibilities, but whether or not they still exist. The evidence given on this point by many sober and credible witnesses, indeed, men of the very highest integrity and respectability, ought to go for something; yet, in the face of popular ignorance, the evidence has been met with merriment and sneers. "The Nahant Sea Serpent"

is quite historic, and the mention of the subject suggests a joke. What has been written *pro* and *con* has given little satisfaction. The question asked is, "If these creatures really exist, why are they so seldom seen?" An answer to this suggested itself to me while listening to a lecture by Mr. Waterhouse Hawkins, on the sea ophidian. In discussing the structure of the eye of this class of vertebrates, he took occasion to show that its habits must have been *nocturnal*. Beyond controversy such was the case, as the eye was unsuited to the day. Does not this answer the objection that "the Sea Serpent is seldom seen?"

NAHANT.

BOSTON AND NEW YORK, 1784.—  
 "When I left this town last April, I was (you will remember) very desirous that we should obtain a charter of incorporation; I then thought that if we could get it our streets would be regularly swept, the dirt carried away, and the Lord knows what else besides; but how greatly have I altered my opinion since I have spent two months in New York; why, I vow and protest, their charter answers no manner of purpose, that I could see, saving the building of a beautiful Kiosco for people to be hanged in. During the heats of last summer I have seen their streets no better than receptacles of filth in every degree of putridity; and strange to tell, there I saw the high and the low, the rich and the poor, the municipal officers, all, all in general, wading through these dirty holes, heaps and kennels with equal indifference and insensibility; but I must not tell you all I thought and said then, suffice it for me

to inform you what the consequence of these observations has been. I am now a most inveterate Anti-Corporation man, and I voted the other day, at our Town Meeting, against the new charter with all my lungs. What, says one to me, what, says another, what are you doing, Mr. —? What are you about? Go, go to New York, gentlemen, go and see what pickle that town is in, and then tell me (if you dare) of getting Mayors Aldermen, and the Lord knows what besides! *Cui bono* my friends? Nay, I swan (as the old saying is), we of Boston, after all, are the better off than those of New York; have we not got a fine public walk, now well planted, gravelled and fenced in? Whereas, at New York (although they have what they call their fields), yet none of them have ever thought as yet of planting a single tree for public ornament or utility. Ergo, no charter for Boston; and I will vote against every attempt to bring in this new mode of government. The anarchy of our Town Meeting is preferable to this fastidious, costly and useless pomposity."—*Extract from a letter from Boston, printed in Loudon's N. Y. Packet, Nov. 22, 1784.* PETERSFIELD.

A FORGOTTEN PATRIOT.—*Philadelphia, April 30th, 1777.*—Died, in this city, on Friday, the 25th inst., Mr. Acklam Bonfield, late of Quebec, merchant, aged 37 years, and on Saturday his remains were decently interred in Christ Church burying ground, attended by the officers of the army, and a number of respectable citizens.

In justice to the memory of this worthy gentleman, with truth it may be

said, his conduct was exemplary and his character unimpeachable. On the political area he shone with distinguished lustre, having espoused the cause of the United States at an early period, and continued warm in his attachment to the liberties of mankind and the rights of humanity. Nor were his professions the emanations only of empty words; his many great and important services will ever endear his memory to the friends of this country. When our army arrived before Quebec he testified his attachment to our cause by immediately forsaking the city (at that time a confused yakes of tyranny and persecution), sacrificing the most flattering prospects of an increasing fortune, derived from an unlimited credit and an extensive commerce, to the precarious event of a civil war. When our troops were destitute of money and other necessities of life, he nobly and generously contributed to their relief, on the faith of the United States, without any prospect of emolument but a simple disbursement of property. When the fortune of our arms declined in Canada and our hopes of success were entirely frustrated in that province, he took a share in our misfortune, and retreated with the army, notwithstanding he was courted to return to the unmolested enjoyment of his estate, and invited to accept of the royal clemency. But neither the allurements of the one or the humiliating terms of the other—and what more effectually evidences the disinterestedness of his actions—not even the affection of an amiable wife, or the endearments of a number of dutiful children, could tempt him to prostitute his

soul to the power he abhorred; but, preferring poverty with freedom to affluence with infamy, he persevered in his purposes though to the utter ruin of his temporal affairs. In this city he fixed his abode, and whilst waiting the event of this important aera, divested of that affluence to which he was accustomed, cut off from the hopes of ever beholding his parents, his wife, his children or his friends; in a distant country, without connections or acquaintance, he was seized with a violent inflammatory disorder, in the bloom of health and meridian zenith of life, which he bore with the resignation of a Christian and the fortitude of a man, and which terminated in the death of a man dear to his friends and truly valuable to society.

"No friend's complaint, no kind domestic care  
Pleas'd thy pale ghost, or graced thy mournful bier;  
By foreign hands thy manly limbs compos'd;  
By foreign hands thy humble grave adorn'd;  
By strangers honor'd, and by strangers mourn'd!  
Such was the man, who now from earth removed  
In heaven enjoys the Liberty he lov'd."

*Pennsylvania Journal.*

PETERSFIELD.

THE UNIFORM OF LAFAYETTE.—"I have consented to serve this winter with the Count d'Estaing. But although I must reenter the French army with the rank of Marechal-de-Camp dating from the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, I shall retain my American Uniform and exterior as well as the interior of an American soldier. I shall perform my duties and take my orders as a soldier borrowed from the United States, and shall watch eagerly the happy moment when I may once more join our dear colors."—*Lafayette to Washington, Paris, 24 October, 1782.* J. A. S.

## QUERIES

THE ROYALIST VAN CORTLANDT.—Turning over the leaves of Jennings' Field Paths and Green Lanes, recently published, in a notice of Hailsham, County of Sussex, England, I fell upon the following lines: "On the north wall (of an old church) I was struck with a tablet to the memory of 'Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt, a retired royalist officer of the American War, died at Hailsham, May, 1814, aged 74.'" What was the pedigree of this gentleman, and how was he related to General Philip Van Cortlandt, of the Continental army, whose autobiography appeared in the May number of the Magazine, II, 178? WESTCHESTER.

AN EARLY PORTRAIT PAINTER.—The following letter, from "George Allen, Portrait Painter," was addressed to Sir William Pepperrell, of Kittery Point, Me. Can any of your readers furnish any information of the writer, or his pamphlet? J. C.

*Boston, Mass.*

Sr:—I humbly ask permission for addressing myself in this manner. Having recd a Letter from Capt. Gordon at his going into the country for a little-time signifying your desire I would wait on you; which the disadvantageous situation of my affairs has prevented a few days, I take the Liberty, on the reputation of the Captain's friendship to desire your Patience for reading the inclos'd little Pamphlet: The necessary occasion of Publishing which its self will explain; hoping it may give more advantageous ideas of its Authors Abil-

ities than my present appearance possibly may: And Sr I will be Answerable in whatever I have the Honour to employ my Pencils in Portrait Painting to perform it equal to my assertions of bottome of Page the 9th by which means I make no doubt in a little time of amply makeing amends in an advantageous Practice, for the time I have spent in study and writing in the Art

I shall not fail waiting on you without delay and with begging Pardon for this freedome which I judge partly necessary

I am Sr.

with great respect  
your most obedient  
and most Humble Servt.  
George Allen  
Portrait Painter.

April 12th, 1750

YELLOW BEARDED WHEAT.—A letter, from a farmer, of Ulster County, written in 1784, states "that he sowed a considerable quantity of ground with the *yellow bearded wheat*, and that it answered his expectations fully; the insect not committing the least depredation on a single spear of wheat. But that his neighbors having sowed the *white* and the *red* bearded wheat was almost all cut off. This circumstance which is known to be true, affords a corroborating proof of the assertion of Colonel Morgan." Who introduced the yellow wheat, what was the assertion of Colonel Morgan, and when was it made? PASTOR.

MONTCALM'S PROPHECY.—The Gen-

tleman's Magazine for 1777, page 343, contains the following statement in a review of an English translation of "Letters from the Marquis de Montcalm, 1757-9," then recently printed at London.

"That the sagacity of this accomplished General (who with his antagonist Wolfe died in the bed of honour before Quebec) was equal to his bravery, appears from the following prediction, now fatally verified: 'All the English colonies would long since have shaken off the yoke, if the fear of seeing the French at their door had not been a check to them. When Canada shall be conquered, and the Canadians and these people become one people, on the first occasion, when England shall seem to strike at their interest, will these colonies, do you think, obey? What will they have to fear from a revolt? Could England send an army of 100,000 or 200,000 to oppose them at such a distance? It is true she possesses a fleet, and the towns of North-America, besides being few in number, are all open, without forts or citadels, and that a few men of war in their ports would be sufficient to keep them to their duty; but the interior part of the country, which forms an object of greater importance, who will undertake to conquer, over rocks, lakes, rivers, woods and mountains, which every-where intersect it, and where a handful of men acquainted with the country would be able to destroy the largest armies?'

"The whole is well worth perusal, and shews that M. de Montcalm was *tam Mercurio quam Marte*. It is proper to add, that the authenticity of this work was lately attacked in the House of

Lords by Lord Shelburne, but ably defended by Lord Mansfield."

Are these letters considered genuine? The statement of Mr. Parkman before the Massachusetts Historical Society in June, 1869, is not quite conclusive.

CAMBRIDGE.

### REPLIES

LONG ISLAND INDIANS.—(II, 370.) In the printing of my note on the "Land Turtle" the following errors, owing, probably, to the difficulty of distinguishing between the letters *u* and *n* in handwriting, have occurred:

Meshenimickinaukong is printed Meshenimickinaukoug.

Misquataince is printed Misnuataince.

Mukomisudains is printed Mukomisadains.

Muskodains is printed Muskodaius.

Mascontins is printed Mascontius.

Michigamies is printed Michigainies.

Mitchigamia is printed Mitchigainia.

Meshekunnoghquoh is printed Meshekaiunoghquoh.

Meeshekan is printed Meeshekan.

Michausaugiegau is printed Michausaugiegau.

ROBERT S. ROBERTSON.

*Fort Wayne, Ind.*

THE TOUCH TEST OF MURDER.—(II, 302.) That this superstition still lingers among the American people is proved by the following paragraph from the N. Y. Evening Post of May 20th, 1878:

"Sheriff Young, of Concordia parish in Louisiana, is accused of taking a murderer out of prison a few days ago that he might touch the wounds of his dead victim and see whether they would bleed or not. Of course they did not bleed, and the sheriff took the man, who is a friend of his, back to prison, the

whole performance, as is alleged, being a trick to raise a presumption in favor of the murderer among the superstitious people of the parish."

Your readers are doubtless familiar with Sir Walter Scott's description of the ordeal of *bier-right* contained in the twentieth chapter of the Fair Maid of Perth.

PETERSFIELD.

KNIGHTING OF GENERAL AMHERST.—Your querist, J. J. B., who is wrong in his chronology, will probably be interested in the following account of an eye witness of the interesting event. "*Staten Island, October 26th, 1761.* The ceremony of investing Sir Jeffery Amherst with the Honorable Order of the Bath, was performed yesterday in camp, he having concerted with Major-General Monckton, such manner of its being performed, as the present service would allow of.

His Excellency Maj.-General Monckton, Governor of New York, and several officers of the army being present, Major-General Monckton first read Mr. Secretary Pitt's letter.

Whitehall, July 17, 1761.

Sir:

His Majesty having been graciously pleased, as a mark of his royal approbation of the many and eminent services of Major-General Amherst, to nominate him to be one of the Knights Companions of the most noble Order of the Bath; and it being necessary that he should be invested with the ensigns of the said Order, which are transmitted to him by this opportunity; I am to signify to you the King's pleasure, that you should perform that ceremony; and it

being his Majesty's intention, that the same be done in the most honorable and distinguished manner that circumstances will allow of, you will concert and adjust with General Amherst such time and manner, for investing him with the ensigns of the Order of the Bath, as shall appear to you most proper for shewing all due respect to the King's order, and as may, at the same time, mark in the most public manner his Majesty's just sense of the constant zeal, and signal abilities, which General Amherst has exerted in the service of his King and country.

I am &c.,

Hon. Robert Monckton. W. Pitt.

Major-General Monckton then proceeded to put the ribbon over Sir Jeffrey Amherst's shoulder, making an apology, that the circumstances would not admit of a more formal investiture. Sir Jeffery Amherst, upon receiving this order, addressed himself to Major-General Monckton in the following terms: 'Sir I am truly sensible of this distinguishing mark of his Majesty's royal approbation of my conduct, and shall ever esteem it as such; and I must beg leave to express to you the peculiar satisfaction I have, and the pleasure it gives me, to receive this mark of favour from your hands.'

W. K.

AN EPITAPH ON FRANKLIN.—(II, 365.) In the Introduction to Mr. J. F. Lonbat's late sumptuous work on the Medalllic History of the United States it is stated that the well known legend in Latin hexameter on the Franklin medal, "Eripuit cælo fulmen, sceptrumque tyrannis," was from the pen of Turgot.

Madame du Deffand, in her letter to the Duchess de Choiseul, does not name the author.

LECTOR.

THE FOUR KINGS OF CANADA.—(II, 151, 313, 371.) While examining a curious map of North America, by Herman Moll, engraved in London in the year 1715, I was struck by the inscription placed on the Iroquois tract. "The Iroquois consist of four cantons governed by so many Kings and are all hearty friends to ye English; Those Princes came into England in 1710 to offer their service agt. ye French in Canada, and had it not been for ye miscarriage of our expedition to Quebec in 1711 these People would have been of great service to us, for they joyn'd General Nicholson with 2000 men on his march to attack Montreal." This may be of interest, as doubt has been thrown upon the correctness of the title of "King."

STATE LIBRARY.

SONG OF THE VERMONTERS.—A mention in one of the book reviews of the Magazine (I, 268), of the old war song of the "Beech seal" boys of Vermont, called the "Song of the Vermonters," beginning

"Ho! All to the borders! Vermonters come down,"

prompts a solution of its long unsettled authorship. Variouslly credited to several of our New England poets, but more strongly perhaps to Ethan Allen, it without doubt belongs to Whittier, as a repetition in the song of a couplet in one of the earlier verses of the poet indicates. The lines are as follows in the fourteenth stanza of the song:

"Far dearer the blast round the mountains which  
raves,  
Than the sweet summer zephyr which breathes  
over slaves."

And again in "The Yankee Girl," tenth stanza, the same words are found:

"And the sky of thy south may be brighter then  
ours,  
And greener thy landscapes and fairer thy flowers;  
*But dearer the blast round our mountains which  
raves,  
Than the sweet summer zephyr that breathes over  
slaves.*"

A. M. C.

GENERAL ARTHUR ST. CLAIR'S PAPERS.

—Under the head of Archives of Historical Societies (II, 363) a desire is expressed to learn the name of the present owner or custodian of General St. Clair's Ms.

They were purchased by the State of Ohio in 1870 for two thousand dollars, and deposited in the State Library at Columbus. Appended to the State Librarian's Report for 1871 are what purport to be "Indexes" of these papers; but on careful inspection of the lists, it is apparent that only a portion are enumerated, and these, perhaps, the least important.

As indexed, there is one letter of Colonel Bouquet in 1763; two letters of Thomas Smith, July 18th and 26th, 1774; one of General Washington, April 6th, 1781; one of Major Moore, Sept. 19th, 1781; and one of the officers of the Pennsylvania Line, March 29th, 1783. These embrace all of the Revolutionary and Pre-Revolutionary period. There are a few letters of 1785 and 1786, and then the larger portion begins to follow more frequently, covering largely the



period of his Governorship of the North Western Territory, 1788-1803; thence occasionally till his death in 1818.

The Librarian states, in a prefatory note: "Besides the manuscript referred to in the following indexes, there are four large bound volumes, on the blank pages of which are pasted some hundreds of letters and other matter belonging to the same purchase of St. Clair manuscript papers, each volume having its own index." Whether these contain St. Clair's Revolutionary correspondence I am uninformed.

The late Alfred T. Goodman, Secretary of the Western Reserve Historical Society, it is understood left a Ms. Life of General St. Clair; and it has been reported that the Hon. Wm. Henry Smith, who, while Secretary of State of Ohio, made commendable exertions to collect for the State all manuscripts he could pertaining to Ohio, has commenced, or designs to do so, a work on General St. Clair. Mr. Smith now resides in Chicago, and it is to be hoped that he has not abandoned his laudable purpose. General St. Clair's services in the old French and Indian war, in the Revolutionary contest, and his nearly fifteen years Governorship of the North Western Territory, including his campaign in 1791 against the confederated Indian tribes, furnish a large and interesting field for an historical biography.

L. C. D.

*Madison, Wis.*

BLOCK ISLAND.—(II. 440.) J. R. B. makes what appears to him to be a correction of my statement in the May number of the magazine, that the Verrazano map gave the name of "Luisa" to Block Island, instead of "Claudia."

He refers to Michael Lok's Verrazano map in the John Carter Brown Catalogue, upon which map the name of "Claudia" is found. By a perusal of the article in the present number, in connection with the maps, J. R. B. will perceive that the error lies with himself, and that the Verrazano map is not given in the catalogue referred to, in *fac-simile* or otherwise.

B. F. DE COSTA.

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#### BOOKS WANTED.

*We beg to inform our subscribers that hereafter we shall devote so much of this column as may be necessary to a department of BOOKS WANTED. Through this medium collectors will be enabled to communicate with each other, and thus perhaps acquire books for which they have sought elsewhere in vain, or dispose of books for which they may have no further use. Collectors desiring to avail themselves of this column will please give their addresses in full, so that those who wish to communicate with them can do so directly, and not through us.*

*RATES, 30 cents a line of ten words. Advertisements must be accompanied by the cash in every instance.*

A. S. BARNES & CO.

J. SABIN & SONS, 84 Nassau Street, N. Y. City.

Burke's Virginia, 4 vols., 8vo, *uncut*.

Beverly's Virginia, *uncut*.

(Peters, S.) History of Connecticut, London edition, *uncut*.

Brereton's Virginia, 4to.

Bullock's Virginia, 4to.

Hamor's Virginia, 4to, original edition.

Weymouth's Voyage to Virginia, 4to.

Harriot's Virginia, London, 1588, 4to.

O. H. MARSHALL, Buffalo, N. Y.

St. John Hector (Crève Coeur) Letters from an American Farmer. Philadelphia. Matthew Carey. 1793.

A. H. DART, 167 Remsen Street, Brooklyn.

For sale: Lossing's Field Book of the Revolution, in numbers.

T. F. DONNELLY, Box 1672, N. Y. City.

Pamphlets or tracts relating to the Pope-Bowles controversy.

Pamphlets relating to the Ireland Shakespearean Forgeries.

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

THE MEDALLIC HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, 1776-1876. By J. F. LOUBAT, LL. D. With 170 etchings by JULES JACQUEMART. Two volumes folio. I. text, pp. 478. II plates. LXXXVI. Published by the author. New York, 1878.

These superbly printed volumes are an invaluable contribution to a branch of history which has hitherto had no special attention, and fills a blank long felt by students. Before the present work, as the accomplished gentleman to whose intelligence, public spirit and generous liberality it is due justly says, "no thorough work, devoted to the medals of the United States of America, had been published." Some years since Dr. Mease contributed to the Collections of the New York Historical Society an Essay on American Medals, which was reprinted, with the author's corrections, by the Massachusetts Historical Society, and further supplemented by them with a description prepared by J. S. Fisher. Neither of these were illustrated. The present sumptuous and elaborate volumes leave nothing to be desired, and are exhaustive of the subject in its artistic relations. It will no doubt lead to an ascertaining of the present ownership of the original medals. From these pages it appears that our American medals number eighty-six in all, seven of which have been struck by order of Congress as rewards of merit. Of these seventeen are of the period of the revolution; twenty-seven of the war of 1812, four of the Mexican and two of the Civil war. Five were voted to foreigners. The remaining seven, which cannot properly be classed as American official medals, were struck to commemorate international events. Nearly all the early medals were executed by French engravers. Those after independence at home. The first (of gold) was voted to Washington in 1776 for his services at Boston, the last to John Horn, Jr., in 1874, in recognition of his heroic exploits in the rescue of drowning persons in Detroit River. The finest specimens of the collections are considered to be the John Paul Jones and Daniel Morgan pieces.

In the first volume Mr. Loubat gives some account of the unexpected difficulties he encountered in the search for the material to complete the task. Only after years of patient investigation was he able to fulfill all the conditions of his original plans. This included not only a description of the medals conferred, but a biographical sketch of each of the persons thus honored. In that of Lieutenant-Colonel de Fleury some original material now first ap-

pears. A careful index increases the value of the work.

The second volume is made up wholly of engravings of the medals, in which their exact dimensions are followed. These were executed by Mons. Jules Jacquemart of Paris, whose etchings are well known to artists and amateurs. The impressions are upon paper of the finest quality, especially made for the purpose. In a word, the work is a monument to the industry, intelligence, taste and munificence of the author.

LES CANADIENS DE L'OUEST, PAR JOSEPH TASSÉ. 2 vols. 8vo, COMPAGNIE D'IMPRIMERIE CANADIENNE, Montreal. 1878.

We hail with satisfaction and delight the appearance of these skillfully arranged, well-digested and agreeably written volumes, which are exhaustive of the subject which they treat. As we have repeatedly remarked, in reviews of this branch of our literature, the era of French occupation is the romance era of America history. Whoever has had the good fortune to travel on foot through the regions still mainly inhabited by the French Canadians remembers with pleasure the simple manners, the warm hospitality, the frank cordiality, and the general integrity of this hardy rural race, who still, after more than a century of continuous contact with an encroaching English population, preserve the language and the characteristics of their French ancestors. As Monsieur Tassé says in the opening lines of his introduction, "The French Canadians were the pioneers of this continent. They were the first to overrun it in every direction while it was yet an immense solitude, in pristine and savage beauty. They were the first to penetrate to the ice regions of the pole; first they crossed the Rocky Mountains; first they trod the sands of the American desert and the fertile plains which skirt the Gulf of Mexico. Their adventurous spirit led them so far that there is not perhaps a ravine in the West which has not been visited by these intrepid explorers. They were the first civilized men who gave names to the lakes, the streams, the mountains, and the different spots they visited, thus baptizing a vast portion of the continent; and these names, although sometimes others have been substituted for them, will always recall to memory that this American land was once French."

More than two centuries have elapsed since the French Canadians, pushing up the St. Lawrence, and through the great lakes, made their appearance in the West—and far beyond northward, westward, and southward the adventurous

trappers and woodsmen urged their traffic and their insatiable passion for new scenes. No race has ever shown a more marked spirit of adventure than the Frenchman, once freed from the almost irresistible attraction of his native land; side by side with the most venturesome journeyed the devoted Jesuits, seeking to conquer the new world to their policy and their faith. They had reached Lake Superior in 1641, their missions were established in 1665, and in 1673 Marquette was with Joliet at the discovery of the Mississippi, which La Salle later explored to its mouth, thus completing the outlines of the vast interior empire, whose wings stretched from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the delta of the Mississippi. In 1656 a French explorer penetrated to the most distant shore of Hudson's Bay, and there planted the flag of France. New France then included a territory of more than fifteen hundred thousand square miles, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from Hudson's Bay to the Gulf of Mexico, watered by the monster rivers of the Mississippi, Missouri, Ohio, St. Lawrence, and embracing in its wide grasp the extensive lakes of Erie, Ontario, Huron, Michigan and Superior. An inevitable destiny, which neither statesmanship nor diplomacy nor a thorough mastery of the arts of war could avert, transferred the supremacy over this matchless region, with its boundless and virgin resources, to the English rule. At this period (1763) the most populous of the French settlements was in the Illinois country, and Kaskaskias, the principal town, has been estimated—perhaps overestimated, M. Tassé remarks—to have had three thousand inhabitants. After the conquest, the migration of the French Canadians spread over the northwest territory, never stopping its continuous flow until they reached the Pacific Ocean, where were laid the foundations of the settlements of Vancouver and Oregon. To-day they are still found in numbers in British Columbia, on the shores of the Saskatchewan and the Mackenzie, where the climate is moderate and genial, notwithstanding the high latitude, and even up to the very verge of the polar regions. In Manitoba their settlements are firmly fixed, and their civilization displays itself in admirable schools, colleges and economic institutions. This and Lower Canada are the only remains of the vast empire which, in some measure, have preserved their ancient autonomy. But the influence of the race is still felt in the Western States of the American Union. In Illinois, Missouri, Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota there are numerous settlements of considerable importance. In Illinois, at Chicago and in its neighborhood, there is an extensive and compact French population. In Minnesota there are twenty thousand Canadians, in Michigan as many, and thousands in Dakota, Montana, Arizona, Colorado, and as far as New Mexico. M. Tassé estimates that in

the Northwest under British rule and in the Western United States there are not less than two hundred thousand French Canadians, and everywhere he claims they have preserved the traditions, the religion, the language and the habits of their race.

So much we have drawn from the concise and admirable introduction to these volumes. In the treatment of his subject M. Tassé has chosen the most attractive method, grouping sketches of the different settlements about the central figure in their history. Naturally de Langlade has the place d'honneur. Chapters follow upon Cadot, Réaume, Porlier, Rolette, Irmeau, Dubuque, Leclerc, Baby, Rainville, Provençal, Faribault, Lefebvre, Perrault, Ducharme, with notes and supplementary documents.

Langlade was the founder of the Wisconsin Colony, and is called the Father of Wisconsin. Then follow sketches: Joseph Rolette, one of the pioneers of Prairie-du-Chien; Salomon Juneau, founder of the prosperous city of Milwaukee, on one of the public squares of which a statue stands in his memory; Louis Riel of the Red River Colony; Julien Dubuque, founder of the Iowa city of that name; J. B. Beaubien of Chicago; Vital Guérin, founder of St. Paul, capital of Minnesota; Joseph Robidou, founder of St. Joseph in Missouri; the heroic F. X. Aubry, famous for his adventures, who died by the hand of an assassin at Santa Fé, New Mexico, when but thirty years of age. After these come biographies of Pierre Chrysologue Pambrun, one of the intrepid traders of British Columbia; Pierre Falcon, the "Sweet Singer" of the Red River of the North; Jacques Duperon Baby, one of the earliest settlers of Detroit, and of Gabriel Franchère, of the first explorers who crossed the broad region between Montreal and Vancouver. In this portrait gallery are sketches also of Pierre Menard and Noel Levasseur of Illinois, and of Louis Vital Bougy, who represented Missouri in the Senate of the United States [1873 to 1877.] Of this latter, a Montreal critic says that he can hardly be called a French Canadian, his descent being from a Louisiana creole family, who settled at Sainte Geneviève, Missouri, at an early day. Mr. Bogy, as he anglicises his name, served on the Committee on Indian Affairs. He died in 1877.

#### BURGOYNE'S LAST MARCH. POEM.

For the Celebration of the Hundredth Year of Bemis Heights (Saratoga), September 19th, 1877. 12mo, pp. 15. By ROBERT LOWELL. Newark, N. J. 1878.

This short poem, a contribution to the Saratoga Centennial, is now printed separately. It will be welcome to collectors of this kind of literature.

THE OLD HARTFORD GRAMMAR SCHOOL. Republished from Barnard's American Journal of Education for April, 1878. 8vo, pp. 256. BROWN & GROSS, Hartford.

The Connecticut Colony, which made its first permanent settlement at Windsor, Hartford and Wethersfield in 1632, was composed of exceptional elements, its promoters being men of high culture. Thomas Hooker, the leader, was a graduate of Emanuel College, Cambridge. The territory had been conveyed in 1630 by the old Plymouth Colony to Lord Say and Seal, together with John Hampden, Lord Burke, John Pym and other proprietors, men of advanced and liberal views. The first constitution adopted in 1639 was framed in a spirit of extreme tolerance, and in strong antagonism to the narrow, dogmatic sectarianism which was a characteristic trait of the older settlements. Indeed, so broad was its base of personal franchise and religious freedom that it has stood the test of time without any radical change. Mr. Roger Ludlow compiled a code of laws for the colony in 1646. In this were included enactments under the titles, Children and Schools, which remained the school law of the State until the beginning of the present century.

New Haven was settled in 1638, and a free school was set up in 1641. Not content with this elementary establishment, which had its home in a log hut, a public grammar school was three years later founded, and annual provision made to support the youth of the colony who were attending Harvard College. In 1677 the Legislature ordained that the county towns in each of the four counties—Hartford, New London, New Haven and Fairfield—should maintain a Latin School. Our forefathers believed, and rightly, that acquaintance with Latin, which supplies the roots of the picturesque portion of modern English, is indispensable to a thorough understanding of even the meaning of its vocabulary.

In 1665 Edward Hopkins, who had been Governor of the Colony, bequeathed a considerable estate for the "*breeding up of hopeful youths both at the Grammar school and College for the public service of the country in future times*"—a very proper understanding of true civil service reform—the employment of the fittest. Of this bequest a portion, £400, was allotted by the trustees to the town of Hartford, and passed as an endowment fund to the celebrated institution which for a century was known as the "School" or the "Free School," until in 1753 it received the name which it still bears of the "Free Grammar School."

The sketch before us gives the names and some biographical details of the teachers prior and subsequent to 1664, and pleasant reminiscences of some of the pupils. The pamphlet also con-

tains an account of the Public High School of Hartford in the form of a letter from Dr. Barnard to Prof. Capron, its principal. This school was established in 1847. The account was prepared in 1871.

BARTOW GENEALOGY. PART I. CONTAINING EVERY ONE OF THE NAME OF BARTOW, descended from Doctor Thomas Bartow, who was living at Crediton, in England, A. D. 1672, with reference to the books where any of the name is mentioned. By EVELYN BARTOW.

BARTOW GENEALOGY. PART II. CONTAINING THE DESCENDANTS NOT BEARING the name of Bartow, descended from Doctor Thomas Bartow, who was living at Crediton, in England, A. D. 1672. 8vo, pp. 218. Baltimore.

This is the completion of the work noticed in the February number [II, 127] of the Magazine. This genealogy of an interesting family was prepared by the Reverend Evelyn Bartow of Baltimore, Maryland, with the assistance of Mr. Morey H. Bartow of New York. It contains also some short pedigrees of a few families who intermarried with the Bartows, viz., of Pell, Reid, Stevenson, Ryder, Pierrepont and Constable. It is handsomely printed, well illustrated, and is in every way creditable. The edition is limited to one hundred copies.

THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW. VOL. V, No. 3. May-June, 1878. A. S. BARNES & Co., Publishers, New York.

The articles which especially concern us in this number are three—I. United States Provisional Court of the State of Louisiana, by Judge Charles A. Peabody.—A reminiscence of the late civil war. This is an account of the establishment of the United States Provisional Court for the State of Louisiana in December, 1862, by President Lincoln. Since June of that year the judiciary system had been under the control of the military Governor. The new court, as Judge Peabody (who was named Provisional Judge in the proclamation of October, 1862) informs us, was called into existence originally by the necessities of the Government in respect to its foreign relations. Its purpose was the determination of controversies liable to bring about international complications. Its powers were exceptional, and its decisions conclusive. It appears to have accomplished its purpose and to have relieved the State Department of a great variety of annoying and perplexing cases which it was

eminently proper to adjudicate on the spot. Of the discretion and judgment of Judge Peabody there was never complaint, and there can be no question.

Next in interest we find an article on the Future of the Erie Canal, by John B. Jarvis, the eminent Civil Engineer, in which he demonstrates the vast increase of travel and economy of traction which will result from the application of steam to towage. Finally we have the third part of the Elements of our National Wealth from the pen of our distinguished economist, David A. Wells.

The general articles maintain the high character of this excellent periodical. Those interested in biblical study will find an Analysis of the Gospel of St. John, and some views as to its authorship and the date of its appearance, which are striking in their critical acumen and forcible presentation.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE NEW JERSEY  
HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Second series. Vol.  
V, No. 2. 1878. 8vo, pp. 111.

In the report of the Committee on Colonial Documents we find the welcome information that the New Jersey Collections have been enriched by the receipt from England of thirty-three folio cases, containing copies of the correspondence between the Governors of the Province of New Jersey and the authorities in New Jersey, and other miscellaneous documents of dates between 1703 and 1776, together with most of the minutes of the Council of the Province, for the printing of which it is expected the State will make the necessary appropriation. Information is also given that there are documents attainable in England relating to the West Jersey Society.

The paper read at the Annual Meeting, entitled *The First Century of Hunterdon County, State of New Jersey*, by George S. Mott, D.D., is printed at length. Here we find that at the close of the seventeenth century West Jersey had eight thousand inhabitants. Then began their desire to possess and cultivate the Indian territory lying north of them. The proprietors of West Jersey obtained the consent of the Council to treat with the natives, and a tract fronting on the Delaware was purchased from Himhammae, the Indian owner. This tract containing 150,000 acres, covered the old Arnwell township, now Raritan, Delaware, East and West Arnwell, and was divided among the proprietors. This was in 1703. After this, immigration crept slowly, but steadily up both the Delaware and the Raritan rivers. Jersey had been settled by several distinct stocks. In 1638 religious persecutions drove over from England a colony of Presbyterian Covenanters; Quakers fol-

lowed in their wake; in 1685 Dutch Huguenots settled on the north branch of the Raritan. In 1757 there came in an emigration of German Reformed people, who, driven by persecution to Rhenish Prussia, had followed the course of the Rhine to Holland, and there taken shipping for New York, but were driven by stress of weather into Delaware Bay. From these German Valley took its name. They were followed by a large and continuous emigration from other parts of the colony. In these hardy elements is found the basis of that sturdy body which clung with persistent tenacity to the cause of freedom in the revolution. We find it stated in these pages as of tradition that General Morgan, whose riflemen won the day at Bemis Heights, was Jersey born.

The sketch is full of information, given in a pleasing, easy style.

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THE DEAD TOWNS OF GEORGIA. BY  
CHARLES C. JONES, JR. 8vo, pp. 263. MORN-  
ING NEWS STEAM PRINTING HOUSE, Savan-  
nah, 1878.

Under this significant and peculiar title, the accomplished gentleman, to whose scholarly pen and antiquarian taste this volume is due, has gathered up the fragmentary memories of towns, once important settlements of the colony which Oglethorpe founded, but now decayed or ruins. The antiquities of the aboriginal inhabitants of Georgia were treated by the same author in 1873. The present account begins with its European colonization. The work is divided into chapters, severally entitled Old and New Ebenezer; Frederica; Abercorn; Sunbury; Hardwick; Petersburg; Jacksonborough, etc.; Miscellaneous Towns, Plantations, etc.; and illustrated with plans of some of the townships.

We have no space for an elaborate review of these several sketches, which, while full of historical detail, are enlivened with spirited descriptions and graceful touches of poetic sentiment. We commend it cheerfully as a readable and valuable contribution to the knowledge of things old.

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THE LAST YEARS OF DANIEL WEB-  
STER: A MONOGRAPH. By GEORGE TICKNOR  
CURTIS. 8vo, pp. 55. D. APPLETON & CO.,  
New York. 1878.

Mr. Curtis was an ardent admirer of the great statesman, and was much with him towards the close of his illustrious career. His avowed purpose is to defend Mr. Webster against the charge of inconsistency in his political opinions, and particularly in his course upon the slavery question—an inconsistency, to use his own apt words, between "his conscience and his con-

duct." Mr. Curtis excuses and defends the Compromise measures of 1850, which he says were based on "the conviction that it was better to ascertain the fixed area of slavery, and leave it to the action of those whom it concerned for a final extinction, without an interference that could not be exerted within the limits of the Constitution, than it was to increase the hazards of secession by the Southern States, as a means of maintaining their exclusive authority over it, thereby incurring the necessity of a war for the preservation of the Union." Mr. Curtis calls attention to the efforts of Mr. Webster to harmonize the discordant elements in Congress and the country, a tempest his magic wand had not the power to still. How far Mr. Curtis has succeeded in his friendly task, the reader must judge. In pleading the cause of Mr. Webster, he pleads his own. Another generation may be more lenient than this to the master and the disciple.

**THE RECORDS OF LIVING OFFICERS OF THE U. S. NAVY AND MARINE CORPS.** Compiled from official sources by LEWIS R. HAMERSLY (late Lieutenant United States Marine Corps). Third edition, revised, with numerous additions. 8vo, pp. 403. J. B. LIPPINCOTT & Co., Philadelphia, 1878. E. R. PELTON, New York Agent.

This valuable compilation was first published in the year 1870, and had the approval of the Secretary of the Navy and Vice Admiral Porter. It is not a mere register of names, but a record of services of officers now living, verified for entire accuracy by the persons named. In the present edition many of the records which appeared in the two preceding are no longer to be found, death having made havoc in the ranks of the navy during the last decade. The purpose of the volume is, as the title states, to give the records of living officers only. It is needless to dwell upon the importance of such information to all reference libraries.

**COLLECTIONS OF THE GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.** Vol. IV. 8vo. Savannah, 1878.

This volume contains, 1st. The Dead Towns of Georgia, by Charles C. Jones, Jr., which, published in a separate volume, we notice in this number. 2d. Itinerant observations in America, reprinted from the London Magazine, 1745-6. These were originally the anonymous contributions of a young gentleman who made the tour of some parts of America. It is a quaint and amusing account of life on the southern coast.

**TWENTIETH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CORPORATION OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK FOR THE YEAR 1877-78.** In two parts. Compiled by GEORGE WILSON, Secretary. 8vo, pp. 256 and 252. Press of the Chamber of Commerce, New York. 1878.

This is a continuation of the series of reports begun in 1859, and since regularly continued. It is by far the most important and valuable statistical compilation published in the United States. In it the general reader, the merchant, the banker will find information concerning the trade and finances of the country and of the State and City of New York, culled from a great variety of cumbersome volumes of official documents—in a word, all the grain without any chaff. An elaborate preface recites the contents of the work. From the subdivision on Coin, Currency and Banking we extract the following:

"The production and movement of gold and silver are of great interest. The reports show the production, as estimated by the deposits and purchases at the Mint, for the year ending June 30, 1877, to have been... \$80,533,064 Imports during same period..... 40,774,214

Total.....	\$121,307,278
Exports and Re-Exports during same period deducted .....	56,142,237
Increase in fiscal year ending June 30, 1877..	\$65,165,041

A remarkable showing when the number of United States bonds returned to this country from abroad is considered. For the first time since 1861 we have been able to retain the greater part of the annual products of our mines.

The day assigned for resumption is drawing near, and the metallic reserve in the country is a matter of the gravest consequence, for upon this, and upon this alone, depends the ability not to resume, but to *stay resumed*. We take again as the point of departure the estimate of Dr. Linderman, the Director of the Mint, of the amount of gold and silver in the country in the fall of 1873, an estimate generally concurred in, and the accuracy of which can be proved by tabular statements of the movement of the metals since the estimate made by Mr. Pollock, the Director of the Mint in Philadelphia in 1861:

Stock of gold and silver in 1873—Dr. Linderman's estimate.....	\$140,000,000
Deposits in Mint, 1873 to 1877.....	218,305,010
Imports of coin, 1873 to 1877 .....	106,066,718

Less exports, 1873-1877.....	\$464,371,728
	271,431,056

In the country, June 30, 1877.....	\$192,940,672
Increase, 1873 to 1877.....	52,940,672

Let us now examine the outstanding paper currency of the country. According to the official statement of the public debt there were out of old demand and legal-tender notes and fractional currency, June 1, 1877... \$307,771,417 And by statement of the Comptroller of the Currency, December 28, 1877, National Bank Notes..... 209,240,475

Total paper currency in circulation..... \$667,011,892

How far the amount of coin in the country will prove adequate to sustain this volume of paper at par is a subject concerning which there is the widest difference of

opinion. The experience of nations has so far shown that a much larger ratio of coin than is above presented is requisite to permanent equality; though under favorable circumstances a very small amount of coin will flow in a circulating medium, without commanding a premium. The ratio necessary varies with the condition of foreign exchanges, domestic prosperity and *public confidence*."

The report closes with a few words under the caption of "Encouraging symptoms," with which we freely concur:

"The present year (1878) has opened most encouragingly. The exports of grain have been enormous in amount and value, while our importations of manufactured goods continue to decrease. In a word, we are becoming less of a debtor nation. With prudence on the part of the Secretary of the Treasury, and non-interference with the finances by Congress, the situation will daily improve, and the hopes of the most sanguine be realized. 'Sweet are the uses of adversity;' the bitter experience of the last four years will not have been in vain, if from it we extract a lesson of wisdom. On every side we observe a quiet cheerfulness and hope, which are the necessary beginnings of confidence, and from these happy signs we draw the conclusion that we are at the outset of an era of national prosperity."

All the material signs are encouraging, but alas since the 1st of May, when this report was dated, the cloud, then but as big as a man's hand, has spread over the firmament and darkened the political horizon. Public confidence is again checked, and there will be no return of it until there is peace in Washington.

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THE LAW OF PRICES: A DEMONSTRATION OF THE NECESSITY FOR AN INDEFINITE INCREASE OF MONEY. BY LYSANDER SPOONER. 8vo, pp. 14. A. WILLIAMS & Co., Boston. 1877.

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OUR FINANCIERS: THEIR IGNORANCE, USURPATIONS AND FRAUDS. BY LYSANDER SPOONER. 8vo, pp. 19. A. WILLIAMS & Co., Boston. 1877.

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GOLD AND SILVER AS STANDARDS OF VALUE: THE FLAGRANT CHEAT IN REGARD TO THEM. BY LYSANDER SPOONER. 8vo, pp. 29. A. WILLIAMS & Co., Boston. 1878.

These three papers are articles reprinted from the *Radical Review*. In the first of these articles, *The Law of Prices*, Mr. Spooner assumes that an indefinite increase of money is possible. With this assumption we take issue. Money is as much the product of labor as wheat or any other commodity. Its value is measured by its quantity and the amount of labor necessary to take it from the soil. The word money cannot in any proper sense be applied to its paper representatives. When the premises cannot be agreed upon between disputants, no agreement can possibly be arrived at as to a conclusion.

The second pamphlet, *Our Financiers*, hinges upon the Ohio campaign, for more money, of 1875, which Mr. Spooner considers a ridiculous contest. He condemns the three sixty-five interconvertible bond (the Kelley) scheme as impracticable, and if practicable, inadequate to the purposes it was intended to reach. He claims that in fact it would have deprived the country of all money whatever. We take issue again. It would have simply replaced a convenient currency with an inconvenient substitute, but it would not have in any way affected money, either in quantity or value. We agree with Mr. Spooner that "as it is with all other commodities, so it is with money, namely, that free competition in producing it and offering it in the market is the sure and only sure way of guaranteeing to us the greatest supply, the best article, and on the best terms"—and we will add, that any legislation which confers the attributes of money on that which is not money, is impolitic, unwise, and tends to diminish the supply. Mr. Spooner says that "industry is an animal, so to speak, that feeds and lives on money; since its strength, activity and growth depend mainly upon the amount of money that is furnished to it." This is again true. Such industries as live by money usually thrive and prosper. Such, on the contrary, as live upon credit are subject to all the enormous fluctuations to which credit is subject from its uncertain quality.

The third article on *Gold and Silver as Standards of Value* is full of excellent statement and well-recognized truisms, strangely misapplied. The precious metals have been accepted as standards, because they are more convenient and less liable to deterioration and fluctuation than any other known medium of exchange of values, and because of their easy and perfect recognition, while the values of paper representatives of either gold or silver, or any other product, are subject to all these disadvantages. These arguments are all the more dangerous because the fallacy upon which their arguments are based is in a looseness of language not at once apparent. It is in the false use of the word *money*. Gold and silver are no more money than wheat, or cattle or land. These metals only become money when coined and stamped with a declared value. They then become standards of other values or *money*. Paper, whether in the form of bank notes, or bonds, or mortgages, is not value, it is the representative of value. If the real value which it represents be destroyed, it loses all value. If the wheat spoil, the cattle take the murrain and die and the land even sink into quicksands, of what worth is its representative?

Mr. Spooner uses hard names with regard to those with whom he differs. We should be sorry to hold the chalice to his own lips. Abuse is not argument.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE WAR DEPARTMENT AS ONE OF THE CIVIL EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, with a general view of its Interior Organization and Administration. 8vo, pp. 99. By WILLIAM A. DE CAINDRY. Washington, D. C. 1878.

A reprint in separate form of a portion of the Report on the Participation of the War Department in the International Exhibition of 1876. It opens with an account of the administration of the War Office during the revolution, beginning with the report of a committee of the Continental Congress to consider the expediency of establishing a War Office, submitted to their consideration on the 12th day of June, 1776. The establishment was approved by Washington, and from its institution rendered inestimable service. A second chapter recites the changes in the administrations, from 1789 to 1876; the organization in 1818; the history of the command of the army since 1821; the revival of the grade of General of the Army of the United States; and the duties of the several departments. The matter is well arranged and digested.

AMERICAN OCEAN STEAMSHIPS—THEIR NECESSITY TO AMERICAN INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE. Speech of Mr. ELLIOT C. COWDIN of New York before the National Export Trade Convention at Washington, D. C., February 19, 1878. 8vo, pp. 15. Press of the Chamber of Commerce, New York. 1878.

We hope this pamphlet may receive the earnest consideration of every one of our national legislators. From it the interior may learn the causes of the decay of American commerce and the consequent injuries to their own interests. The valleys of the West, with their great natural resources, are capable of a product greatly in excess of its own wants. For that excess markets are needed. Those markets can only be found, and when found reached, by the aid of commerce. Now the steamship is the forerunner, and in some sense the creator of commerce, perhaps more correctly the guide of commerce to new destinations. The nations which control steamship communications control the commerce of the peoples with whom these communications exist. They carry the first intimation of the demands at one end or the other of the line of the wants respectively felt, and they carry to and fro for their own benefit.

An examination of these pages will show by what long and skillful measures Great Britain, through a system of subsidies to the Cunard line,

opened to her manufactures every South American port, and explain the reasons why, while we consume the greater part of South American products, those countries take little or nothing from us in exchange.

We will not take up the question of subsidies to European lines. We do not believe that there will be one steamer the more or the less on the Atlantic whether the Government grant or do not grant subsidies to American lines; but experience has demonstrated that if we would have our fair share of the rich trade with our Southern neighbors, intercourse with whom it is not only our interest, but our manifest duty to cultivate and foster, we must compete on equal terms; with reasonable aid from the Government in the way of mail *compensation*, the American steamship with its superior model, and the American merchant with his enterprise, will soon restore the balance of trade, and once more, as in the halcyon days of the first half of this century, the American flag will float on every sea.

REMINISCENCES OF THE TEXAS REPUBLIC. Annual Address delivered before the Historical Society of Galveston, December 15, 1875. By ASHBEL SMITH. With a preliminary notice of the Historical Society of Galveston. Series No. 1. 8vo, pp. 82. Published by the Society. Galveston, Texas. 1876.

This is the first publication of the Historical Society of Galveston, which was organized in the year 1871. Mr. Ashbel Smith, a native of Connecticut and long resident in the Lone Star State, is well known both in this country and abroad. The annexation of Texas, as is well remembered, was the first act in the long series which culminated in secession. Manifest destiny worked itself out to a legitimate conclusion, which was disappointing and unexpected to those who undertook to "shape its ends" in this great political measure. Mr. Ashbel Smith, whose pro-slavery sentiments are nowhere concealed, was at the time acquainted with the movers in the scheme, and of his own personal knowledge supplies many interesting details, to which he adds many anecdotes of his own relations with the "great of earth; among others, the story of the claim of the "Prince of Peace" to the province of Texas as a grant from the King of Spain.

In these pages we learn that General Houston was not in favor of annexation, but that he yielded his opinions to the only one man to whom he deferred. That man was General Jackson. Texas was annexed in 1845, at which time our author, Ashbel Smith, was the Secretary of State of Texas. Mr. Smith states that he was at first adverse to the passage of the



diplomatic act, and should have preferred peace with Mexico and Texian independence, but that he changed his views when he saw that the overwhelming current of popular opinion was for annexation to the United States. He grumbles sadly, however, over the "lost expectations" of the State, which he claims was led to believe that it would rest in the sheltering arms of the United States Government, and realise a sort of Utopia, in which all manner of improvements would be made at National expense. There was a time when such policy was denounced as not "democratic," but change seems to be the universal law, and names no longer imply what they were wont to imply. There is a Latin proverb to the same effect, which need not be quoted.

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AMERICAN COMMUNITIES — BRIEF SKETCHES OF ECONOMY, ZOAR, BETHEL, AURORA, AMANA, ICARIA, the Shakers, Oneida, Wallingford, and the Brotherhood of the New Life; by WILLIAM ALFRED HINDS. 8vo, pp. 176. Office of the AMERICAN SOCIALIST, Oneida, N. Y. 1878.

Now that Communism and Socialism are claiming public attention throughout the civilized world, an enumeration and description of the various successful communities in the United States is timely and serviceable. Some of our foremost intellectual men have at some time or other been connected with organizations of this character. Indeed, it may be safely said that the one all-engrossing problem of our day is the adjustment of the relation of man to man, and of capital to labor. In this volume are to be found the origin and history of the Harmonists, the Separatists, the Communities and other social experiments.

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COLLECTIONS OF THE NEW HAMPSHIRE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY, No. 3. A list of the Centenarians of New Hampshire who have deceased since 1705, with sketches of many of them. Compiled from various sources. By DANIEL F. SECOMB. 8vo. GEO. CROWELL KETCHUM, Printer, Contorcook. 1877.

Here is excellent material for investigation. In England not long since an open challenge was made to bring perfect proof that any centenarian has ever existed. In New England, where the records have been carefully and continuously kept since the establishment of the Massachusetts Colony, it should not be difficult to verify many of the accounts given by Farmer & Moore in their *Gazetteer of New Hampshire*,

and now supplemented in this list. It is a matter of some surprise to us that the patient investigator who prepared this pamphlet does not give any proofs of either the birth or death of the subjects of his commentary. Why not have presented the baptismal record, and the newspaper or gravestone witness to the date of death?

As an instance of the necessity of close examination, we recall the case of Captain Larbush, who lately died in New York, whose claims to an extreme age were disproved by his own sworn testimony, searched out in the British archives by a "doubting Thomas," a class whose services are more appreciated by historians than theologians.

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TRENTON ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO. By WILLIAM S. STRYKER, Adjutant-General of New Jersey. Printed for private distribution. 8vo, pp. 14. Trenton, N. J. 1878.

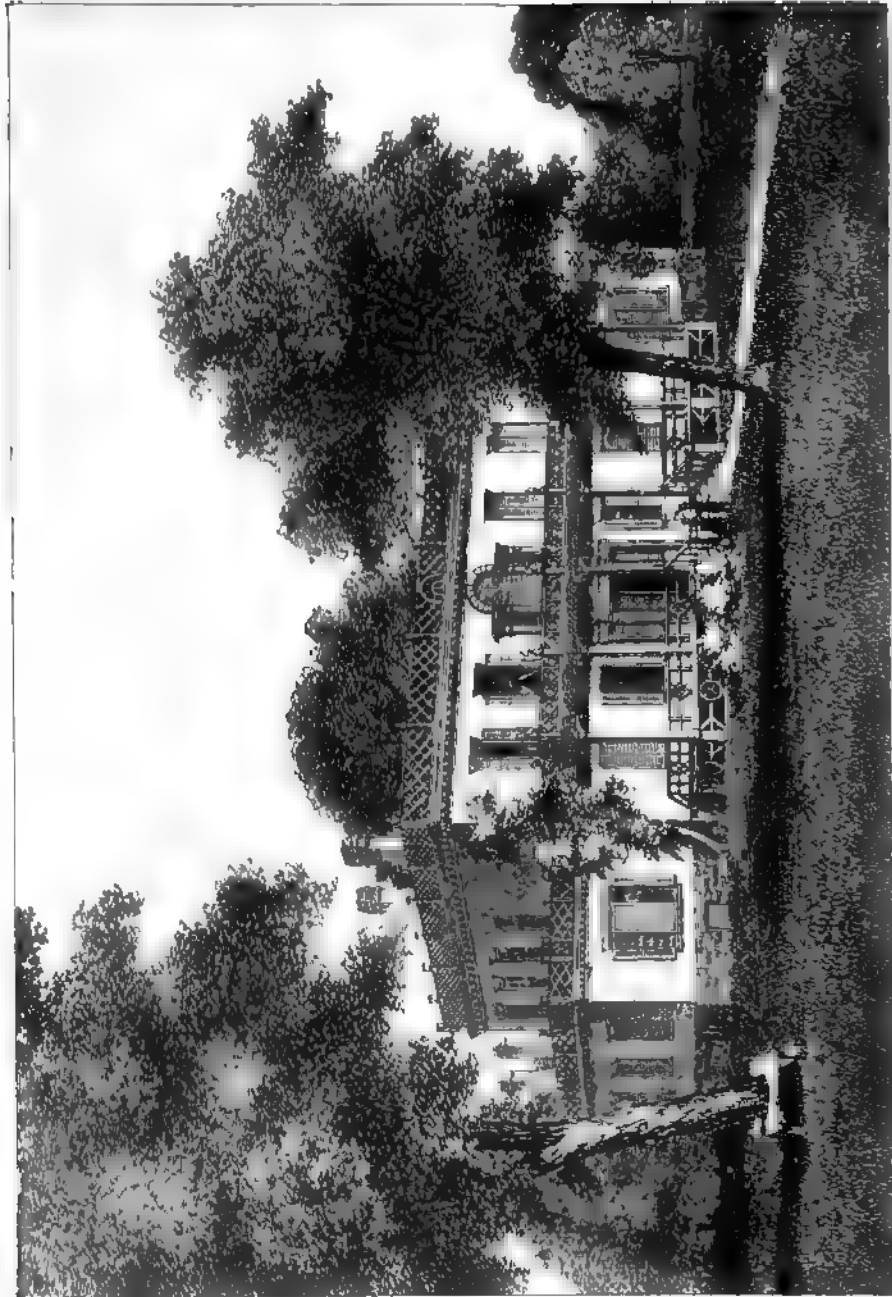
In this sketch our accomplished friend, the patient investigator, presents a picture of this historic town as it was in the days when Washington made his midnight raid on Christmas eve, and, in the new phrase of a military critic, "Burgoyned" the Hessians. The author leads the reader through the streets of the town, points out the houses, and names their occupants, with occasional reference to their origin; shows where the public offices were held, where Washington had his headquarters, and the building in which Colonel Rall expired after the battle. Trenton owes General Stryker a debt of gratitude for this careful local monograph.

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FUND PUBLICATION, NO. XII. WENLOCK CHRISTISON AND THE EARLY FRIENDS IN TALBOT COUNTY, MARYLAND. A Paper read before the Maryland Historical Society, March 9th, 1874, by SAMUEL A. HARRISON, M. D. 8vo, pp. 76. Baltimore. 1878.

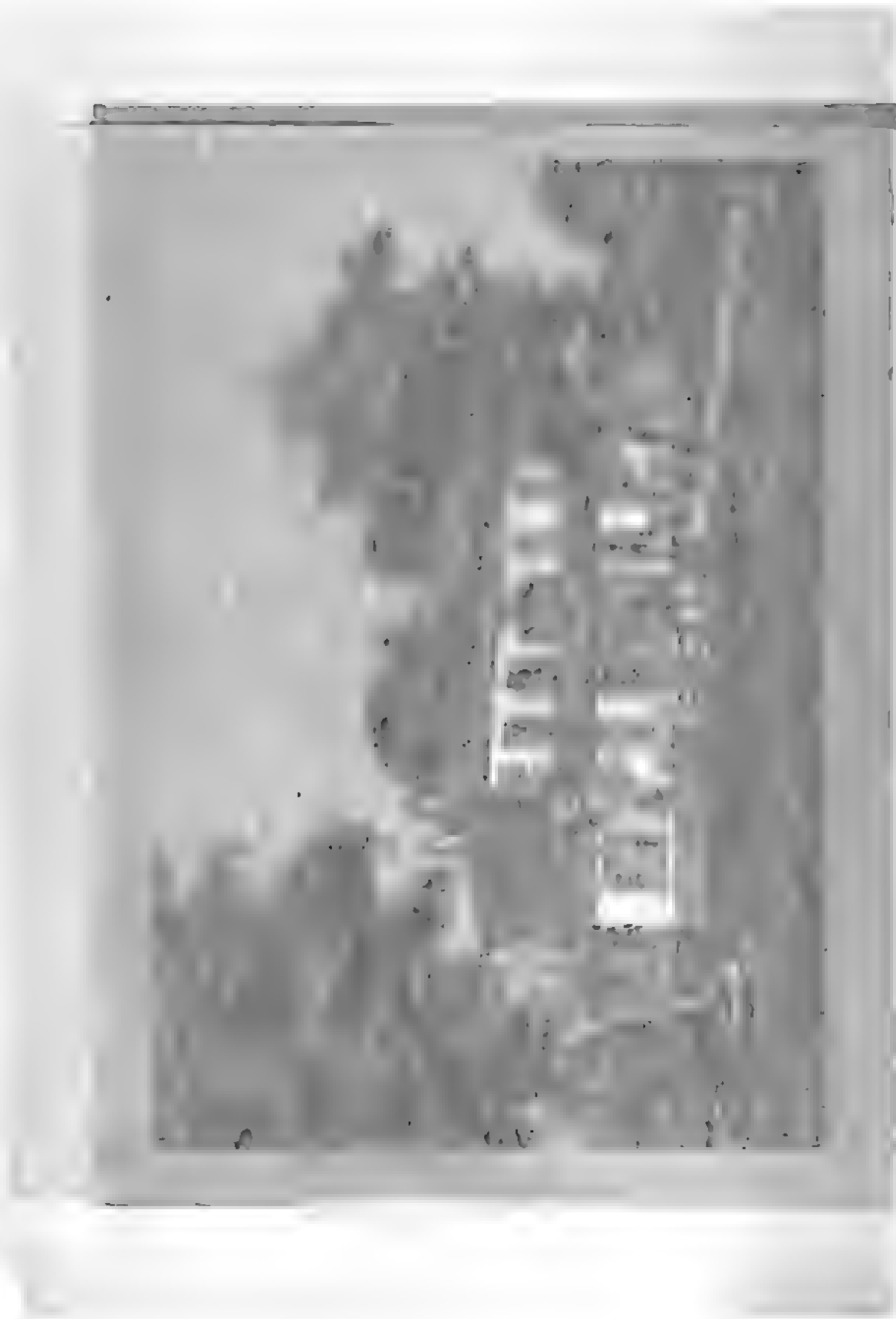
This paper was originally written as a contribution to a history of Talbot County, Maryland, and is therefore full of local interest. Its base is a narrative of the life of a Quaker confessor, who, driven out of Massachusetts by persecution, after punishment by stripes and imprisonment, for non-conformity with the Puritan dogma, took refuge in Talbot, Maryland, where he died in 1678 or 1679. It seems almost a satire upon human nature to find recorded in the same pages which tell of the sufferings of Christison "barely for being such a one as is called a Quaker," that he should have been one of the very first in the county in which he found shelter to participate in slave traffic.





THE VAN SCIAACK HOUSE—KINDERHOOK.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99



# MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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Vol. II

SEPTEMBER 1878

No. 9

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## AN OLD KINDERHOOK MANSION

**K**INDERHOOK is one of the oldest and most charming villages in the State of New York; being noted for its rural beauty, its fine residences, and its pleasant drives. There are beautiful prospects also from different points, among which are those of the valley of the Kinderhook Creek and of the distant Blue Mountains, as the Catskills are there called, from the circumstance that in certain states of the intervening atmosphere that pleasing hue is imparted to that range of mountains.

The village was settled by emigrants from Holland more than two hundred years ago; and among the oldest of those first settlers, who are still represented there by their descendants, are the Van Schaacks. Many interesting memories of past days cling around some of the old houses still standing in the village and its immediate vicinity. They bear witness in their high pointed gable ends and steep roofs, as well as in other respects, to their remote erection, and to the character of their early occupants, having been most substantially built in the ancient Dutch style, and in some instances with well-burnt brick brought from Holland. Chronological evidence of their erection has been perpetuated in some cases by large iron figures placed in their gables. The timbers put into these old buildings are simply marvelous for their great number and immense size. Strange as it may appear, it is not incredible that some of these timbers were transported from the old country, as it is a well-authenticated fact, that at an early period of the Dutch occupancy, heavy timber was brought over from Holland for the erection of church edifices on the well-wooded banks of the Hudson. There were no shams or death-traps in the erections of our Holland ancestors. The builders were not "a race eight stories high in their pride, but only twelve inches thick in their principles." They did not erect in their days, as is

now done in some of our cities, such flimsy edifices as give way to slight pressure, or such as are liable to tumble down of themselves or to be blown down by the wind to the destruction of human life.

Kinderhook village is situated on table land, originally pine clad, which abruptly terminates on a portion of its southern border. At this abrupt terminus of the plateau, there stood up to a few years ago, one of the very oldest Dutch houses in the village; a portion of which was at an early day a fort. It was the old Van Schaack mansion, being the residence of Colonel Cornelius Van Schaack, senior, the father of the four brothers, Henry, David, Cornelius, Jr., and Peter; and the father-in-law of Judge Peter Silvester; all of whom were men of mark in their day. The daughters of Colonel Van Schaack are ancestors, on the female side, of the Silvesters, the Wynkoops and the Van Alens of Kinderhook, and the Wynkoops of Hudson and Syracuse, as well as of many other families existant under various names.

The venerable mansion, referred to by John Jay in a letter written by him to his friend, Peter Van Schaack, in 1778, as "the hospitable house on the hill," had a commanding prospect of the rolling country and distant hills beyond, with a near and extensive view of the beautiful valley of the Kinderhook Creek, and affording glimpses of the stream itself quietly and gracefully meandering through the meadows and the shrubbery on its banks. Sir William Johnson was oft-times a guest in that old mansion; and a chest of drawers, once belonging to Sir William, was, until a few years ago, among its relics. Colonial affairs were here often discussed; and portions of the correspondence of Sir William with Colonel Van Schaack, and with Henry Van Schaack, who served under him in the "seven years' war," are still preserved.

Kinderhook having been in the direct line of land travel from New York city to Albany and the north and west for two centuries, many other celebrities, not only of the English colonial period, but of the revolutionary era, and of the new republic as well, have been entertained in this, the oldest of the Van Schaack mansions. Among its early visitors were members of the old families of Holland—Colden, Robinson, Cruger, Delancy, Watts, Laight, Walton, Jay, Benson, Bard, Murray, Van Rensselaer, Yates, Livingston, Gansevoort and Schuyler.

During its occupancy by Judge Silvester, in the latter part of the last and fore part of the present century, Aaron Burr, then in the height of his fame, was also one of its visitors; but after he had slain Hamilton, he ceased to enter its doors, well knowing that his presence would be unwelcome to those who had ever been ardent friends and admirers of

General Hamilton. In passing through Kinderhook after that famous duel, Colonel Burr uniformly stopped at the village hotel; and he used to send for Judge Silvester's son Francis, who had studied law with him, to meet him at the public house.

The most remarkable members of Colonel Van Schaack's family were Henry, the oldest, and Peter, the youngest son. Henry, who died in Kinderhook in 1823, in the ninety-first year of his age, was notable for native talent, sagacity, bravery and enterprise. He was for many years previous to the revolution engaged in the fur and peltry trade, and extended his operations in that line to Detroit and Mackinaw, previous to the Pontiac war. He was in official station under the Crown and Province of New York for twenty-five years before the revolution, and for fourteen years after the war he was a magistrate in Massachusetts. In Shay's rebellion he was an active and influential Government man, and upon that agitation he was elected a member of the General Court. He was a member of the Albany Committee of Safety in 1774, and he, together with Robert Yates and Peter Silvester, was by that body appointed a delegate to the first Continental Congress. He ceased to act with the revolutionary committees in 1775, under the conviction that there was a settled determination to secure independence and a permanent separation from the mother country at all events; or, as he quaintly expressed it in a letter to one of his brothers—"people have got to that pass that they do not consider the qualifications of a king, for that they will have no king."

A few years ago this old Van Schaack architectural landmark was necessarily torn down, it being then in too dangerous a position for habitation, in consequence of landslides, occasioned by the subterraneous collection of water operating upon quicksand, and which in the process of time left the old house standing upon the brink of a precipice.

But it is the design of this paper more especially to notice a stately centennial mansion, situated on another part of the old Van Schaack estate, whose history is not without revolutionary, as well as other especial interest in itself, and in its historic and biographic associations. This edifice was erected in 1774 by David Van Schaack, one of the four brothers before named, for his own use, and designed by himself. It fronts on the pleasantest street in the village, and its imposing exterior, beautiful shade trees, and extensive lawn render it one of the finest situations in the town. It is a substantially built brick structure, with a strong stone foundation, two stories high, and with broad halls running through the center, above and below, having spacious rooms with high



ceilings on each side in both stories. The timbers used in its construction are rendered a great curiosity by their immense size. In accordance with the old Dutch style of building, there are broad seats in each window, the depth of which sufficiently indicates the strength of the outer walls. The doors are massive, with an immense silver knocker on the front one, large enough to arouse a neighborhood. The roof is ornamented by ballustrades. An outside view of the mansion at this day presents an air of stately grandeur and freshness, without any indication of its being an old edifice, and it surprises persons to be told that it was built previous to the revolution. The walls of the lower hall were originally covered with landscape papering brought from England, representing a hunting scene. The ballustrade of the staircase leading from the lower to the upper hall is large, and consists of solid mahogany, rendered by age as black as the darkest ebony.

In one of the upper rooms is still preserved an old fashioned fireplace, the jambs of which are ornamented with quaint Dutch tiles, which are a great curiosity. Each tile is about five inches square, and the number of them is fifty-four. On each tile is a pictorial illustration, in blue and white, of some scriptural scene, among which are the following subjects: Elijah going up in the chariot of fire, David killing the lion, Peter, and the cock crowing, Christ healing the blind, the cripple carrying his bed, Cain and Abel, Elijah fed by ravens, Mary washing the Saviour's feet, Christ washing Peter's feet, the good Samaritan, Tobias led by an angel, temptation of Adam and Eve, Sampson pulling down the pillars of the temple, Moses with the two tables of stone, the prodigal son feeding with swine, Christ and the barren fig tree, John baptizing Jesus, Dives and Lazarus at table, Christ rising from the tomb, Christ raising Lazarus, Joseph taking Jesus from the cross, death of the false prophet, Jonah cast up by the whale, the flight into Egypt, the prodigal's return. The other fireplaces in this house were originally ornamented with similar tiles, and Longfellow could not only poetically, but truthfully say of them—


" Each hospitable chimney smiles  
A welcome from its painted tiles."

Among those other tiles there no doubt was that one in the series which represents a wise man pulling a beam, in the shape of a large stick of timber, from his own eye before proceeding to remove the mote from the eye of his brother. The back of the fireplace in the dining room consisted of an iron slab, orna-

mented by a circle of stars, and with the time of its casting in Holland (1789) in figures in the center. Ornamented iron chimney backs were not uncommon in this country at that period. In my father's house, erected in 1789, and standing next to this mansion, the back of the parlor fireplace was ornamented by the figures of two plump cherub boys stretched out in opposite directions, and reclining in graceful posture with their heads toward each other, the right arm of the one and the left arm of the other encircling each other's necks, and their bright laughing faces turned to the front. It was really a pretty sight, and a relief to the eyes when looking into the fire, to see those round-favored cherubs with the smile on their countenances, while they were left entirely unharmed by the flames rising from the wood fire briskly burning before them.

This mansion, when first built, was elegantly set out with furniture imported from England, including the finest Wilton carpets ready fitted for the rooms by the manufacturer. Some of its large, old-fashioned mahogany chairs, and beautiful specimens of old China-ware, including two large sylhabub bowls, with other rare articles of this description, are still preserved by the Sylvester family, who are connections of the original proprietor, and inheritors of many of his choice possessions.

Mr. David Van Schaack, the owner of this establishment, was an active, intelligent and courteous gentleman, uniformly well dressed in the costume of his day, and wearing ruffles at the breast and wrists finely plaited by female hands. His liberality and goodness of heart were illustrated by the voluntary liberation of all his slaves, some of whom afterwards returned to their old home to die, and were kindly cared for. Mrs. Van Schaack, whose name before her marriage was Catharine Van Valkenburgh, was an amiable, highly intelligent, and well-educated lady, and a model housekeeper. She always attracted great attention on account of her marked beauty, which is reliably represented to have been so exquisite that, on her visits to the city of New York, where great attention was always paid to her, persons meeting her in the streets would be so touched with admiration as to stop and look at her. For admiration and homage thus rendered, perhaps somewhat rudely, to a great beauty, pardon may be generously granted; for we have authentic evidence that even the uniformly polite and good General Washington could not resist the temptation of stopping in the streets of Kingston, during the Revolutionary war, to admire the beautiful wife of Tommy Van Gaasbeck. "Washington, struck by her beauty, paused to contemplate her, and spoke of her afterwards with admiration."



The married life of Mr. and Mrs. David Van Schaack was peculiarly happy : so much so indeed, that the husband is known to have said, "if every brick in that house could speak, it would fail to express the happiness I experienced in her society." Her portrait is still preserved in Kinderhook among other ancestral relics, and is now suspended in the mansion of Miss Margaret Silvester, whose mother was that adopted daughter, of Mr. and Mrs. David Van Schaack, alluded to in an interesting letter of Mrs. Quincy hereinafter referred to. In the mansion last mentioned are also still preserved portraits, probably more than one hundred and fifty years old, of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Cruger. They were the parents of Henry Cruger, member of Parliament, and of his sister Elizabeth, who was the first wife of Peter Van Schaack and the grandparents of that Henry C. Van Schaack who became Mrs. Silvester's first husband ; her second husband was Francis Silvester, she having been married to two of her cousins.


On the private marriage of Peter Van Schaack to Miss Cruger while they were both quite young, he being only twenty and then in college, the lady's father, in his rage, threw his wig into the fire. • The substantial worth of the son-in-law however, was such, that a lasting reconciliation shortly afterwards took place, and the evidences are abundant that no one of the good father-in-law's numerous descendants or friends enjoyed a larger share of his regard and confidence throughout his subsequent life than did Peter Van Schaack.

On his return from his exile in England in 1785, Peter Van Schaack, who was then a widower, made his home for a time in his brother David's family in this then new mansion ; and he at once became "the observed of all observers." His safe return to his native country and home after an absence of nearly seven years, and under circumstances of peculiar interest, was the occasion for great rejoicing, not only among his connections, but to a host of other friends. It is thus referred to in a letter written at the time to Henry Van Schaack by Mr. John C. Wynkoop, a young lawyer who had married a niece of Mr. Van Schaack during the latter's absence from the country : "The happiness we all experienced on the arrival of Uncle Peter is much easier imagined than described. There is a certain something in his deportment, looks and conversation which, in my humble opinion, speaks an uncommon man."

Peter Van Schaack's society was now eagerly sought, and for abundant reasons besides those of his high character for intelligence and personal worth, and those other fine qualities which rendered him "an uncommon man." He had spent nearly seven years in England during

a momentous crisis in her history, and one replete with a peculiar interest to every American. He had there enjoyed rare opportunities for becoming acquainted with the public men of England, with her public institutions, and with her public measures. His brother-in-law, Henry Cruger, Jr., was for several years a member of Parliament, and, as co-representative for Bristol, the colleague of Edmund Burke in the House of Commons. His father-in-law, then residing in England, was a friend of Sir William Meredith, who was in intimate intercourse with Lord North.

With these and many other significant opportunities for acquiring information afforded to an intelligent and inquisitive American, whom Chancellor Kent describes as "the model of a lawyer, of a scholar, and of a gentleman," it is not strange that Peter Van Schaack, on his return from what was still regarded as the "mother country," or as it had before been called "home," became the center of a marked interest. The mere circumstance that he had seen so many different characters distinguished in literature, in the arts and sciences, in politics, in statesmanship, in the church and in the law, with some of whom he had a personal acquaintance, and respecting many of whom he could relate interesting anecdotes, was sufficient to attract attention. He had often witnessed the performances of the charming Mrs. Siddons upon the stage, and he had enjoyed the society of Hannah More. He had been professionally associated with Mr. Scott, afterwards the great Lord Eldon; and to his ears the "honied accents" of the eloquent Murray, then Lord Mansfield, were familiar. He had attended the Rotation office in Bow street when the venerable Sir John Fielding presided there, notable as the most famous judge in all history for his acuteness in the detection of villainy, although stone blind from his birth. Mr. Van Schaack had heard all the distinguished speakers in Parliament, and in the courts of Westminster Hall. He witnessed the early efforts of Erskine in the forum, and of Sheridan and Pitt in the senate. He enjoyed the rare privilege of hearing speeches by Fox and Pitt on the same day, and he had arraigned Fox, when ex-minister, in the newspapers for his political inconsistencies. He had dined at the same table with Burke at the Assizes, and had often heard that great statesman speak in Parliament. The pure-minded Lindley Murray, the grammarian, then in England, was from early life his bosom friend; Mr. Van Schaack had often visited the studios of Benjamin West and Sir Joshua Reynolds; and he had been in the company of the "literary colossus," Samuel Johnson. He was in London during Lord George Gordon's riots, and through those



numerous and rapid changes of the Ministry which marked an era. He witnessed the downfall of one set of Cabinet Ministers for their hostility to America; the abrupt secession of another; the dissolution of a third; the grand coalition which formed the fourth, itself soon after dismissed by royal interposition, making shipwreck of the political reputations of some of the greatest statesmen in the empire; and he had participated, by his pen, in the interesting discussions to which these extraordinary political revolutions gave rise.

Such was an animating and abounding chapter in the history of one who was content to pass the last forty-seven years of his life, the greater part of it in retired usefulness, in the little village of Kinderhook, which was the place of his death as well as of his birth. Mr. Van Schaack died in September, 1832, in the eighty-sixth year of his age. The late Benjamin F. Butler was at Kinderhook at the time, and there wrote an appreciative obituary notice which contains this passage: "Nature had conferred upon Peter Van Schaack a form and countenance corresponding in strength and dignity with the measure of his intellect. Even after death his features retained the noble impress of his superior endowments and might almost have been taken for some marble monument of ancient genius, to which they bore a peculiar and interesting resemblance."

In March, 1786, the proprietor of our centennial mansion, in writing to his brother Henry, then a resident of Pittsfield, gave this favorable account of country life in Kinderhook and its vicinity at that period, which is peculiarly interesting from the circumstance that it was so soon after the civil war. "Our country gentlemen," wrote Mr. Van Schaack, "live now in a true country style. Our houses and stables are all open to each other, and a most friendly disposition prevails all over the country."

In the summer of 1786, Madam Dwight, of Stockbridge, widow of Brigadier-General Dwight, and a lady of mark in her day, was the guest of Mr. David Van Schaack's family. She had been spending some time in the city of New York, and was then returning to her home by the route, usual at that time during the season of navigation, of Hudson River to Kinderhook landing, and thence overland through Kinderhook village to Stockbridge. On this visit to Kinderhook, Madam Dwight was accompanied by Miss Morton, a daughter of Mr. John Morton, of New York city, "a lady very young but full of spirit," and even then showing the acute observation and fine memory for which she was noted in after life. This young lady afterwards became the wife of President Quincy, of Harvard University. During a call made upon

Mrs. Quincy many years previous to her death, she informed me of her visit to Kinderhook, and of the deep impression it had made upon her mind. She afterwards very complaisantly acceded to my request for a copy of an account of that visit, of which she had made a note in a paper prepared by her in regard to her "early days." A few extracts from her interesting response to my request are here given :

"It may give you some gratification to read a passage from the manuscript relative to my voyage up the Hudson in 1786. We embarked in a sloop in which Madam Dwight and myself were the only passengers. The vessel itself, the noble river, and above all the 'highlands,' filled me with wonder and delight. The captain had a legend for every scene ; and not a mountain reared its head unconnected with some marvellous story. One of the men played on the flute and woke the gentle echos, while the captain fired off guns to make the mountains reverberate a more tremendous sound. All this was enchanting to me. In the course of a *week* we arrived at Kinderhook. There we staid at the house of Mr. David Van Schaack, in the town of Kinderhook, several miles from the landing. This was a house of good old-fashioned hospitality. The mansion was large, and the furniture and domestic establishment marked the wealth of the proprietor, and was superior to those usually met with at that period. There were three brothers, David, Henry and Peter Van Schaack.\* The two first had no children, and had adopted those of their sisters. In this respect, and in their general style of living, the family resembled the description since given of the 'Schuyler family' by Mrs. Grant. I can also witness to the truth of her account of the treatment of the domestic slaves in their families. The older men and women among them were on the most familiar terms with their masters and mistresses, and exercised considerable influence over the young people of the family, especially the old women. Still they were very respectful to their superiors, and much attached to their master and his family. We were received by this eminent and excellent family with the greatest kindness ; and I think we staid with them several days, until a wagon came down from Stockbridge for us. I have always retained a lively remembrance of the hospitality we received. I also perfectly recollect a young lady, a niece, one of the adopted. Her name was, I believe, Lydia Van Vleck. I visited Stockbridge again in 1792, but did not pass through Kinderhook. During this visit I became acquainted Mr. Henry Van Schaack, of Pittsfield, at Mr. Sedgwick's, and visited his family at his residence. I still cherish the remembrance of Mr. and Mrs. Van Schaack's hospita-


ble reception of me. A striking feature of their mansion was the exquisite neatness of the house and everything about it. I had never seen the floors of entries, stairs, kitchen, etc., *painted*; and although brought up among the natives of Holland, who are proverbial for their neatness, this seemed to me 'a stroke beyond the reach of (their) art.' Mrs. Van Schaack appeared to me to be a very kind, matronly and dignified lady. Miss Van Vleck I soon found to be the sister of my first friend in Kinderhook; and these instances suggested the comparison I afterwards made to the same mode of adoption in the Schuyler family, as described by Mrs. Grant. You mention the review of Mrs. Grant's letters in the North American with interest and approbation. It is a singular circumstance that the review was written at my instance. I am glad that you are pleased with it. I presume that you have read 'The American Lady,' by Mrs. Grant; in which she gives, as far as my observation and experience have gone, in New York, Albany and Kinderhook, very correct accounts of the state of manners, etc., at that period. It brought to my recollection, as I have already said, similar scenes in your uncle's family."

Many great men and interesting characters have, at various times during the last century, been entertained in this old Kinderhook mansion; and these facts now impart to it great historic interest. Their presence within these old walls recalls to mind many incidents connected with their respective histories, and in some instances challenges the most sacred memories.

General Richard Montgomery, on his way to take command of the army against Canada, called on his friends, the Van Schaacks, at Kinderhook, and stopped in this house, which is thus most interestingly associated with one of the early martyrs of the Revolutionary war, whose name may fitly be placed side by side with that of General Warren, of Bunker Hill. On this occasion, as if anticipating the sad fate which awaited him, Montgomery gave to his early personal and military friend, Henry Van Schaack, several tokens of remembrance, one of which was his shaving-box, now in possession of Peter H. Silvester, of Cxsackie, a grand nephew of Mr. Peter Van Schaack; another token is a highly ornamented morocco pouch or case for the preservation of manuscript papers, now owned by Henry C. Van Schaack, of Manlius, a full nephew of Henry Van Schaack. The intimacy between Montgomery and Henry Van Schaack was great. They had both been officers in the war of 1755, Montgomery as captain in the Seventeenth Regiment, and Mr. Van Schaack, at different times, lieutenant, pay-

master and commissary. Among other autographs of Montgomery still preserved, is a business letter written by him to his friend Peter Van Schaack, in which, near its close, he thus playfully refers to his recent marriage to Miss Livingston: "Have you not some curiosity to know how the character of a Benedict sits upon me?" The letter closes with the "love of Mrs. Montgomery to Mrs. Van Schaack," and with an assurance of the writer's "esteem" for his correspondent. But, alas! how brief was the period of matrimonial felicity here referred to, and how suddenly disastrous and overwhelming are often the fortunes and reverses of war! Peter Van Schaack thus wrote from Kinderhook, to his father-in-law in England, in regard to the series of well-directed military movements in 1775, whereby the Americans became masters of the greater part of Canada. "The achievement of these laurels," wrote Mr. Van Schaack, "must principally be imputed to General Montgomery, who may now sit down in peace for the winter, and sheath his sword for lack of argument." Too soon, however, was the same writer obliged to present this sadly changed picture before his kinsman. "A wonderful reverse of fortune," wrote Mr. Van Schaack to Mr. Cruger, "has taken place in Canada in consequence of an ill-fated attack upon Quebec, in which General Montgomery fell, and most of his principal officers were killed, wounded and taken prisoners." Among the cherished relics which once graced this historic mansion and which are still preserved, is an old-fashioned sofa on which Captain Montgomery had often reclined. Could that interesting relic now speak, how fully it would bear witness to the intelligent conversations of its pure-minded and patriotic occupant.

In October, 1777, the doors of this mansion were darkened by a revolutionary character of a very different stamp from the one last referred to. This was General Burgoyne, then on his march through the State, not as a conquering hero, but as a prisoner of war. It was provided by the Saratoga articles of capitulation, that "the army of Lieutenant-General Burgoyne should march to the Massachusetts Bay by the easiest, most expeditious and most direct route." This route from Albany, at that day, was through Kinderhook. A letter was preserved for many years in our centennial mansion, written by Jacob Cuyler, deputy Quarter master-General, dated at Albany, 18th October, 1777, and directed to Major Hoes, at Kinderhook, in which the writer says: "This moment I have received directions from General Gates to supply the prisoners and those who will guard them, to the amount of six thousand. They will be at Kinderhook by Monday night. You will immediately order





a man to remain on the road and order fifty head of cattle to come to you out of the first drove he meets to supply them. Captain Spencer will bring fifty more by Monday night. They will want about four hundred barrels of flour to be issued to support them on the road." The captured army remained on the plains at Kinderhook for several days. The soldiers paid the farmers high prices for the poultry and other things they bought of them, but after they were gone, the poor farmers found that the coin they paid was false, being copper coated with silver. General Burgoyne and his principal officers, who had been so liberally entertained by General Schuyler in Albany, on their arrival at Kinderhook, dined in this mansion; but they probably did not have before them the numerous "covers" mentioned by General Burgoyne, in his speech in Parliament, as having graced General Schuyler's table. An amusing incident, however, occurred at the Kinderhook dinner. After the removal of the cloth wine was introduced. In the course of entertainment, a glass of wine was put into the hands of a little girl present (an adopted daughter of the gentleman of the house), and she was asked to give a toast. She archly said: "God save the King and all the royal family." Tradition has it that the family of the host were much annoyed by this little incident, fearing that their loyalty would be suspected by the American escort; and yet it is not conceived why good Christians may not ask God to save a king and his family as well as their other enemies for whom they are taught to pray. And so this matter seems to have been understood by some, at least, of our military commanders, as is illustrated by this other well-authenticated Burgoyne-Gates anecdote. On the surrender, "the English and German generals dined with the American commander in his tent, on boards laid across barrels. On this occasion, General Burgoyne proposed a toast to General Washington; an attention that Gates returned by drinking the health of the King of England.

The news of Burgoyne's surrender was brought to Kinderhook by Colonel Henry Van Rensselaer, on his way from Saratoga to his residence in Claverack, and its truth confirmed by the particulars given—that he had dined with the captive general in General Gates' marquee. When the rumor of this great event was mentioned to Peter Van Schaack, he remarked with emphasis: "If this be true, I pronounce you an independent nation."

As Generals Burgoyne and Phillips, after leaving Kinderhook, were riding on horseback through Klinekill, a sturdy woman called out and

enquired: "Which of the gentlemen is Mr. General Burgoyne?" The General, raising his *chapeau-bras*, and gracefully bowing, proceeded on his way; while the (perhaps) Tory lady by the road side made a polite curtesy and retired to her dwelling.

Not long after the passage of Burgoyne, Benedict Arnold was conveyed through Kinderhook on his way from Saratoga to Connecticut. One of the side posts of the door-way, in the house at which he stopped, was cut out to make room for the litter on which the wounded officer, then in the zenith of his reputation, was borne.

The distinguished characters whose presence graced our centennial mansion at an early day are too numerous to be named. Among them were John Jay, Alexander Hamilton, Egbert Benson, Philip Schuyler, Theodore Sedgwick and Chancellor Kent.

Henry Cruger Van Schaack, before referred to, died in this house in 1797, leaving it to his wife and child. It was afterwards leased to the Honorable Cornelius P. Van Ness. This gentleman subsequently became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Vermont, Governor of that State, Collector of the Port of New York, and Minister to Spain. He was the father of Mrs. Judge James I. Roosevelt. His brother, John P. Van Ness, was a member of Congress, Mayor of Washington, and by a fortunate marriage with the heiress of Washington, became the owner of more than half of the site of that city. Still another brother, William P. Van Ness, was for many years a Judge of the district for the Southern District of New York. He studied law with Aaron Burr, was his second in the famous duel with Hamilton, and the author of "Publico." All of these last named were sons of Peter Van Ness, a man of mark in his day, an officer in the old French war, a member of the State convention that ratified the Federal Constitution, a member of our State Senate, and first Judge of Columbia County. The "P" was introduced into the names of these three sons in pursuance of Dutch nomenclature, and to show they were sons of that Van Ness whose first name was Peter.

The surname of this family, as Washington Irving has gravely told us, had its origin from the fact that their ancestors were "valiant robbers of birds' nests." However true that may be, the numerous offices held by so many different members of this old Dutch family sufficiently show that they lost no opportunity of "feathering their own nests."

Our old mansion was next sold to a gentleman who, in one of his merry moods, threw a billet of wood at the devoted heads of

two persons, then living with him. Happily his aim was too elevated, and the stick struck the lintel of the dining-room door, where the tell-tale scar still lingers. This plethoric old gentleman died in 1813; and tradition informs us that his uneasy ghost now haunts the sideboard, making night hideous by the clattering of the glasses when they are not well filled. This same person bequeathed to his friends, the colored gentry, a lot for burial, on condition that they would never part with the sacred gift. As this lot lies in the heart of the estate, it was doubtless an act of disinterested generosity, which nevertheless sometimes tempts "the poor white folks" to execrate his memory, while the colored brethren continue to show their gratitude by interring three deep. Under the will of this owner the property was sold at auction, and Doctor John P. Beekman became the purchaser, and took up his abode in it in 1814. He married for his first wife Catharine Van Schaack, the only child of Mrs. Francis Silvester by her first husband. Doctor Beekman renovated the house in 1846, and greatly improved it by the addition of two wings, constructed in the same substantial and imposing style of architecture as the original building. After ex-President Van Buren had closed his public career, and removed from Washington to spend the rest of his life in his native town, his seat at Lindenwald became famous as a resort of the great men of the land, and of other characters more or less conspicuous. Mr. Van Buren was very often the guest of Doctor Beekman, and it was a common circumstance for him to introduce some of his own distinguished visitors into our centennial mansion, which is only three miles distant from Lindenwald. Among the visitors thus introduced were Henry Clay, Washington Irving, John L. Stephens, Thomas H. Benton, David Wilmot, Charles Sumner, Silas Wright, General Beltrand, Auguste Devezac, Commodore Nicholson, Frank Blair, William L. Marcy, John Forsyth, Azariah C. Flagg, and many others whose names are not recollected. The present Earl of Carlyle, who spent several days at Lindenwald, when travelling *incognito* in this country as Lord Morpeth, was at that time entertained in this mansion also.

On Henry Clay's visit to Kinderhook the year previous to his death, he dined in the same room in which the captive British General had been entertained three quarters of a century before, and he expressed great interest in that circumstance, and was not a little amused by the anecdote before related about the little girl toasting the King and all the royal family. That little girl, who was the life of our centennial mansion in her early days, was still living at Kinderhook at the time of

Mr. Clay's visit, but she had then become a highly intelligent and most interesting old-school lady, adding to great sweetness of disposition a refined taste, gentle and most pleasing manners, and a remarkable memory, to which I have been indebted for many of the incidents detailed in this paper. Mr. Clay paid his respects to this venerable lady by calling upon her at her residence, under the escort of ex-President Van Buren. It was an interesting interview. Mrs. Silvester survived Mr. Clay five years. She died in Kinderhook, in the full faith of a ripe Christian, in 1857, in the eighty-fourth year of her age. As was to be expected, a public reception was given to Mr. Clay at the village hotel, where a large number of citizens were introduced to him. A young lady made her appearance to be introduced to the great statesman; unfortunately, the gentleman to whom was assigned the duty of making the introductions on this occasion, and who was every way competent to the task, had forgotten the lady's name, and betrayed his embarrassment. Mr. Clay, with his usual tact, happily relieved the gentleman from his dilemma by saying to the introducer, "Mr. Beekman, never mind the lady's name now, she will soon change it."

Thomas H. Benton, on his visit to Kinderhook, delivered an address in the Dutch church, but in the English language; "Old Bullion," with all his skill as a linguist, and his capabilities as a great writer and public speaker, not being able to address the Kinderhookers in their Dutch vernacular, his "Thirty years in the Senate" did not avail him.

The honorable David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, the great Congressman, was a large man, filling, comparatively speaking, as large a space in the visible as he did in the political world. Mr. Wilmot was escorted from Lindenwald to Dr. Beekman's residence by Mr. John Van Buren, who united to great ability and shrewdness as a lawyer the wit of a wag. Mr. Van Buren, with big Mr. Wilmot standing by his side, thus introduced that gentleman to the lady of the house: "Mrs. Beekman," said Mr. Van Buren, "you have heard of the Wilmot Proviso? Here he is in a body."

Doctor Abraham Clark, formerly of New Jersey, the father-in-law of Doctor Beekman, spent the last twenty-five years of his life in the latter's family, and died in our centennial mansion in 1854, in the eighty-eighth year of his age. Mrs. Clark died here two years afterwards, aged ninety-two. Dr. Clark's father was a signer of the Declaration of Independence. Doctor Beekman died in this house in 1862. Thomas Beekman, brother of the Doctor, whose wife was a daughter of Doctor

Van Schaack, became its owner in 1864. He was at that time a widower, spending his winters in New York with his niece, Mrs. A. J. Vanderpoel, and only using it as a summer residence. Mr. Beekman served one term in Congress, 1829 and 1830. He was a gentleman of cultivated intellect, refined taste, and extensive reading. Many of the incidents recorded in this history were taken from his lips. He died in 1870, in the eightieth year of his age. Since that time the old house has been the summer residence of Aaron J. Vanderpoel, whose wife is a grand-niece of David Van Schaack, its original proprietor, and a grand-daughter of Peter Van Schaack, LL. D.

HENRY C. VAN SCHAAK

\* A fourth brother was Cornelius, the father of the mother of James I. Roosevelt.

## OUR NATIONAL MEDALS


The medal, faithful to its charge of fame,  
Thro' climes and ages bears each form and name.

*Pope's Epistle to Addison.*

Nations have, in all ages, rewarded merit by some token of honor, to be visibly worn, as commanding respect or inspiring emulation. First; personal cognizances emblazoned on their armor were adopted, indicating the presence of the warrior and his followers on the field, and if of an approved soldier, as significant of results as when the guidon of a veteran light battery is seen, marking its position in modern war. Next, orders were instituted for the military knighthood, which acted in bodies with its retainers and were known by a common device. In time other orders of knighthood were formed, installation into which was a ceremony of compliment, and their insignia conferred as a mark of honor. The sovereigns of Europe often were the heads of these orders, and conferred them on their own subjects, or upon the representatives or distinguished men of other countries, and few portraits are to be seen in the galleries or print shops of Europe in which the breast is not covered with these emblems, as though the greater the number the more meritorious the wearer, which familiarity with his life often shows not to have been a necessary consequence.

The dwarf Sir Jeffry Hudson, though knighted, was once served in a pie, and later the French soldier complained that "Cellarius polkam invenit et non decorabatur." But such exceptions do not detract from the value of decorations when worthily won and bestowed.

Medals commemorative of men, events and achievements were also struck, often with great care in execution and artistic finish. Then *fac similes* of these medals and decorations were engraved by distinguished artists, illustrated and described in sumptuous letter press, richly bound, and found their way into the libraries of Europe: one, the "Les Medailles de Louis le Grand," was unequalled in completeness. A gift of these books was a princely favor to the recipient and to art. These orders and medals were known in this country in colonial times, being worn by English officers and visitors; and when the French troops arrived to aid in the revolutionary struggle, they were used as a part of their uniform by most of the officers of rank who had been so rewarded for former service. Although no military order was



created by this Government, being held inconsistent with its republican character, these insignia probably suggested the conferring by Congress, from time to time, of medals for special service, and while great caution was exercised as to number, those voted were struck by distinguished artists and at liberal cost. The twelve voted and executed during the war were:

<i>Conferred upon</i>	<i>Service</i>	<i>Date of Resolution</i>	<i>Artist</i>
I. General Washington	Boston Retaken	Mar. 25, 1776	Duvivier
II. General Gates	Saratoga	Nov. 4, 1777	Gatteaux
III. General Wayne	Stoney Point	Jul. 26, 1779	Gatteaux
IV. Lieut.-Colonel Fleury	Stoney Point	Jul. 26, 1779	Duvivier
V. Major Stewart	Stoney Point	Jul. 26, 1779	Gatteaux
VI. Major Henry Lee	Paulus Hook	Sep. 24, 1779	J. Wright
VII. Paulding, Williams & Van Wart	Captors of André	Nov. 3, 1780	
VIII. General Daniel Morgan	Cowpens	Mar. 9, 1781	Dupré
IX. Lieut.-Col. W. A. Washington	Cowpens	Mar. 9, 1781	Duvivier
X. Lieut.-Col. John Eagar Howard	Cowpens	Mar. 9, 1781	Duvivier
XI. General Nathaniel Greene	Eutaw Springs	Oct. 29, 1781	Dupré
XII. Chevalier John Paul Jones	Capture of Serapis	Oct. 16, 1787	Dupré

These form part of the seventy-four medals conferred by Congress or executed by their order, including the Presidential series; twenty-seven to officers of the War of 1812, four of the Mexican and two of the Civil War. The Recognition and Treaty Medals, executed by the Netherlands, the two Franklins, the *Libertas Americana*, to commemorate Saratoga and Yorktown (also considered as National), the Diplomatic Medal, and those in recognition of the Somers affair, the wreck of the San Francisco, that to Cyrus W. Field for laying the cable, to George Peabody for promoting education, and to Cornelius Vanderbilt for the gift of his steamer, the *Life-Saving* and Centennial, Ingraham, Metis, Rose and Robinson medals.

Some of these medals are found in collections in bronze or tin, or occasionally seen in the possession of the family of the recipient, and some antiquarians have interested themselves in forming lists and gathering details or producing *fac similes* of them. Drs. Prime, Lossing and Mease, Messrs. Appleton, Bushnell and Kelby of the N. Y. Historical Society, may be named amongst those who have in some form attempted to group them, but it was reserved to J. F. Loubat, LL. D., after fifteen years of patient labor and at a great expense, for which no adequate remuneration can be expected, to restore and collect the *fac similes* and history of the entire series, and to present it to the public in two sumptuous volumes just issued, entitled "The Medallic History of the United States of America, 1776-1871."

In his researches Mr. Loubat has not confined himself to the records of our own government, but extended them to those of France and Holland, of the Academy of Inscription and Belles Lettres in Paris, to the sketch books and memoranda of deceased engravers, and among the families of those on whom the medals were bestowed. He has labored assiduously to replace the deficiencies in the series at the Philadelphia Mint, first discovered to be broken in 1855, and describes how his success was accomplished, finding a plaster cast in one place, and a die used as a paper-weight in a government bureau in another. In these patient researches the author has enriched his work with details of the history of particular medals and their artists, many of whom were famous, and has incidentally embodied many scattered facts.

The perseverance with which he has terminated a special study, which many of his friends had considered to be merely a pastime, may be due to his training in the German atmosphere of Heidelberg, at whose venerable University his finishing studies were pursued, and from which Mr. Loubat received his title of Doctor of Laws.

Amongst the varied details of this interesting work appears a note of Mr. Jefferson to Dupré, the engraver, known as "le Grand," written February 23d, 1789, and communicated by Dupré's son, that he already contemplated a work of this description, to be sent with copies of the medals then existing to the sovereigns of Europe, and a letter of General Scott to the Secretary of War, in reference to the Taylor Medal, in which he says "as medals are amongst the surest monuments of history, as well as muniments of individual distinction, there should be given to them, besides intrinsic value and durability of material, the utmost grace of design, with the highest finish in mechanical execution," while Franklin, from a different standpoint, wrote to John Jay, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, May 10, 1785: "The man who is honored only by a single medal is obliged to show it to enjoy honour, which can be done only to a few and often awkwardly. I therefore wish the medals of Congress were ordered to be money, and so continued as to be convenient money by being in value aliquot parts of a dollar."

A letter of Rohan, the Grand Master of Malta, to Franklin, 21st June, 1783, acknowledging a copy of the "Libertas Americana" and offering the courtesies and protection of the subjects of his little principality to the vessels and citizens of the United States, then scarcely known, tells a story of the rise and fall of nations.

In a letter from Jefferson to Colonel Humphreys, December 4, 1785, in reply to a criticism by the artist Gatteaux on the impropriety of



introducing upon the Gates Medal the insignia of the "Cincinnati" created after the event commemorated he says, "another reason against it strikes me : Congress have studiously avoided giving to the public their sense of this Institution. Should medals be prepared to be presented from them to certain officers bearing on them the insignia of the order, as the presenting them would involve an approbation of the Institution, a previous question would be forced on them, whether they would present these medals. I am under the opinion it would be very disagreeable to them to be placed under the necessity of making this declaration." Congress felt the influence of the clamor that this body of veterans, if recognized, would be an hereditary order, and therefore contrary to the spirit of their government, but public opinion has honored it, and approved of its continuance, as a time honored memento of the services of its founders, requiring no formal recognition to make it valued.

These are but casual references to minor details in the varied historical and artistic material contained in some six hundred pages of large quarto size, divided into two volumes, one of text and one of illustrations, printed on drawing paper of the finest quality, made in Paris expressly for the author. The etchings are by Jules Jacquemart, whose work is celebrated for its beauty, and the letter press by Theodore L. De Vinne, author of "The Invention of Printing," who has made typography a study. It is published by the author in as complete a form, in all its details, as accepted talent and the most liberal outlay could produce, more as a tribute to his country than with a view to reimbursement from such copies as may be offered to the public.

While to the student of history this work will always be convenient for reference as to the details of these interesting mementoes, it will also be valuable in helping to show to a rapidly increasing population the acts of the founders, and the traditional history which must be sustained by new comers as part of the life of the nation. The necessity of accuracy as to details and the effort to make it in its execution and ample illustration an elaborate and elegant addition to our national literature, must have involved an amount of labor and a sense of responsibility to its compiler, which can only be rewarded by a lasting reputation.

T. BAILEY MYERS


## THE MOUNDBUILDERS

WERE THEY EGYPTIANS; AND DID THEY EVER OCCUPY THE  
STATE OF NEW YORK?

It has generally been supposed that the Moundbuilders were never further East than the basin of the Mississippi and its tributaries. I have, however, in my archæological researches, lately come across several facts which would tend to show that this mysterious race occupied, temporarily at least, portions of Central and Eastern New York.

Before presenting these facts, it may be well to say a few words about the Moundbuilders, not going into the subject deeply—for it is to be presumed that the readers of the *Magazine of American History* are familiar with the subject—but only recalling a few theories in regard to it, so that what I shall hereafter present may be more perfectly understood.

Various hypotheses have been advanced by learned antiquarians concerning the origin of the Moundbuilders, Toltecs or Aztecs.' That they originally came from the South or Central America several thousand years ago and spread into the vallies of the Ohio and Mississippi, and after building mounds and cities were finally driven back by another race to the country whence they had emigrated, is not now seriously questioned. But the origin of this ancient people, who they were, and whence they sprung, is a matter of much graver doubt. Some writers believe that they were the lost tribes of Israel. This is too absurd to deserve more than a passing allusion. Another class think that they were descendants of the Malays, who gradually extended themselves from the Malay Islands, by way of the Sandwich Islands, to the shores of Mexico. Others, again, with perhaps greater probability, are of the opinion that Central America was first settled by the Phœnicians, and point to the tradition of the ancients of a "great Saturnalian continent," beyond the Atlantic, asking how the tradition arose if "no one in the pre-historic ages had ever seen that continent?;" and if it were seen, by whom more naturally than by the Phœnicians, who, say the supporters of this theory, were "preeminent as the colonizing navigators of antiquity;" and Baldwin, in his admirable work epitomizing what is known of American antiquities says, "that the known enterprise of the Phœnician race, and the ancient knowledge of America, so variously expressed, strongly encourage the hypothesis that the people called




Phœnicians came to this continent, established colonies in the regions where ruined cities are found, and filled it with civilized life;" but that they were not Toltecs, he thinks, is evident from the fact that the language and style of architecture of the latter are radically unlike those of the Phœnicians.

A fourth theory, which to me seems possible, for reasons that will appear hereafter, is the one advanced by M. l'Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg and others, called the Atlantic theory. This hypothesis is thus stated by Mr. Baldwin—"The Atlantic theory of the old American civilization is, that it was originated on this continent, but on a portion of the continent which is now below the waters of the Atlantic Ocean. It supposes the continent extended, anciently, from New Grenada, Central America, and Mexico, in a long, irregular peninsula, so far across the Atlantic that the Canary, Madeira, and Azores, or Western Islands, may be remains of this portion of it. High mountains stood where we now find the West India Islands. Beyond these, toward Africa and Europe, was a great extent of fertile and beautiful land, and here arose the first civilization of mankind, which flourished many ages, until, at length, this extensive portion of the continent was engulfed by a tremendous convulsion of nature, or by a succession of such convulsions, which made the ruin complete." In further support of this theory, which, it must be confessed, is remarkably corroborated by the sea soundings of Professor Maury, which trace a ridge along the bottom of the Atlantic Ocean, exactly where the Island of Atlantis is said to have lain, Brasseur de Bourbourg cites the story of Atlantis, preserved in the Egyptian annals, and related to Solon by the priests of Sais. Plutarch, in his life of Solon, narrates that while in Egypt that philosopher "conferred with the priests of Psenophis, Sonchis, Heliopolis, and Sais, and learned from them the story of Atlantis." Herodotus, I believe, states substantially the same thing. Plato, by no means a sensational writer, tells this story as follows: "Among the great deeds of Athens, of which recollection is preserved in our books, there is one which should be placed above all others. Our books tell that the Athenians destroyed an army which came across the Atlantic Sea, and insolently invaded Europe and Asia; for this sea was then navigable; and beyond the strait, where you place the Pillars of Hercules, there was an island larger than Asia (Minor) and Libya combined. From this island one could pass easily to the other islands, and from these to the continent which lies around the interior sea. The sea on this side of the strait (the Mediterranean) of which we speak, resembles a harbor with a narrow entrance;

but there is a genuine sea, and the land which surrounds it is a veritable continent. In the Island of Atlantis reigned three kings with great and marvelous power. They had under their dominion the whole of Atlantis, several other islands, and some parts of the continent. At one time their power extended into Libya, and into Europe as far as Tyrrhenia; and, uniting their whole force, they sought to destroy our countries at a blow, but their defeat stopped the invasion and gave entire independence to all the countries on this side of the Pillars of Hercules. Afterward, in one day and one fatal night, there came mighty earthquakes and inundations, which engulfed that warlike people. Atlantis disappeared beneath the sea, and then that sea became inaccessible, so that navigation ceased on account of the quantity of mud which the engulfed island left in its place." The invasion here alluded to occurred many ages before Athens was known as a Greek city, and was of an extremely remote antiquity. "The festival, known as the 'Lesser Panathenaea,' which, as symbolic devices used in it show, commemorated this triumph over the Atlantis, is said to have been instituted by the mythical Erichthonius in the earliest times remembered by Athenian tradition. Solon knew of the Atlantis nation before he visited Egypt, although he heard for the first time while in that country of the island itself and of its disappearance by a stupendous convulsion of nature." Atlantis, however, is repeatedly referred to by other ancient Greek writers; and an extract, preserved in Proclus, and taken from a work now lost, which is quoted by Boeckh in his commentary on Plato (translated by Rev. S. T. Lamb, of Cambridge, Mass.), mentions islands in the exterior sea beyond the Pillars of Hercules, and says it was known that in one of these islands "the inhabitants preserved from their ancestors a remembrance of Atlantis: an extremely large island, which for a long time held dominion over all the islands of the Atlantic Ocean." These among others, some of them philological, are Brasseur de Bourbourg's grounds for claiming that the Toltecs were an original civilization; and further, that not only have all the civilizations of the Old World sprung from what is misnamed the New World, but that Egypt herself was settled by that people; in other words that the Moundbuilders were the original Egyptians.'

Let us now briefly compare the Moundbuilders with the Iroquois or Six Nations. The former had the knowledge not only of working in copper but of spinning and weaving cloth. Pipes beautifully and elaborately carved, and copper and bronze ornaments of various kinds, such as bracelets, ear-rings and beads, besides spear-heads, knives and axes of the same metals have been found in the mounds.' Pieces of



cloth of spun fibres and many articles of terra cotta, elegantly designed and finished have also been discovered. In fact, nearly all the articles found in these mounds prove their builders to have attained a much higher degree of civilization, and to have possessed a much greater culture in the arts than those aboriginals found by the whites occupying the country at the time of the discovery. Even the Six Nations, a people greatly in advance of the Algonquins, Mobilians and other Indian families, in civil polity and social life were very far below the Mound-builders in these particulars. The Iroquois, when first discovered, had no knowledge of the art of working copper nor of weaving cloth; and their pipes, and domestic, farming and hunting utensils were of stone and earthenware, uncouth, rough, and generally without comeliness.'

Having said thus much by way of preparing the reader for what is to follow, I now come to a consideration of those facts, to which allusion was made at the beginning of this paper. On the fifth of May, 1877, the pipe (No. 1, 2, 3,) was dug up by Mr. William Parish, of Seneca Falls, N. Y., about one mile west of that village, on the north bank of the Seneca River, on the farm of Mr. Lawrence. The Egyptian characters of the pipe, almost an exact representation of the four stone giants in the great temple of Ibsamboul on the Nile, and the Colossi of Amenoph III (Memnon)—the sitting posture with the arms and hands resting on the knees, the large flaps of the ears, the long cue of the *pschent* at the back of the head, the Egyptian and Sphinxlike cast of features, so different from those of the North American Indian, must forcibly strike every observer. The pipe is of mouse-colored terra cotta, very finely and delicately wrought, and is, as must be apparent even to a casual glance, of an entirely distinct type from that of the rough and uncouth Iroquois pipe (No. 6) in the shape of a raccoon's head, which was found at Lake George by a friend, and by him presented to me for my cabinet. Along with this pipe, and lying close to a few human bones, were found a copper breast-plate in the form of a disk, and a piece of bone also circular in form, one inch and a half in diameter, having both sides highly polished and colored, and similar to the one recently discovered by Mr. Charles W. Stevenson in an ancient mound at Warrinsburg, Missouri. Some cloth, which had evidently been wrapped around the body when first buried, was also discovered. The cloth, in texture, substance and color, corresponds precisely with the cloth which enveloped the Aztec Mummies at the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia.

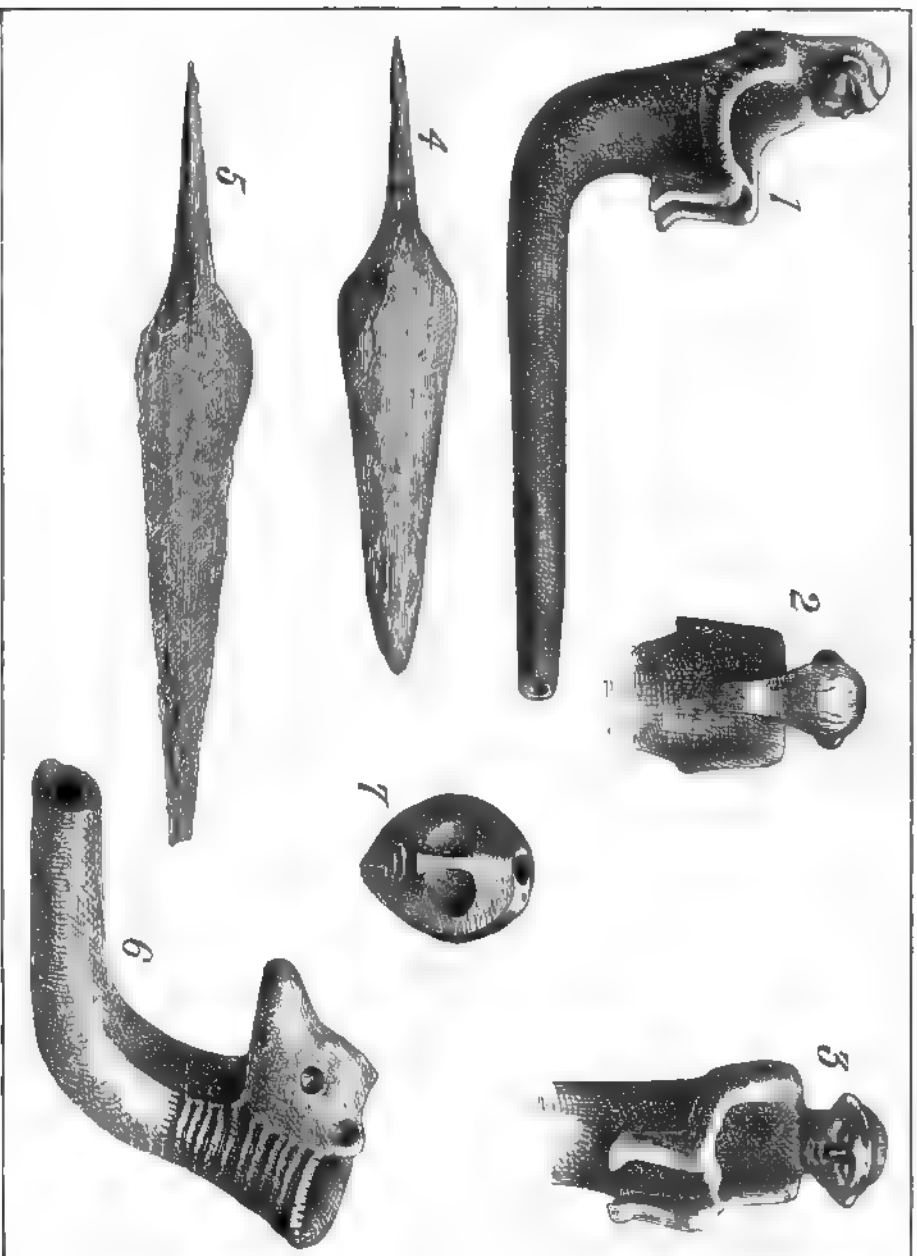
The two figures (Nos. 4, 5,) are representations of copper and bronze spear-heads with long smooth tangs to be thrust into a wooden shaft.

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They belong undoubtedly to pre-historic times, and are entirely identical in size and shape with the copper implements discovered in the abandoned galleries of the ancient copper mines of Lake Superior, and also with some of copper that were found, a year or two since, in Wisconsin, among the earth-works of the Moundbuilders, photographs of which are given in the Wisconsin Historical Collections, 1873-6.

The copper spear (No. 4) was found in the early summer of 1876, about thirty feet from the bank of the outlet of Lake Saratoga, a few rods north of Moon's Lake-House, by Mr. J. W. Cook, of Saratoga Springs. At this place there is a narrow alluvial plain, some sixty feet wide, formed by the washing of the steep bank or bluff, fifty feet high, that borders the lake on its western side. Over this alluvial, with a view of preparing a garden, about a half a foot of sand had been thrown. In digging a hole, to set out a tree, Mr. Cook first dug through this layer of sand, and then coming to the original soil, to give the tree plenty of depth, he dug three feet deeper into the alluvial, when the last spadeful of earth brought up the spear.

The bronze spear (No. 5) was found the same summer by Mr. Horace Kelly, two miles further up the lake, on the Ramsdill farm. After the spear was sent to me, having this paper in view and not having visited the locality for two years, I wrote to Professor Henry McGuire, of Saratoga Springs, a geologist of reputation, thoroughly familiar with the topography and geology of Saratoga and its vicinity, and who also chanced to be present when Mr. Kelly unearthed the spear, for specific information in relation to the circumstances under which it was found. To this request he replied, under date of May 27, 1878, "The plain upon which Saratoga Springs is built is formed of what is known to geologists as the drift; composed of beds of sand, clay and gravel, and embracing an area of more than 1000 square miles, having a thickness, in some places, of 800 feet or more. This plain is an almost unbroken level, save where some water-course has cut its channel through it, leaving escarpments on either side. It was in, and projecting from, the face of one of these escarpments, on the farm of Mr. Jefferson Ramsdill, bordering immediately upon the western shore of Lake Saratoga, that our common friend, Mr. Horace Kelly, discovered, some three feet below the level of the ground, the spear-head now in your cabinet. The oxide upon its surface I found to be a beautiful vermilion, thereby indicating the presence of *tin*, and leading me to the conclusion that it was a *bronze* implement."

At the foot of the steep bank, in which this spear was found, there is a narrow alluvial meadow, extending to the shore of the lake, called

**Ramsdill's Cove.** In this meadow Mr. Kelly also dug up, the same summer, a skull imbedded in a peat-bed, four feet below the surface of the ground. That the skull, which is now before me as I write, had in life worn ear-rings of copper, is evident from the fact that while the copper has all disappeared, the bones of the skull on both sides, directly below the orifice of the ears, are incrustated with verdigris; otherwise the skull is of a deep orange color—the effect, doubtless, of the peat. The skull, moreover, in its peculiar configuration, bears a striking similarity to those of the ancient Peruvians. If it be said that the ear-rings, though of copper, might have been worn by an Iroquois, and been the gift of some White, the answer is, that the well known antiseptic properties of peat, the depth at which the skull was unearthed, and the complete obliteration of every vestige of the ear-rings and other portions of the skeleton, all give to the skull an age of more two thousand years; whereas, the traditions of the Iroquois, and the researches of Morgan give only five hundred years from the present day as the extreme limit of the time when that people first migrated into those parts of North America, which they occupied at the time of their discovery by the Whites in 1608.

Figure (No. 7) in the plate represents an Indian amulet. This interesting specimen was found August 8th, 1866, by Rev. B. F. De Costa, at Wellfleet, Cape Cod, upon the top of a sand hill, where the ground was strewn with Indian relics. This production is of steatite, or soap-stone. The features are of the Indian type. The obverse of the stone shows that the maker perhaps intended to form the same features on both sides, the eyes and mouth being partially cut. It appears to have been intended for an amulet. A hole is bored through its longer diameter. In New England these representations of the human face are extremely rare, and it is probable that no other specimen of the kind exists. Mr. Henry Wagman, who lives on the road from Saratoga Springs to Schuylerville, has in his large collection several amulets made of the same kind of stone. They are, however, all in the form of animals.

In conclusion, while I am well aware that at present, at least, all hypotheses must be in great part conjecture, yet the object of this article has been simply to ask, first, if the pipe does not afford grounds for believing that the "Atlantic" theory of Brasseur de Bourbourg may be correct? and, secondly, if the pipe, the copper and bronze spear-heads and the skull do not furnish reasons for thinking that the Mound builders at one time either occupied or visited certain sections of New York State? Finally, I have written this article not in the spirit of dog-

matic assertion, but with the object of presenting to those interested in the subject certain facts, and thus contribute my mite to assist investigation into what must ever remain a most attractive portion of American history.

## WILLIAM L. STONE

<sup>1</sup> In this article (following Baldwin and Rawson) I have assumed that the Moundbuilders, Toltecs, and Aztecs, are all of the same stock, viz., the Ganowanian family. They are called Moundbuilders in the United States, Teocallibuilders in Mexico, Temple and Palacebuilders in Central America, and Peruvians in Peru. Those whose remains are found in Brazil are not named. Vasquez de Coronado visited, in 1540, several ruined cities along the slopes of the Rocky Mountains as far North as Arizona, whose builders were probably of the same age and race.

<sup>2</sup> Could Plato have had in mind the Sea of Sargasso, which, to the crews of Columbus, appeared like an immense marsh, and retarded their ships? This sea extends from the Gulf of Mexico very nearly to the Azores—covering the site of Atlantis.

<sup>3</sup> "It is now confessed that Agassiz, following Sir William Logan's Laurentian cozoan researches, has proved America to be the first-born among all the continents; hers the first dry land lifted above the waters; hers the first shore washed by the ocean that enveloped all the earth beside; and while Europe was represented only by islands rising here and there above the sea, America already stretched an unbroken line of land from Nova Scotia to the far West."—*Address of Professor James D. Butler before the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, February 8th, 1876.*

<sup>4</sup> "At the period of their discovery \* \* \* the Village Indians [that is, the Toltecs, Aztecs, and Moundbuilders] had obtained native copper, had formed copper implements, and, in certain areas, implements and utensils of bronze, and had also worked native gold and silver into various forms. But a knowledge of the use of these metals was limited chiefly to the Village Indians of Mexico and Peru."—*Lewis H. Morgan, in the North American Review for October, 1868, and January, 1870, on Indian Migrations.* "Besides the precious metals they (the ancient Peruvians) had copper, tin, lead and quicksilver."—*Baldwin's Ancient America.*

<sup>5</sup> I have now before me two pottery bowls—one of Aztec, and the other of Iroquois make. The former, covered with hieroglyphics of brilliant colors, is beautifully polished, and as fine as any porcelain ware of the present day. The latter—found on the banks of Fish-Creek, New York, on the land of Mr. Benjamin R. Viele, where there has evidently been an Indian pottery manufactory—is unsightly and of the most primitive workmanship.

<sup>6</sup> Might not Mr. Squier—to whom we owe so much in this line of study—have been too hasty in retracting his first opinion, that the works in Western New York were those of the Mound-Builders?

GOVERNOR STUYVESANT'S  
JOURNEY TO ESOPUS

1658

Communicated by B. Fernow, late keeper of the  
Archives of the State of New York

VERBAL AND WRITTEN REPORT, MADE BY  
HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL PETRUS  
STUYVESANT, CONCERNING THE  
OCCURRENCES AND AFFAIRS  
AT THE ESOPUS

In conformity with the resolution,<sup>1</sup> we left on board of the private yachts on the 28th of May (1658) and arrived safely at the Kil, or river of the Esopus, on the 29th. In order to avoid creating any commotion among the savages, either by astonishing them with the sight of so many soldiers or by making them decamp, before we had spoken with them, also fearing, that during or before their flight they might inflict some more harm upon the small number of Christians, I had ordered the accompanying yachts, which carried most of the soldiers, before we arrived at the said Kil, to follow one after the other, not to anchor near me before night-fall and not to show upon deck any soldiers or at least as few as possible. While we thus led in the yacht of Master Abram Staats, ill luck would have it, that in entering the Kil at low tide we run aground. We sent then Sieur Govert Loockermans ashore in the barge, opposite to the two little Indian huts, standing near the bank of the Kil; he was to invite 2 or 3 savages on board and despatch one or two others inland for the farmers, to regulate my conduct by the knowledge of their present condition. When he came back, he brought

with him two savages and with them came Thomas Chambers<sup>2</sup> and the Precentor (*voorlezer*) Andries van der Sluys, who had been induced to come down to the river by the longing for help and the favorable southwind, to look out for the requested and expected relief. Their report and complaints agreed substantially with the letters previously sent to the Honorable Council; they added, that the boldness and threats (of the savages) were still continuing, and that they had since killed two of Jacob Jansen Hap's sows, which were with pigs. It will be too long, if it were possible, to repeat all the particulars, because they were given verbally, not in writing, and are therefore not all remembered. But it is unnecessary to go into the details, because they agreed, as I said before, substantially with their previous letters.

I persuaded the savages, brought down by Sieur Loockermans, by a little present, to go inland to their Sachems or Chiefs and inform them, that I had come not for the purpose of harming them or the savages in general, but to inquire into the causes (of the late disturbances) and who was guilty and who not of the quarrels, murders and fires; they were therefore to tell the Sachems and savages in the neighborhood, that they need not be afraid, but that they should come to meet me and speak with me at the house of Jacob Jansen Stoll the following day or the day after; no harm should be done to them or theirs; they agreed to do it and left after some further talk together with the aforesaid two Christians, viz., Thomas Chambers and Van der Sluys. The other yachts

arrived meanwhile towards evening and passed us, who were sitting aground. I gave orders to the Captain-Lieutenant<sup>a</sup> to land his soldiers with the least possible noise, without beating of drums, to keep them well together, and after having landed them, to send for me and the people on my yacht; this was done by sunset, and we marched the same evening to the bouwery of Tomas Chambers, being the nearest, where we remained for the night. On the morning of the 30th, Ascension day, we marched to the bouwery of Jacob Jansen Stoll, which is the nearest to most of the habitations and plantations of the savages, where we had appointed to meet the Sachems, and where on Sundays and the other usual feasts the Scriptures are read. After this had been done during the forenoon of that day, the inhabitants, who had assembled there, were directed either to remain or to return in the afternoon, that they might report for our better information everything concerning the reasons of their request for assistance, and hear from us what they and we were to do.

When they had assembled in the afternoon pursuant to orders, I stated to them, what they saw, namely that at their urgent and repeated requests I had come with about 60 soldiers; I asked, what in their opinion was now best to do for the welfare of the country generally and for their own greater safety, adding, in a few words, that I did not think the present time was favorable to involve the whole country into a general war on account of the murder, the burning of two small houses and the threats, of which they complained, that before

now massacres, incendiary fires and other losses, injuries and insults had afforded us much more reason for immediate revenge, which we had nevertheless for prudence's sake deferred to a better time and opportunity, and that, as they knew themselves, *now, in summer, with the prospect of a good harvest before us, it was not the proper season to make bad worse, least of all by giving room so hastily to a blind fear*; that on the other side they also knew very well it was not in our power to protect them and other out-lying farmers as long as they lived separately here and there, and insisted upon it contrary to the orders of the Company and our well-meant exhortations. They answered, that they had no objections to make, but they were now so situated, that they had spent all they were worth on their lands, houses and cattle, and that they would be poor, indigent and ruined men if they were now again, as 2 or 3 years ago, obliged to leave their property. This would be the unavoidable consequence if they could get no assistance and protection against the savages. I told them then, that no protection was possible as long as they lived so separately from each other, that it would therefore be for their best and add to their own safety, in fact was absolutely necessary, as I thought, that they should either immediately move together on a suitable spot, where I could and would help and assist them with a few soldiers until further arrangements are made, or retreat to the Manhattans or Fort Orange with their wives, children, cattle and most easily moved property, so as to prevent further massacres and mischief; else,

if they could not make up their minds to either, but preferred to continue in such a precarious situation, they should not disturb us with their reproaches and complaints in future. Each proposition was discussed, but it would be too tedious to repeat the debates in detail.

Every one thought it unadvisable and too dangerous to remain in their present condition without the assistance and succor of troops; the prospect of a good harvest, so close at hand, the only means by which they can clothe and feed themselves and their families during the next winter, would not admit of abandoning so suitable and fertile lands and of throwing themselves and their families thereby into the most abject poverty.

The necessity of a concentrated settlement was conceded, although discussion ran high regarding this point as well on account of the time, harvest being so near at hand, and it was therefore thought impossible to transplant houses, barns and sheds before it, as on account of the place, where the settlement was to be made, for every one proposed his own place as being most conveniently located; I must add, that they were to help surrounding the settlement with palisades, which, they apprehended, could not be done before harvest time. They proposed therefore and requested very urgently that the soldiers, whom I had brought up, might remain there till after the harvest, which we considered unadvisable for many reasons and therefore refused it peremptorily, insisting upon it, as I did not want to lose time, that they should make up their minds without further delay in regard to one

of the above stated propositions, and in order to encourage them to take the safest and most advantageous step, I promised to remain there and assist with my soldiers until the place for the settlement was inclosed with palisades, provided they went to work immediately before taking up anything else and finished it, whereupon they finally desired time for consideration until the next day, which I granted.

On the next day, which was the last day of May, the aforesaid inhabitants of the Esopus brought the answer, that they had agreed unanimously and arrived at the conclusion to make a combined settlement, to acquiesce cheerfully and faithfully regarding the spot and arrangements, which we were to indicate and prescribe, and they signed immediately the enclosed document.<sup>4</sup> The place was inspected and staked out the same forenoon.

I have forgotten to mention at the proper place that some savages, but only a few—about 12 or 15—made their appearance at the house of Jacob Jansen Stoll yesterday, but there were only two Sachems or chiefs among them. They said that the other Sachems and savages could not come before the next day, and that some were very much frightened and hardly dared to show themselves, because so many soldiers were here, and it was reported that many more were to follow. After I had given them verbal promises, and assured them that no harm should happen to them, they became a little more cheerful and satisfied, and promised to inform the other savages the same evening; consequently about 50 savages, but only a

few women and children among them, presented themselves at the house of the aforesaid Jacob Jansen this afternoon. After they had gathered under a tree outside of the enclosure, and about a stone-throw from it, I went to them, and as soon as we had sat down, they began, according to their custom, a long speech through their spokesman, which consisted, as the inhabitants interpreted it to me, of the relation of occurrences before my time, especially of the war waged between them and our nation during Mr. Kieft's administration, how many of their people had then been killed, which they had "put away" and forgotten, and a great many other things having no reference to the matter in hand. We answered, as was proper, that all this had taken place before my time, and therefore did not concern me; that they and the other savages had drawn the war upon themselves by killing several Christians, the particulars of which we would not repeat, because, when the peace was made, they had been forgotten and put away by us (this is one of their customary expressions on such occasions). I asked them, through the interpreter, whether, after the peace was made, and after my arrival and residence here or since, the least harm had been done to them or theirs, or their property. As they kept a profound silence, I spoke to them through Jacob Jansen Stoll, and upbraided them for the murders, injuries and insults, which I could remember at the moment, and which they and other savages had committed against our people during my administration, adding thereto finally, what was still in everybody's memory, their latest

proceedings at the Esopus,<sup>4</sup> to discover the truth and the authors of which had induced me to come to the Esopus this time, without as yet having any desire to begin a general war, to punish or harm and injure any one who was innocent, if the murderer would be surrendered and an indemnification given for the burned houses. To convince them hereof still more, I added, that we had not asked them, but they us to come and settle on the Esopus; that we did not own one foot of their land for which we had not paid, nor did we wish to own it, unless it was paid for. I closed with the question: Why then did they commit such murders, burn the houses, kill hogs and do other injuries, and continually threaten the inhabitants of the Esopus. They had little to say for their vindication, which was to the point; they hung their heads and looked upon the ground. Finally one of the Sachems stood up, and said in reply, that the Dutch sold the "*boisson*"—that is, brandy—to the savages, and were consequently the cause; that the savages then became "*cochon*,"—that is, crazy, mad or drunk—and committed outrages;<sup>5</sup> that they, the chiefs, could not control the young men, who were spoiling for a fight; that the murder had not been committed by one of their tribe, but by a Navesink savage, who was now living at Haverstroo or about there; that the savage who set fire to the houses had run away, and would henceforth not be permitted to cultivate his land. As far as they were concerned they had done no evil, they were not angry, nor did they desire or intend to fight, but they had no control over their young men. I told them



hereupon that if any of the young men present had a great desire to fight, they might come forward now. I would match man with man, or twenty against thirty, even forty; that it was now the proper time for it, but it was not well done to plague, threaten and injure the farmers, their women and children, who could not fight. If they did not cease doing it in future, then we might find ourselves compelled to lay in return hands upon old and young, women and children, and try to recover the damages which we had suffered without regard to person. We could partly and easily do that now by killing them, capturing their wives and children and destroying their corn and beans. I should not do it now, because I had told them, and promised, that I would do no harm to them at present, but I hoped they would indemnify the owner for the burning of his houses, arrest and surrender the murderer, if he came again among them, and do no more evil in future. In closing the conference, I stated and informed them of my decision, that to prevent further harm being done to my people or brandy being sold to them, all my people should move to one place and live close by each other; that it would be the best if they were to sell me the whole country on the Esopus, and move inland or to some other place; that it was not good that they lived so near the "Svannekus," *i. e.*, the white men or Dutch, so that the cattle and hogs of the latter could not run any more into the cornfields of the savages and be killed by them, and similar reasonings, after the customs of the savages, to the same purpose, namely, that they

ought to sell me all the land in that vicinity, as they had previously offered and asked us to so. They took this into further consideration as the day was sinking, and so we separated.

On the first day of June we viewed and marked out the spot for the settlement. The savages came in the afternoon, and their chiefs asked again, through Jacob Jansen Stoll and Thomas Chambers, that I would not begin a war against them on account of the late occurrences. They promised not to do so again, as it had been done while they were drunk, and they requested the above mentioned men to speak a good word for them. I went out to the savages with the aforesaid men when they reported this, and they offered me a small present of about 6 or 7 strings of wampum, making thereby these two requests:

First; that they were heartily ashamed as well because of what had happened, but still more because I had challenged their young men, and they had not dared to fight, and that, therefore, they requested not to say anything about it to others.

Second; that they put away now all malice and evil intentions, and would do no harm to anybody hereafter.<sup>a</sup>

I ordered to give them in return a present of two coats and two pieces of duffel, together about four yards, and told them that I too had put away my anger against their tribe in general, but that the savage who had killed the man must be surrendered, and full satisfaction and indemnification given to the man whose houses had been burned.

They answered in regard to the first

demand, that it was impossible, because he was a strange savage, who did not live among them, but roamed about the country.

Concerning the second demand, namely, the payment for the fire, they thought that it should not be asked from the tribe in general, but from the party who had done it and was now a deserter, and dared not to return; as he had a house and land on the bank of the Kil and had planted there some maize, they thought, that if he did not return, this property ought to be attached. Finally, however, they said that satisfaction should be given. Before separating, I stated again to them that it was my will that my people should live close together, for the reasons given before, and that we had never taken anybody's land, nor would ever take it; therefore I asked them again to sell me the land where the settlement was to be formed, which they promised to do.

On Monday, the 3d of June, in the morning, I began with all the inhabitants and the soldiers of my command to dig out the moat, cut palisades and haul them up in waggons. The spot marked out for the settlement has a circumference of about 210 rods<sup>9</sup> and is naturally well adapted for defensive purposes. At the proper time, when necessity requires it, it can be surrounded by water on three sides and it may be enlarged agreeable to the convenience and the requirements of the present and of future inhabitants, as the inclosed draft will show.<sup>10</sup>

I went again to work with all hands, inhabitants and soldiers, on the 4th of June. For the sake of carrying on the work with better order and greater speed,

I directed a party of soldiers under Sergeant Christian (Nyssen) and some experienced wood-cutters to go into the woods and to help in loading the palisades on the waggons, of which there were 6 or 7; the others I divided again into two parties, of 20 men each, under Captain-Lieutenant Newton, and Sergeant Andries Lourensens, who were to point the palisades at one end and put them up; the inhabitants, who were able to do it, were set to digging the moat, and continued as long as weather and rain permitted.

About 40 or 50 savages came towards evening to where we were at work, so that I ordered six men from each squad to look after their arms. After we had stopped working, they asked to speak with me, and stated that they had agreed to give me the land, which I had desired to buy and on which the settlement was being made, "*to grease my feet*," because I had made such a long journey to come and see them; they repeated at the same time their former promises, that they would put away all their evil intentions, and that in future none of them would do any harm to the Dutch, but that they would go hand in hand and arm in arm with them, meaning thereby that they would live like brothers. I answered becomingly that we would do the same if they lived up to their promises.

We continued our work on the 5th and the 6th, and the Company's yacht arrived. I found myself wanting several necessities, especially gunpowder, of which we had not more than what was in the measures or candoleers, nor had the yacht received more than two pounds for its own use, and as we required also

a few five and six inch nails for the guardhouse and some carpenters first to help us at our work and then to assist the inhabitants in erecting their dwelling houses, after the enclosure had been made, I concluded to go, as quickly as possible, in the Company's yacht to Fort Orange in order to promote the one and the other, and was still more forced and encouraged to go by a favorable south-east wind, which blew the whole morning of Thursday, and by a cold drizzling rain, which promised little prospect of progress in our work that day.

I arrived at Fort Orange to the surprise of everybody on the morning of the 7th.

The yacht did not arrive until the 8th, as the tide was running out very fast, and I shipped on it for account of the Company 160 hemlock boards,<sup>11</sup> 100 five and six inch iron pins and an anker of brandy for the work-people at the Esopus, as none had been put aboard nor sent to me nor had I any for my own private use.

On the 9th was Pentecost.

I left again, after divine service, on the afternoon of the 10th, and for brevity's sake and other reasons pass over what happened there, as it has no relation to this subject.

I arrived again at the Esopus on the afternoon of the 12th and found everybody at his work and two sides completed. The wet and changeable weather had interfered with the work, as they unanimously declared.

We were busy making the east side on the 13th, 14th and 15th, and Fredrick Phillipsen<sup>12</sup> erected, with the help of Claes de Ruyter<sup>13</sup> and Thomas Cham-

bers, a barrack for the soldiers in the north-east corner of the enclosure, 23 feet long and 16 feet wide, made of boards, which had been cut during my absence.

The 16th was Sunday, and after divine service I inspected, with the inhabitants, the land on the Esopus, which had not yet been purchased and found it suitable for about 50 bouweries.

I had palisades put up on the north side on the 17th and 18th. This was harder work, because this side could not be made as straight as the others, as the plan shows.

Four carpenters came also on the 18th, engaged by Mrs. de Hulter to remove her house, barns and sheds, and on the 19th three more arrived, whom I had asked and engaged at Fort Orange to make a bridge over the Kil. They were also to help the others to remove their buildings, for which they had asked me before my departure for Fort Orange.

Further, as the inhabitants were still hauling palisades with their waggons and horses, and therefore not yet ready to employ the carpenters immediately, to whom I had given at Fort Orange a promise of immediate employment, or else free transportation back and their daily wages, I resolved to let them score some timber for a small house or barn at my own expense; the ridge of it was to lie on two beams and the people, who could not move their houses so quickly were at first to be lodged there and afterwards I thought to use it according to circumstances as waggonshed or stable for horses and cows, for I have had long intended to begin the cultivation of my bouweries on the Esopus

induced thereto by the fertility of the soil, but prevented so far by the audacity of the savages and because the people were so scattered. The last objection having now been removed, and thereby, as I hoped, also the first one, I took the aforesaid resolution, principally to encourage the good inhabitants, by hazard-ing my own property with theirs, to make the settlement and cultivate the ground and to fulfill my former promise, although I was not obliged to do it at present nor would be until one or two years; therefore the building is made as small and plain as possible, for I thought more of employing the carpenters who had come there at my request, and of the convenience of the people, than of my own advantage. When the timber had been scored and brought to the spot, my carpenter and others told me it would make very little difference in the costs if I had a small barn of 5 or 6 crossbeams made, in case the ridge was laid on two beams, as I said before; I referred the carpenter's work to the opinion of my carpenter, Frederick Phillipsen.

The sides of the stockade were completed about noon of the 20th, and it was only necessary to stop up a few apertures, where roots of trees had been in the ground. This was accomplished in good time on that day.

We might have marched on the 21st or 22d, but the wind was unfavorable, and I let the men rest. Some helped in breaking down and removing the houses of Thomas Chambers and Jacob Jansen Stoll, and put up six crossbeams for their barns.

Towards evening of the 24th it began

to clear up in the northeast, and I ordered the Captain-Lieutenant to march off with 36 men, leaving 24 men under Sergeant Andries Lourensen in the guard-house. Before departing myself, I had some of the Sachems, who live near here, informed that I was leaving now, but that I could easily return. I reminded them that pursuant to their promises they must leave the inhabitants in peace. The inhabitants would have liked to keep 8 or 10 soldiers more, but I did not consider it necessary, if they will only be on their guard, for they count themselves 30 fighting men, besides there are the 25 soldiers and 7 or 8 carpenters, who are also well armed; they are, therefore, in my opinion perfectly able to protect themselves.

We left the Kil on the 25th about noon, the wind being fair, and the soldiers embarked on the Company's yacht. We were two days coming down, and arrived at the Manhattans on the 28th. The Lord be praised for His mercy and blessings on the successful execution of a matter, which almost everybody approved as being necessary and honorable to our nation.

Thus done and delivered at the meeting of the Council held at Fort Amsterdam, in New Netherland, the last of June, A<sup>o</sup>. 1658.

<sup>1</sup> The resolution referred to was passed by Stuyvesant and his Council on the 28th of May, and directed that he should go to the Esopus with 50 or 60 soldiers, to restore peace with the Indians.

<sup>2</sup> One of the prominent inhabitants of Esopus.

<sup>3</sup> Brian Newton, the subject of a paper written and read before the N. Y. Hist. Soc. by Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan.

<sup>4</sup> The signers of the document were Jacob Jansen Stoll, Thomas Chambers, both prominent in the early history of the Esopus, the first one

having married the widow of Jan de Hulter, probably the first settler on the Esopus; Cornelis Barentsen Slecht, Willem Jansen, Pieter Dircksen, Jan Jansen (Hap), Jan Broersen, Dirck Hendricksen Graaf, Jan Lootman. All signed their own names, without making their mark. The population of the settlement counted then between 60 and 70 heads. As only these nine men signed the agreement, we must suppose that there were not more than 9 boweries or farms, and that the above number of the population was made up by the families of the nine and their servants, and one or more families who owned no land.

<sup>5</sup> On the first of May of the same year the Indians had set fire to the house of one of the settlers, killed a man on board of a yacht lying in the Kil, and then refused to deliver up the evil doers, as they had promised in a former treaty.

<sup>6</sup> The ordinances against the sale of liquor to Indians never prevented the sale, although the records show that they were strictly enforced, the sentence being in many cases banishment.

<sup>7</sup> This was a very unfortunate remark of Stuyvesant, as subsequent events show.

<sup>8</sup> They kept their promise as long as the fright lasted, and in two months renewed their insolence and depredations, so that Stuyvesant had to go again to the Esopus in October, when he made them pay for all damages.

<sup>9</sup> One Dutch rod is equal to 12 feet.

<sup>10</sup> Missing.

<sup>11</sup> Fort Orange was at that time, as Albany is now, the leading lumber market, supplying the Mannhattans, the Southriver (Delaware) and Maryland with boards.

<sup>12</sup> The Company's master-carpenter, whom Lossing calls a great nobleman of Bohemia. On what authority?

<sup>13</sup> Stuyvesant's Indian interpreter.

## SIEGE OF SAVANNAH

1779

GENERAL ORDERS OF THE COUNT D'ESTAING FOR THE ATTACK BY THE ALLIED FORCES 8TH AND 9TH OCTOBER

*Translated from the original Ms. in the possession of Frank Moore*

General Rally word—Louis

The soldiers will have their cartridge boxes full; imperfect cartridges will be

replaced. Arms will be carefully inspected; an extra flint will be carried. Such hatchets and tools as the artillery can supply will be distributed at the front and the rear of the divisions [of attack.]

The troops destined to the attack will be divided into four bodies.

1st, composed of volunteers and grenadiers will make the first van guard.

2d, body of troops will make the right column. It will have a van guard of its own.

3d, body also with a van guard will make the left column.

4th, body of troops with artillery will make the reserve.

These four bodies will be formed before leaving camp in the following order:

They will march in platoons of twelve files; they will be under arms at midnight, the batteries in perfect silence; the roll called and the formation completed they will break from the right, and march to the left to present themselves in front of Colonel Laurens' camp. Each division will leave the camp guard at its camp, and the sick and lame, if there be any. The camp guard is charged with the care of the fires, which will be kept burning in as lively a manner as though the troops were in camp.

The four divisions will rest in front of Colonel L.; small pickets will be sent out and sentinels posted to mark out the final position to be taken before the attack, which will be directed by the officers of the staff. The line of march will be taken so as to arrive at two hours after midnight and at the very moment that General Lincoln and the Commandant d'Estaing shall direct.

It has been agreed between the two generals that the third column, formed of the élite of the American troops, with the cavalry of General Pulaski at their head, will march after the left column of the French troops. All the camp artillery intended for the attack will move with the reserve corps, which will follow the right column. The noise of the feint will serve as a signal for the attack. In any event it shall take place at the latest at four o'clock in the morning.

The first van guard will move in silence and rapidly upon the [casemate] of the SpringHill Redoubt; if this cannot be scaled it will turn and enter by the communication of the redoubt. This communication is the only one which faces the entrenchments.

The right column will support the van guard, moving more to the left to pass, if possible, between the redoubt and the battery, leaving the redoubt to the right and the battery to the left. The battery may be completely turned by the left and the column will then have it upon its right.

Deserters have given information that there are two posts, composed in all of twenty men, which guard the road or passage which is on the right of the redoubt and the left of the battery.

The left column will march as though in the direction of a large house which is in view in the direction of the river, and almost in line with the redoubt. As soon as this column has passed the spot where the abattis is supposed to terminate, and finds itself distant enough from the right column not to be mixed up with it, it will march rapidly upon

the redoubt to pierce the entrenchment in case there be one.

The movement of the first van guard and the two columns should be a march to the left in order to counter-march to the right, and sufficient distance should be maintained to prevent their being mixed up and to form line of battle when the order shall be given. That of the left will be careful, however, not to fall into the marsh and to pass within the spring where the marsh begins.

It has been agreed that the American cavalry with the third column shall enter the town by the houses; when they think fit to form they will extend themselves to the river. This column will take in reverse the batteries which are on its left, those nearest the marsh and the river.

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The redoubt taken and the entrenchments stormed, the first van guard remaining in column will march to the barracks by the interior of the entrenchment of the [blank in Mss.]

The two columns will follow the same movement; they will deploy as space and circumstances permit and the orders which may be given, with their right resting on the interior of the entrenchments of the enemy and their left upon the houses. In any case, however, the grenadiers and chasseurs of the right column will remain in column; as also the first van guard, and will hold themselves ready to drive before them all that they find in the entrenchments of the enemy. They will make themselves masters of the mouth always of necessity open, the batteries and of the redoubts which

will have been already turned. A position will be taken at the barracks and communication made with the trenches, which will be announced by the V. L. R. and by a detachment.

It is expressly forbidden on pain of death to fire before the redoubt is carried and a formation made within the entrenchments. Officers will be placed on the flank of the columns, who shall cause every soldier to be arrested who fires before the word is given.

Every soldier who breaks ranks to pillage before permission is given, shall be punished with death, without reprieve. Such undue haste can alone cause to the troops the loss of the fruit of their valor and the victory achieved.

The Redoubt of Spring Hill and the other entrenchments will be occupied, in accordance with the orders given, by the rear of the troops in column, or by the Corps of reserve, which will advance with the Camp artillery, according to the orders they will receive as circumstances require.

Notice is given that two consecutive attacks will be made by the troops of the trenches; the first upon the battery, which has been dismounted by the battery of our right, and the second upon the barracks. There will be also a feint by the galleys and sloops. It has been agreed that an American Corps of 500 men will make a feint as near to the river as possible.

The retreat in case of repulse after having taken the Spring Hill redoubt, will be behind the redoubt, which having been taken, will be open in front, while its communications with the interior will be closed at the same moment. The

second rallying point, if the first, the redoubt be not occupied, will be at the little burying ground where the reserve will be posted. If these two points of retreat cannot be reached, the troops will withdraw to the Camp of Colonel L. and successively if the repulse continue to the mouth of the depot of the trenches, behind the defiles of the trenches. All the soldiers of the several allied troops will wear white in their hats, by which to recognize each other.

Done at the camp before Savannah,  
8th October, 1779.  
(Signed) D'ESTAING.

#### AMERICAN ORDERS

40 Rds Sp. Flint arms in good order.

Infantry divided into two bodies.

1st Lt troops. 7th Continental Batts.

1st Battn of Chs. Town Militia.

Whole parade at 1 o'clock near the left of the line; march from the right by Plats.

Camp Gd of Invalids. Fires kept up.

Cavalry parade at same time (follow) the left French column, and precede the Lt Troops. They will penetrate the enemies lines between the batt'y on left of Spring H. Redoubt, and the next work towards the River. Then pass to the left towards Yamacran and secure any parties of the enemy lodged in that quarter. Artillery parade at same time, and follow the French Artill. Then remain with the Reserve till further orders.

The whole to be paraded at the same time appointed with the utmost silence and punctuality, and ready to march at

the instant Count d'Estaing & General Lincoln order. Lt troops follow the Cavalry, enter the redoubts on the left of Spring Hill by escalade or turning it. To be supported by the 1st Regiment if necessary. The Column in the mean time will proceed within the line to the left of Spring Hill battery.

Lt troops having succeeded, proceed to the left & attempt the several works between it and the River. The column proceed to the left of the French troops and deploy, taking care not to interfere with them.

Lt troops, having carried the works towards the river, form on the left of the column.

Prohibition relating to firing.

Militia of the 1st and 2d Brigades, Gen'l Wm. sons brigade and the second battalion of C. Town militia to parade immediately under the comd of Genl Huger. After drafting 500 of them, remr will go into the trenches and pt themselves under the commd of the commr there.

Genl Huger with the 500 will march to the left of Ens lines and remain as near as possible witht discovy till 4 o'clock, at which time the troops in the trenches will begin an attack on the Eny, he will then advance as near the Red. as possib. and tho this is only meant as a feint yt shd a favorable oppty offer he will improve it, and penetrate into the town.

Retreat agreeable to the French order. White paper in the hats.

NOTE.—The American orders are on the same sheet and in the same handwriting as the French, but in English.

EDITOR.

## EXPLORATION OF THE MISSISSIPPI

BY CAVELIER DE LA SALLE

*Translated for the Magazine*

I

WILL MADE BY DE LA SALLE BEFORE  
DEPARTING ON HIS EXPEDITION.

11 August, 1681.

I, Robert Cavalier, Squire, Sieur de la Salle, Lord and Governor of Fort Frontenac in New France, considering the great dangers and continual perils to which I am exposed on the voyages I undertake, and desiring to acknowledge as far as possible the great obligations I am under to M. François Plet, my cousin, for the signal services he has rendered me in the most pressing circumstances of my affairs, and because it is by his assistance that I have thus far preserved Fort Frontenac against all the efforts made to deprive me of it, have given, ceded and transferred, do give, cede and transfer by these presents to the said Sieur Plet, in case of my death, the title, government and proprietorship of the said Fort Frontenac, in its whole extent of buildings, land and dependencies, as well as all my rights over the country of the Miamis, Illinois and others to the southward, with the settlement among the Miamis, in the state it may be at the time of my death; that of Niagara and all others that I may make up to that period, with all the vessels, boats, long boats, goods, chattels and real estate, rights, privileges, rents, buildings, and other things to me belonging which may be then found there-



on—intending that these presents shall be and are my last will and testament, in such manner as I am able to declare it as being my last intentions, as herein above written, and signed by my hand after being twice read by me.

Done at Montreal, 11 August, 1681.

CAVELIER DE LA SALLE.

## II

### ARRIVAL OF LA SALLE AT THE ISLINOIS DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY AS FAR AS THE JUNCTION OF THE MISSOURI WITH THIS RIVER, WHICH THE DISCOVERER NAMED COLBERT RIVER

*(From some detached leaves of a letter of La Salle,  
the remainder of which are missing)*

. . . a little before Christmas, and I found that five of my people, and among others the interpreters, had run away and hidden themselves in a river, fearing the difficulties which my enemies had depicted to them in this voyage. Others were fifty leagues distant on a hunting expedition, by order of M. de Tonty, who remained with two men and Father Zenobi. I took ten with me and four savages hired for the voyage; but finding my people so scattered, and fearing that I should not be able to regain those who were absent, as indeed I could not find the first five, I hired fourteen savages, who belonged to New England, and had come to this quarter on a trading expedition, to carry to their country the beaver skins of these people. I promised them one hundred each, which are worth here 400 livres, payable partly in advance, and finding that I should not have enough Frenchmen to be able to separate them, leaving a part in charge of the merchandize and other

goods which were there, and taking off the rest, I sent M. de Tonty in advance with all my people, who, after marching three days along the Lake, and reaching the division line called Checagou, were stopped, after a day's march along the river of the same name which falls into the Islinois, by the ice, which entirely prevented further navigation. This was the 2d and 3d January, 1682. I remained behind to direct the making of some *caches* in the earth, of the things I left behind, which were arranged in the following manner: the ridge of a sand hill is selected, and a hole made in it capable of containing the things which it is proposed to conceal; a sort of wooden box of the same size is then prepared, which is covered and lined with large pieces of bark, raised upon five or six logs, to prevent it from touching the sand; when full, it is covered with large pieces of bark and bits of birch bark; then it is laden with heavy pieces of wood, which are covered with sand, and hard pressed until no trace of it remains. Having finished my *caches*, I left the 28th December, and went on foot to join the Sieur de Tonty, which I did the 7th January, the snows having detained me some days at the portage of Checagou.

This is an isthmus of land at 41 degrees 50 minutes north latitude at the west of the Islinois Lake, which is reached by a channel formed by the junction of several rivulets or meadow ditches. It is navigable for about two leagues to the edge of the prairie, a quarter of a league westward. There is a little lake divided by a causeway made by the beavers about a league and

a half long, from which runs a stream which, after winding about a half league through the rushes, empties into the river of Checagou and thence into that of the Islinois. This lake is filled by heavy summer rains or spring freshets, and discharges also into the channel which leads to the lakes of the Islinois, the level of which is seven feet lower than the prairie on which the lake is. The river of Checagou does the same thing in the spring when its channel is full. It empties a part of its waters by this little lake into those of the Islinois, and at this season, Jolliet says, forms in the summer time a little channel for a quarter of a league from this lake to the basin which leads to that of the Islinois by which vessels can enter the Checagou and descend to the sea. This may very well happen in the spring but not in the summer, because there is no water at all in the river as far as Fort St. Louis, where the Islinois begins to be navigable at this season, whence it continues to the sea. It is true there is still another difficulty which the proposed ditch would not remedy, which is that the lake of the Islinois always forms a sand bar at the mouth of the channel which leads to it, and I greatly doubt, notwithstanding what is said, that it could be cleared or swept away by the force of the current of the Checagou, since a much greater in the same lake has not removed it. Moreover, the utility of it would be inconsiderable, because I doubt even if it should be a complete success whether a vessel could resist the great freshets caused by the currents in the Checagou in the spring, which are much heavier than those of the Rhone. More-

over, it would only be serviceable for a short time and at most for fifteen or twenty days each year, after which there would be no more waters. What confirms me in the opinion that the Checagou could not clear the mouth of the channel is, that when the lake is full of ice, the most navigable mouths are blocked at this period, and when the ice is melted there is no more water in the Checagou to prevent the mouth from filling up with sand. Nor should I have made any mention of this communication if Jolliet had not proposed it without regard to its difficulties. Moreover, I maintain that even should such communication between Louisiana and New France be desired, it is too difficult by way of the lakes, because of the diversity of the winds to which their situation exposes them; the furious gales that must always be encountered near land on account of their narrowness of the waters and want of depth or anchorage in case of necessity. The channel between Lake Erie and Lake Huron presents a great difficulty because of its great current, which cannot be surmounted except by a strong stern-wind, and because there are places between, where there is only a width of four feet of water, so that vessels capable of supporting the storm of the lakes could scarcely pass, for whether because of the height of their situation on the mountains of Niagara or the nearness of other mountains, by which they are almost wholly surrounded, the autumn and spring storms are so furious, so sudden, and so long, particularly furious from the northwest and northeast, and from the southeast in the spring, that sometimes for three

or four days it would be impossible to carry sail or keep clear of the land, which is never more than fifteen or sixteen leagues distant, the lakes being no more than thirty leagues wide; and because, if this communication should be insisted upon by means of barques, the lakes could not be navigable before the middle of April, and sometimes even later, because of the ice and winter at this season, nor for the rest of the year is the Checagou navigable, even for canoes, unless after a storm. The waters being always low in the month of March, it would be easier to effect the transportation from Fort Saint Louis to the lakes by land by making use of horses, which it is easy to have, there being numbers among the savages called Pana, Pancassa, Manhout, Gataea, Panimaha and Pasos, at some distance, to be sure, to the westward, but with which an easy communication may be had, either by the river of the Missouriites which empties into the river Colbert, if it be not the principal branch of it, and is always navigable for a distance of more than four hundred leagues to the west, or by land, so bare is the country between these people and the river Colbert that it is a wide prairie, by which they may be easily brought overland. I do not, however, insist upon my idea that our communications should be had directly by sea, it being too extensive for everything that the country can produce to be sent by way of New France, to which it would cost more to send goods than from here to France. This is what I have to say concerning this passage by which Jolliet pretended an

easy communication could be had with Louisiana.

Having there joined M. de Tonty, I caused some sleighs to be made, to draw our canoes, our supplies and the rest of our equipment over the ice; they were made in this manner: Strips of wood, as hard and smooth as possible, such as the wild cherry, maple, walnut or other of similar kind, are selected; the ends of which are then made thin enough to be curved, and the large end turned to the rear, in which three holes are pierced, by which small cross pieces of wire are fastened, on which the baggage is placed. A yoke is fastened from the two extremities to the two curved ends of these pieces of wood, which a man puts upon his neck. This slides easily enough, and a hundred to a hundred and fifty weight can easily be drawn in this manner, without fatigue, eight to ten leagues a day.

The 15th January we struck the trail of those of our people whom M. de Tonty had sent on a hunting expedition. They were searched for, and one was found; the two others were gone to make enquiries after me to the river of the Miamis. The 11th they joined us, and as their companions were soon to arrive, and as we were marching by slow day's travel, supplies were left for them, and instructions to follow us. Finally, all our people being united, and navigation being found open to the end of the little lake of Pimiteoui, we continued our trip by canoe as far as the river Colbert, a distance of from fifty to sixty leagues, it being difficult to determine the distance exactly, because of the great turns in the river.

The village of the Isolino and Fort St. Louis are at 39 degrees, 80 minutes, north latitude. Thence to Pimiteoui, thirty leagues. The direction is first West, then South, then Southeast, and afterwards Southwest, and again South. Pimiteoui, where I wintered the first year, is in 38 degrees and 49 minutes. Thence to another little lake, distant by water about thirty leagues; over the prairie, in a straight Southwest line, but much less distant, a little more than eighteen to twenty leagues. Thence the river tends generally to the Southeast, South, sometimes to the East, up to the Northeast, and where it falls into the river Colbert, in a direct Easterly direction. Here Jolliet made a great mistake in his map, giving it a westerly direction, and toward the great river from the North to the South, which is no way correct. The entire course of this river of the Isolino is about two hundred leagues. It rises in a marsh, about a league and a half from that of the Miamis, at three leagues from the village they have abandoned, and after a crooked course of about seven or eight leagues, and receiving several brooks in the marsh, which is about two leagues wide, and in which there are no quicksands, it receives another little river, about twice as large as that of the Gobelins, and joined together they are swelled by an infinite number of brooks which spring in the marshes they traverse. Thence it passes about forty leagues of wood land, which it almost always overflows, and thus hides from view the beautiful prairies which are behind these inundated woods. All this section is filled with beavers, which live

upon wood of this kind, and are difficult to destroy, because, after this variety of country is passed, every thing is inundated. The river crosses these same prairies, having become half as wide as the Seine before Paris, but at all times shallow and very rapid. These plains are ordinarily covered with wild oxen, in prodigious quantity. The land is excellent, and only seems to need cultivation. There are from spot to spot woods, streams, charming hills and dales. There is a species of hemp of natural growth, of large size, and which rots much less in the water than ours. There are wild apple trees, as in France, plum trees of various kinds, nut trees also, among which a kind which bears beech nuts, much larger, but more oily than those of France, and with a much thicker shell. There grows also a fruit upon trees, the leaf of which is almost the same as that of the beech, but that it is longer, downy and more indented; the fruit is of good flavor, of the size of an ordinary pear, the skin almost the same, equally long from either end, and a little narrower in the middle. It contains seven or eight seeds in as many cellular divisions, separated one from another, and scattered through the body of the fruit. These seeds have the shape of our large beans, but are no larger than the haricot bean, and of greyish color. The fruit is common to all Louisiana. Strawberries, raspberries, field mulberries, blueberries, hazlenuts and wild grapes are very common. There is a kind, quite pleasant to the taste, the stones of which are as large as musket balls. The clusters are small, the skin black and hard, so that

they would be taken for plums rather than for grapes. The juice of it is sweet, and has the odor of muscat, but is not abundant. It more resembles the flesh of a cherry than the juice of a grape. The mulberry trees grow there, but rarely bear fruit. There is, moreover, a quantity of other small fruit unknown in France, and common to all Louisiana; among others, a sort of small wild cherry, which remains on the tree until winter, of a very sweet taste, of which the parrots and turkeys are very fond. There is all over Louisiana abundance of sassafras and *Mistquil*, but I do not know whether they have the same qualities as those of Mexico. The sassafras is a large tree, the bark of which is hard as that of the ash. The wood has the odor of anise. The leaf resembles that of the fig, but thinner, of a clearer, softer green. It thrives on the hill sides, in plains where there is gravel and sand, or in the red soil. The *Mistquil* is a great tree, which grows chiefly in good land. Its trunk and branches all bristle with long heavy thorns, which have several points, and sometimes grow in heavy bunches. Its leaves resemble those of the pine, but are only a third of their length. Its fruit resemble the pod of a haricot bean, but much longer, wider, thinner, shorter and blacker, and contain little round flat seeds of a greyish color, the nut of which the savages eat. All kinds of animals eagerly devour these pods. The savages use these two trees in venereal diseases; but I find this remedy too violent for a Frenchman. These forests are full of roebuck, stags, bears, partridges of two kinds, magpies, and

of a kind of animal of the size of a cat, which has the head of the domestic rat and the tail of the same, but much larger, which have also a sort of skin under the belly, in which they hide their young and carry them when they seek to escape, and into which the little ones go to suck, in lieu of teats, glands full of milk, which are as it were attached to this natural bag. There are also lynx and wolves, some of which are black as jet, and *michibichy*, such as I have already described to you. This is an animal of the height of a small calf, longer and thinner, with hair short, strong and soft to the touch, the color of a lion, with some white spots, the head of a cat, but rather long than round, the tail quite long, the claws also; quite powerful, and living only by prey. It mounts the trees with incredible swiftness, not climbing like monkeys or bears, but jumping the length more quicker than the squirrels. Thence, when it sees its prey, be it roebuck, bear or any similar animal, it springs upon it with prodigious bounds. But it has not much endurance, and cannot make much speed after this effort. It pierces the beast which it attacks, bleeds it with his claws, and then carries it off on its back, and after having eaten a little of it, hides the rest under the leaves or in the snow. Other animals do not seem to dare to touch what it has thus concealed. It is only afraid of man and dogs, and is very delicate food. These animals are common to all Louisiana.

The earth there naturally produces a quantity of roots suitable for food, such as sweet onions, *ouabipena*, *ouabicipena*, another excellent root, as long and thick as the finger, potatoes, garlic, the small

onion and the *macopin*. These latter serve for food to the greater part of the savages, who it seems because the fertility of the soil, are more lazy than all others in America. They find these roots in the marsh. Some are large as the arm, others a little smaller. They make a hole in the earth, into which they put a layer of stones heated in the fire, then one of leaves, one of *macopins*, one of hot stones, and so to the top, which they cover with earth, and leave their roots to steam within for two or three days, after which they boil them and eat them alone or with oil. This is a very good nourishment, provided it is well cooked, which may be known by the color, which should be red when sufficiently cooked. On the contrary, they are whitish, if they are not cooked enough; and they take such sharp hold of the mouth, the palate and the throat that they cannot be swallowed. They can be kept dry for a considerable time.

All these are to be found over the entire country crossed by us; as it extends from the rise of the river of the Illinois, called by the savages Teatiki, I shall not again describe it. Followed it about five leagues across these plains, it is found to receive on the left in its descent another river, nearly as large, which is called the river of the Iroquois, and then continuing with rapidity for a distance of twenty-five leagues over these same plains, in which it is swelled by some other less considerable streams, it receives on the right that of Checagou. This river flows from the Bay of the Puans, and is a torrent rather than a river, although it has a course of more than sixty leagues, and is wholly dry for

the greater part of the year. The village of the Maskoutens, who are called the Fire Nation, is near it, they having withdrawn thither from fear of the Iroquois. From the confluence to the portage, by which is the way to the lake of the Illinois, is about fifteen leagues, all open country behind the river banks, which are at intervals covered with woods, and surrounded by marshes. From the portage of Checagou it is about eight leagues, in a North Westerly direction, to the village of the Maskoutens. Following the river of Teatiki, from the confluence of the Checagou for about nine leagues, the most beautiful country imaginable is seen. The savages call it Massane, because of the great quantity of hemp which grows upon it. Nothing could be more perfectly cut by streams and diversified by meadows, islands, clusters of trees, hill sides, valleys and meadows, the land of which is excellent and best of all the rivers; but they are not navigable in summer time, and even when the water is high the rapids, which are at the end of these nine leagues, render it very difficult. I did not desire to make a settlement there; below these rapids, on the left hand side descending, there is a quantity of mineral stones, which during the summer are covered with saltpetre. There are also abundance of slate and of coal; four leagues lower on the right is found the river of the Pestegonki, in which I found a piece of copper and a kind of metal, which I sent two years since to M. de Frontenac, from whom I had no reply, but which I believe to be bronze, if it be found in mines.

Two leagues lower down is the an-



cient village of the Kaskakias, Islinois, who abandoned it after their defeat, three years since, by the Iroquois. Hearing of the fort which I built there, they returned with other nations. It is situated six leagues below the aforesaid village, on the left hand side descending the stream, on the top of a rock, steep on nearly every side, the foot of which is so washed by the river that water may be drawn from the top of the rock, which is about six hundred feet high. It is only accessible by one side, the slope of which is quite steep. This side is enclosed by a palisade of posts of white oak, eight or ten inches in diameter, and twenty-two feet high, flanked with three redoubts, made of square beams, laid one upon the other, at the same height, and so placed that they mutually defend one another. The remainder of the surface of the rock is surrounded by similar palisades only eleven feet high, because it is not accessible, and flanked by four other similar redoubts behind the palisade. There is a parapet of large trees, laid lengthwise, one upon the other, to twice a man's height, the whole filled in with earth, and on the top of the palisade a kind of *cheval de frise*, the points of which are spiked, to prevent their being scaled. The neighboring rocks are lower than this, the nearest two hundred feet distant, the others further off, between which and Fort Saint Louis lies on both sides a great valley, cut through the middle by a stream, which overflows at every rain. On the other side is a prairie, which skirts the river, in which, at the foot of the Fort, there is a beautiful island, formerly cultivated by the Islinoi-

nois, where I and my settlers sowed our seeds within musket shot of the Fort, so that the laborers could be defended from within the Fort, and the enemy prevented from landing on the island. The land on the side of the rocks which surround the Fort, as I have just said, is covered with oak trees for a distance of three or four acres in width, beyond which there are vast plains of excellent land. The other side of the river is bordered by a great prairie, which the Islinois formerly cultivated. It ends at a hillside, which rises the whole length, its slopes being in places covered with woods, and in others leaving great openings, through which meadows are seen, which extend beyond, to certain knowledge, more than four hundred leagues. Two leagues below the Fort, and on the same side, is the river which the savages call Aramoni, of small size and very rapid.

There are several slate quarries, and the savages say that they have found copper there several times, without knowing where the mine is. The river sides of the Islinois on its descent are covered with clear timber, and the slopes behind are also covered, but notwithstanding the meadows are spread out behind them, and in some places are close to the river, from which they are not distant more than a league. Thence the navigation downwards is always fine, and meadows are rarely seen on the water's edge, unless it be at about fifteen leagues below the Fort to the right, going down, and after passing the river Chassagoach, ten leagues distant. Five leagues lower down is that of the Moingoane, which crosses a beautiful mead-

ow, whence the river is visible. Seven leagues lower down is the little lake of Pimitéoui, seven or eight leagues long, and one or two in its greatest width, composed as it were of three small lakes, which communicate with one another by as many straits. The first and most northerly is bordered on the west by a fine open country, and on the east by swamp woods, which extend to the foot of mountains covered with wood, and continue the whole length of these three small lakes on the east and southeastern side. The little lake, or middle lake, has also swamp wood at its west, beyond which the land is high, and the third has a fine meadow; leaving which, the river becomes narrower, and continues of equal width, until it reaches another little lake, between two chains of hills, covered with woods, from which its course is by turns more or less distant, leaving between them and its bed a great interval of woodland, interspersed with marshes, which are entirely overflowed by the freshets of the river. Meadow land is only once found before this lake is reached. About a league below Pimitéoui, to the left descending, the river sides are every where else covered with woods. The score of the land is very much greater than its depth, which falls gradually until it reaches the foot of the hills, the drainage of which form great marshes, which are full of fish of every variety, because the river overflowing and rising much higher than this sort of road way, covered with woods, which borders it, and filling the marshes, the fish, which find abundance of food, stop there, and when the river returns, its bed can no longer leave it, because

of the height of the banks. The savages make drains in the Summer, by which they dry the marshes, and take as much fish as they desire. A prodigious quantity of game also feed here, so great that in the moulting season we killed, in one day more than a hundred swans, with sticks. At Pimitéoui and below a fruit begins to appear, to which the savages give the name Piakimina, which is quite ordinary in Louisiana. I can only compare it with our medlar, except that it is much larger and better. This is perhaps what Jolliet calls the pomegranate, although there is none of this fruit anywhere, nor yet any oranges, lemons or ostriches, which are mere imaginings, as well as his iron plates, his copper mine, and his red lead, there being certainly none such on all the route that he took, except in Misconsing, where I have not been. I am well aware bits of red copper have been found in several places in a pure state; I know of one in a meadow which weighs more than four hundred pounds; but it is isolated as those detached stones which are found in certain quartz in France. A kind of red stone which can be used for red coloring is found in all directions, but it is not the red lead. A savage, named Kiskirinsano, which means *Cut Wild Beef*, of the Nation of the Maskoutens, a considerable warrior among his people, said that he had found, in a little river to which he is to take me, a quantity of white metal, of which he told me he had given a piece to the Jesuit Father Allouez, and that Friar Gisles, a goldsmith, who lives at the Bay of the Puans, having worked it, made a Sun of it, on which the



Holy Bread is served. This is the silver monstrance which the same friar made there ; Father Allouez gave him a quantity of merchandise in reward, and told him to keep it secret because it is a manitou, that is to say, a spirit which is not ripe. What leads me to suppose that this may be the same, is that he adds that there is in this place a certain sand, quite brilliant and white, which weighs very heavily, and which slips through the fingers when it is squeezed in the hand ; and even when he placed it in a worn skin and sat upon it, the sand penetrated the skin. I imagine this may very well have been quicksilver, as it seems impossible that the savage could have invented this. I do not dare, however, to be sure of any thing on his word. I shall know more this fall.

About thirty leagues below the lake of Pimitéoui, following the river another small lake is found, about a league in diameter, bordered on the east by a quite fine meadow country, which is cut in the middle by a little river, and bordered on the west by swamp land which extends to the foot of the hills. After this the river makes several bends, first to the South, then to the Southeast, afterwards to the Southwest, and then again to the Southeast as far as the East ; the meadows are nearly always close to them. To the left descending, and to the right, it is bordered by a skirt of wood which separates it from the marshes and neighboring hills which are covered with woods so nearly to its border that their feet are washed by the stream. At four leagues from its mouth on the river Colbert a prairie is encountered on the left, confined by wood-covered rocks,

and then another on the same side at a half a league from the same mouth ; it opens to the East ; all quite the reverse of what Jolliet has set down on his map, wherein it empties into the Grande Rivière. Following the channel of the same Grande Rivière, some islands are left on the right ; the channel is bordered on the north by great high rocks, and on the other side by a vast prairie, which is almost wholly inundated during the freshets. The Grande Rivière descends from the Southwest to the East northeast. In this place I found from the Isle Persée to 39 degrees of longitude or thereabouts, which make from Rochelle 104 degrees, and at the same time nearly as far West as Mexico. Then the river returns gradually to the Southeast, always skirting these rocks on the left and the prairie on the right, until it reaches the river of the Missourites, which empties into the river Colbert, ten leagues above the river of the Islinois, and comes from the west, if it be not the the mdst considerable branch of the same stream, both in depth and width, the quantity of its waters, the great rivers it receives, the great number of natives which live upon it, and the fertility of the soil it bathes. The waters of the the River Colbert on the Mississippi are quite clear up to this point ; but this branch brings into it such a mass of muddy water that from here to the sea, that of the river is no longer fit to drink, not because of the mud which this branch carries with it, which would clear itself in such a long distance, but because, as I believe, its bottom is all mud, since this great river and the others which empty into it

continually hollow the channel of the stream, not widening itself at their junction, although most of them are wider than the river itself, so that they must perform work and hollow the channel to make their way, which cannot other than disturb the mud at the bottom; thence it comes that, draw the water when you may, there will be found when it has settled more than three fingers of mud in the bucket of water. . . .

*Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'ouest et dans le sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale, Pierre Margry. Deuxième partie. Paris, 1877.*

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#### NOTES

**CAPTAIN CLEVELAND'S VOYAGE.**—Captain Richard J. Cleveland, a citizen of the U. S., being at Whampoa, in 1798, and wishing to make a venture to the north-west coast of N. A. for furs, bought a vessel of about one hundred tons, and manning her with twenty-one officers and men, sailed in January, 1799. The coast was followed, but many delays were experienced, and a rock was touched in lat.  $22^{\circ} 35'$ . The vessel passed the Liew-Choo group, and crossed the North Pacific in stormy weather. They made Mount Edgecombe March 30th, and anchored in Norfolk Sound, in lat.  $57^{\circ} 10'$  north, where they traded with the natives, who showed a disposition to attack them. Visiting other places to the North, they reached to lat.  $59^{\circ} 30'$ , then went South, but on the 20th of May ran on a sunken ledge and were nearly lost. Making another run northwardly, and with a full cargo, they left the coast on the 27th of June, touched

at Owyhee, and reached Whampoa September 13th. The investment of eight brought sixty thousand dollars, though at the expense of much risk and hardship. We gather these details from a longer account of the voyage, which does not seem to have found its way into print before, as given in the *North American Review*, vol. 25, for October, 1827. J. C. B.

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**WHAT IS FAME.**—To fall on the field of battle and have one's name misspelled in the Gazette, is a more pleasant fate to contemplate than to have it go down on another's grave-stone in a form so barbarous as to be ludicrous. What would have been the feelings of the hero of Saratoga had he seen the following epitaph on the grave-stone of a namesake in the burying ground of Old Groton, Massachussetts. "Here lies the body of ORATIO GAITS LAWRENCE (son of Capt. Asa Lawrence and Mrs. Abigail, his wife), who died October 22d, 1777, aged 4 months and 16 days."

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#### OLD MORTALITY.

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**THE BITER BIT.**—Thomas Hutchins has advertised that I have absented myself from his bed and board, and forbid all persons trusting me on his account, and cautioned all persons against making me any payment on his account. I now advertise the Public, that the said Thomas Hutchins came as a fortune teller into this town about a year ago, with a recommendation, which, with some artful falsehoods, induced me to marry him. Of the four wives he had before me, the last he quarrelled away; how the other three came by their deaths, he can best

inform the Public ; but I caution all widows or maidens against marrying him, be their desire for matrimony ever so strong. Should he make his advances under a feigned name, they may look out for a little strutting, talkative, feeble, meagre, hatchet-faced fellow, with spindle shanks and a little warped in the back.

Thankful Hutchins.

East Windsor, May 22, 1807.

*Connecticut Courant.*

PETERSFIELD.

FIRST PLEASURE YACHT THAT CROSSED THE ATLANTIC.—Mr. Shuttleworth is arrived at his elegant villa, on the Thames, from his famous excursion to America in his own yacht. He has been gone 14 months, and in that time he has traversed the coast of North America, from the Gulph of Florida to Hudson's Bay. He went into 147 ports, and navigated every creek and river, so that he has come home with, perhaps, the best set of charts of that extensive coast of any extant, and certainly with great knowledge of the manners of the people. The pleasures of this gentleman are very singular, but they are highly beneficial and praise-worthy. With a fortune of more than £20,000 per annum, he gratifies his love of travelling to an excess, and, for the last 14 years, he has, in his own yacht, made annual excursions to different parts of the world. His present vessel, the *Lively*, is about one 140 tons burthen. She is made fore and aft for accommodation. Besides the company in the cabin, she has about 25 hands on board, and she can fight, upon occasion, eight or ten guns. Mr. Shuttleworth is a most experienced seaman,

and commands the yacht himself. He has a surgeon, a chaplain, a draftsman, and other professional gentlemen on board, with the comfort of a finished cook, and the best stock of provisions and wine, that wealth and a most liberal heart can purchase ; nor is he, in these delightful excursions, without that best and dearest comfort, the society of the ladies. He has been accompanied in this last trip by a beautiful French-woman. While in the Delaware, he entertained General Washington on board. He penetrated into the Indian territories, and had the opportunity of viewing the American States in the first moments of their emancipation, and in all the madness of their joy on that occasion. He also visited the refugees in Port Roseway. In traversing the Atlantic, at the particular request of some distinguished officers, he spent several days in cruising for the discovery of that new island, with the existence of which the naval world have been entertained for some time. This island was said to be seen some years ago, about 70 leagues to the west of Cape Clear ; but it is certainly a fiction ; it must have been a fog-bank. He is now gone down to his seat in Lancashire, where since he has been gone, a most valuable copper mine has been found, which will very much increase his fortune. His yacht is laid up off his seat, at Greenhithe, till next March, when he sets off again for the Mediterranean, the coasts of which, with the seas adjoining, he will trace with the same indefatigable and inquisitive spirit ; and then we hear he proposes to ramble no more.—*London Newspaper*, 1784.

W. K.

ROBERT PARKER PARROTT.—We desire to record here a tribute to the memory of this excellent man, paid by a venerable lady, who, speaking of the interest with which she had read the memorial sketch of her friend, from the graceful pen of Mr. De Peyster, mentioned several facts illustrative of Mr. Parrott's noble and patriotic conduct during the war. One was, that after the expiration of his first contract, when all the materials for the construction of the implements of war had risen largely in value, he made no additional charge to the Government. He also continued to their families the wages of men of the foundry, when those men were in the field serving their country, besides supplying, at his own expense, medical attendance to such families as needed it.

Many other instances of the singularly benevolent and unselfish character of this large-hearted friend of his country and race, could scarcely be known out of his own family circle or to those not favored with its intimacy, and can never find place in the registers of time.

W. H.

THE MISSISSIPPI FROZEN.—The winter has been so excessively severe in America, that the Mississippi has been fast bound up by the ice, from New Orleans to a very great extent up that noble river; a circumstance never before known in the memory of the oldest man living on the continent.—*New York Packet*, May 6, 1784.

W. K.

THE FIRST BROKER IN NEW YORK.—To the Public. Whereas for the want

of an established Brooker in this City, many Inhabitants, Masters of Vessels, Strangers, and Persons indispos'd who are in the commercial Way, labour under great Disadvantages and Inconveniencies; and whereas the Subscriber has lived Many Years in this City as a Merchant, who from his experience in Business and personal acquaintance with its Inhabitants, begs leave to offer his Service in that Capacity. At the same Time engages faithfully and strictly to observe the orders committed to his care and management with the utmost Secrecy and Dispatch; and as this Branch of Commerce is, with much Propriety establish'd in every trading City in Europe, to the great Utility and Advantage of Trade in general, he therefore hopes that so necessary an Office fix'd here, will meet with all suitable Encouragement to the Public's Most obedient and most humble Servant  
Hendrick Oudenaarde"

Said Oudenaarde lives on Rotten Row, between Messrs Cunningham and Comp. Store, and Mr James Lamb's Grocer, where he has at present from 500 to 1000 *l* to let upon Interest, on approved Security and where he acquaints the Public they may hereafter be supplied in that way.

He has also, a Parcel of Strouds, Kersey Rose Blankets and Playing Cards to dispose of."—*N. Y. Journal*, Nov. 12th, 1767.

Hendrick Oudenaarde, Broker, Has to sell all sorts of European and West India Goods, at the cheapest Rates. He likewise charts Vessels for different Ports in Europe and the West Indies.

Also collects in Freight Money, manages the Transactions relating to the Accounts of Vessels and Cargoes, for both Masters and Owners.

And, at his Office, is also Money to be Let, upon Interest, on approved Security, from £500 to £1000, and supplies Orders in Town, Country, or elsewhere abroad, with the utmost Dispatch."—*N. Y. Journal, Dec. 24th, 1767.* W. K.

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A TOAST TOASTED.—At a celebration on the Fourth of July, 1811, held by the Federalists of Marblehead, Mass., one of the regular toasts drank was "Hon. William Reed and the Federalists of Marblehead—*manna in the wilderness.*" This sentiment was turned into ridicule by a Democratic editor, who referred his readers to Exodus XVI, 14, 19, for an explanation. W. K.

—  
GARDEN OF EDEN. — The eighteen thousand square miles, within the boundaries of Canada, which Mr. Eden complains have been ceded to the United States of America, will, it is said, be insisted upon by England, in order to lay it out in parterres, arbours, and alcoves, according to the descriptions in Milton's *Paradise Lost*; after which it is to be called the new Garden of Eden. —*London Newspaper, 1783.*

PETERSFIELD.

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LEGAL HOLIDAYS IN NORTH AMERICA. —By order of the Honorable Commissioners of his Majesty's Customs in North America, the following days are to be kept and observed as Holy Days, viz :

Jan. 1st, Newyear's Day,  
18th, Queen's Birth-Day,  
30th, King Charles's Martyrdom  
Shrove Tuesday,  
Ash Wednesday,  
Mar. 25th, Lady's Day,  
Good Friday,  
Easter Monday and Tuesday,  
Ascension,  
April 3d, St. George,  
May 29th, King Charles's Restoration,  
June 4th, King's Birth Day,  
Whitsun Monday and Tuesday,  
Aug. 12th, Prince of Wales' Birth Day,  
Sept. 18th, King George 1st and 2d landed in Great Britain  
22d, Coronation,  
Oct. 25th, Ascension,  
Nov. 1st, All Saints,  
5th, Powder Plot,  
Dec. 25th, Christmas Day,  
Dec. 26th, }  
Dec. 27th, } Christmas Holy days.  
Dec. 28th, }

To the above may be added the following Provincial Days : General Fast, Thanksgiving, General Election and Commencement at the College.—*Garvies' Universal Register for the year 1780.* S.

—  
IROQUOIS DAINTIES.—"We were treated in the best manner possible, and each one gave us a feast after the fashion of the country. I must confess that I often had more desire to throw off what I had on my stomach than to put anything more in it. The great dish in this village [of the Sounontouans], where they seldom have any fresh meat, is dog, the hair of which they singe on coals after

having thoroughly scraped it. They then cut it up in pieces and put it in the pot; when cooked they serve it to you, in pieces of three or four pounds each, on a wooden platter, which is never wiped with any other dish-cloth than the fingers of the mistress of the lodge, the marks of which were visible in the grease which is always in the dish the thickness of a crown. Another of their greatest ragouts is Indian corn cooked in water and then served in a wooden platter with bears-oil two fingers deep, and turnsol nuts on top. There was not a child in the village that did not eagerly hasten to bring us sometimes stalks of Indian corn, sometimes pumpkins or small fruit which they gathered in the wood."—*Relation of the Abbé de Gallinée; Margry's French Discoveries and Settlements.*

J. A. S.

ADMISSION OF OHIO AS A STATE.—The following paragraph from an address of welcome to De Witt Clinton, delivered by Governor Morrow, of Ohio, at Columbus, July 6th, 1825, is quite interesting:

"And at a period when our population did not amount to the numbers that would enable us to demand our admission as a member of the federal union, and when our claims were committed to an individual delegate with limited powers in the councils of the nation, you, sir, espoused our cause; and it was owing, in no small degree, to your exertions that we received a place in the Union among our sister States, which has enabled us, under the administration of a free government, to advance from the weakness of infancy to

the state of youth in which you now discover us. While nations of the old world, with a moral and physical force less than Ohio, trace their rise amid the fabulous records of antiquity, it must be such recollections as only a great mind and benevolent heart can appreciate, that you gave efficient aid in laying the first foundation upon which more than seven hundred thousand souls are resting their temporal happiness."

W. K.

#### — PORTRAIT OF COLONEL PETER FORCE.

—The portrait in the April number was reproduced from a lithograph drawn from life on the stone by Charles Fenderich. This stone was accidentally broken before many impressions were taken off, and the print is now extremely rare. That made use of for the Magazine was kindly furnished by George H. Moore, LL.D., of the Lenox Library, an old personal friend of the Colonel. The signature is a fac-simile of that inscribed on Mr. Moore's print by Colonel Force.

EDITOR.

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A CHIP OF THE OLD BLOCK.—Congress, in April last, authorized the acceptance by Lieutenant Theodorus Bailey Myers Mason to accept a medal conferred upon him by King Victor Emanuel for an act of unusual self-devotion and daring. When flag-lieutenant of the South Pacific Squadron he descended, with three sailors, all volunteers, into the lower hold of an Italian barque, the Adelaide, then lying in the harbor of Callao, laden with powder and railroad supplies, and in flames. Putting aside the kegs of powder, Lieutenant

Mason reached the fire and extinguished it with the Babcock apparatus. This is not the first of his gallant actions. Some years since, while still a midshipman, he received the medal of the Humane Society, and a decoration from the Emperor of Brazil for the successful saving of life.

In his name Lieutenant Mason continues, in honorable record, in the service that of his uncle, Admiral Theodorus Bailey, who led the van of Farragut's fleet through the obstructions, past the forts on the Mississippi and took the surrender of New Orleans. The career of this brave officer was noticed in the Magazine, March, 1877. EDITOR.

EXPEDITIONS OF WAYMOUTH AND POPHAM.—An essay on these interesting voyages of 1605-8 was read at the June meeting of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, by Rev. B. F. De Costa. It was a sequel to a paper, read by the same gentleman last autumn, on "Gosnold and Pring, 1602-3," which showed, from documentary evidence, that the voyage of Gosnold was an unauthorized venture, the undertakers being prosecuted upon their return for their infringement upon the rights of Sir Walter Raleigh. The voyage of Waymouth, in connection with that of Popham, was, therefore, presented as the commencement of official colonization in New England. The vexed question, respecting the river explored by Waymouth in 1605, was settled by a variety of facts and arguments hitherto overlooked, it being demonstrated that the river was the Kennebec, and not the St. Georges. The portion of the paper

devoted to Popham gave quite a full revision of that subject, the facts being drawn from original documentary evidence, which set it, like the voyages of Gosnold and Pring, in a new light; and render a revision of several chapters of New England History necessary.

EDITOR.

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## QUERIES

PLANS AND FORTS OF AMERICA.—I have in my possession a little oblong volume 8vo., with 30 plans, entitled "A Set of Plans and Forts in America. Reduced from Actual Surveys, 1765." The date altered from an earlier one. What is the date of the first edition?

J. C. B.

LIEUT. JAMES DAVIS.—Information is wanted concerning this officer of the Army of the Revolution. He was engaged in many of the principal battles, and was member of the Cincinnati Society, Massachusetts branch.

HENRY DAVIS.

*McGregor, Clayton Co., Iowa.*

THE FAMILY OF PENN.—When did the last of the Penn family leave America and who represents the family of William Penn in the nearest line of succession?

J. C. B.

FORT SASQUAHANOK.—Moll's map of "The North parts of America claimed by France under ye names of Louisiana, Mississippi, Canada and New France, with ye adjoining Territories of England and Spain," published at London, 1720, contains in the upper left

hand corner an engraved view of "the Indian Fort Sasquesahanok," which the legend describes as thirty miles west of Philadelphia, and it is so located on the map on the river of that name.

Is the view authentic, and is Moll's location correct? STATE LIBRARY.

—  
PROPHECY OF THE GREATNESS OF AMERICA.—The following lines are from a scrap book of newspaper cuttings, yellow with time. Can any of your readers give the name of the author?

When Albion's sons with frantick rage,  
In crimes alone and recreant baseness bold,  
Freedom and Concord, with their weeping train,  
Repudiate, slaves of vice, and slaves of gold!

They, on starry pinions sailing  
Through the crystal fields of air,  
Mourn their efforts unavailing,  
Lost persuasions, fruitless care:  
Truth, Justice, Reason, Valour, with them fly  
To seek a purer soil, a more congenial sky  
Beyond the vast Atlantick deep  
A dome by viewless genii shall be rais'd,  
The walls of adamant compact and steep,  
The portals with sky-tinctur'd genius emblaz'd:  
There on a lofty throne shall Virtue stand;  
To her the youth of Delaware shall kneel;  
And, when her smiles rain plenty o'er the land!  
Bow tyrants, low beneath th' avenging steel  
Commerce with fleets shall mock the waves,  
And Arts, that flourish not with slaves,  
Dancing with ev'ry Grace and ev'ry Muse,  
Shall bid the valleys laugh and heav'nly beams  
diffuse.

NEWPORT.

—  
GENERAL BONNEVILLE.—Gen. Benjamin L. E. Bonneville, a retired officer of the Army, lately deceased, had a service so long and a history so singular, that the Editor of the Magazine of American History would, I think, be justified in asking of the

friends of that officer a sketch of his life. He was, at the time of his decease, the oldest officer whose name was borne on the Army Register. As his original entry into service dated December 11th, 1815, and his retirement September 19th, 1861, his term almost forms a link between our last war with England and that of the Rebellion, while his life and connections make him a link between the greatest convulsions of the Old World and of the New. He was born in France, where, during the Reign of Terror, his father perished by the guillotine, commending his family to the protection of a friend, who was then a member of the French National Assembly; one whose character, with all his faults, has been the subject of more reproach than it deserved. His name was Thomas Paine, and, though he narrowly escaped the fate of his friend Bonneville, he was true to his trust, and brought the bereaved family to the United States, where he did by them the part of a father and protector. It was doubtless his influence that procured for one of the two sons (the subject of this paragraph) the cadetship which placed him in our army. The sons of Bonneville were, I think, the heirs to the estate of Paine; and the commission of the cadet was a political legacy from the author of those stirring pamphlets to which our cause of Independence was so much indebted. This hereditament alone ought to create an interest in the brave old soldier to whom it descended; and even the Church can afford to forgive a constructive ancestry which took root in Common Sense before it blossomed in the age of Reason. General Bonneville, at the time of his



retirement, was Colonel of the Third Infantry, and was brevetted Brigadier-General, after retirement, for the long and faithful service which went before it. He had been, while a Major, brevetted a Lieutenant-Colonel, for gallant conduct in the Mexican War. Most of his early service was on the Western Frontier; and the most remarkable of his adventures in that connection was a captivity of several years among the Indians, during which he was supposed to be dead, and his vacancy in the army list was filled. I have never heard any details of this part of his life, nor am I aware that any account of it has been published. I know only enough of his history to create a desire for more; and the wish I have no doubt is shared by no small portion of the public.

P. S.—What is above stated in regard to General Bonneville (except a few items taken from the Army Register) was learned many years ago from persons who were, or had been connected with the service, and was considered perfectly reliable by the writer; but a sketch of the General which I have since read in the Army and Navy Journal, indicates that some particulars of my information were incorrect. I had consequently thought of withdrawing my communication, but, as I am not yet certain of the entire correctness of the article which disagrees with it, I have concluded that it might as well be left to stand, that it may call forth more explicit correction of any errors it may contain.

P.

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### REPLIES

BRITISH MUSEUM (II. 331).—The Catalogue of Books and Manuscripts in

the Library of the British Museum, numbers at present two thousand one hundred volumes. It is completed, however, as far only as the letter S. When finished, it will comprise some three thousand volumes. The whole number of books, manuscripts, &c., according to the latest information (14 May, 1878), is about one million and a half.

C. W. B.

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JOHN HARING (II, 439).—In the note on John Haring, in the July number of the Magazine, there are some errors:

1. His omission in the Biographical Celebration of July 1st, 1876, is justified by the fact that he never sat in Independence Hall, but declined an opportunity.

2. He was probably *not* removed from his office of County Judge.

3. His father was *not* the particular Abraham Haring the note mentions.

I have printed a pamphlet containing details of John Haring's life, ancestry, and children.

F. BURDGE.

—  
E PLURIBUS UNUM (II, 444).—Some years since I suggested to the press that "E pluribus unum" was taken from the motto of the Gentleman's Magazine, as it appeared on its little page for a long series of years in the last century; the device a hand holding flowers. *E pluribus unus* is a phrase used by Virgil in one of his minor poems, treating of an *olla podrida*.

Phil.

LLOYD P. SMITH.

I would refer Populus for an answer to Proceedings of Massachusetts Historic Society, 1873-5, page 39.

Cambridge.

C. D.

A question in regard to the origin of "E pluribus unum" appeared in the Historical Magazine for April, 1859. The querist attributed it to the Gentleman's Magazine. Mr. Brantz Mayer of Baltimore, replied in the August number, of the same year, as follows:—"Does it not originate with Virgil in his *Moretum*? Turn to the 102d line of this poem, where you will find the following descriptive lines:

It manus in gyrum: paulatim singula vires  
Deperdunt proprias; color est *e pluribus unus*,  
Nec totus viridis, quia lactea frusta repugnant  
Nec de lacte nitens, quia tot variatur ab herbis.

There may be a salad of States as well of vegetables." OLD READER.

BATTLE OF MONMOUTH (II, 408).—I think the injustice done by General de Peyster, in his article on Monmouth, to the brave regulars and New Jersey militia, commanded by Generals Maxwell, Dickinson, and Heard, who were ordered by Washington to impede the progress of the enemy on their retreat from Philadelphia, is sufficiently shown by the following quotations:

*From Gen. de Peyster.* "So promptly, indeed, did Clinton move, that the American detachments sent to destroy bridges, &c., could not complete their work well, or on time to arrest his march."

*From Sir Henry Clinton.* "A strong corps of the enemy having, upon our approach, abandoned the difficult pass of Mount Holly, the army proceeded without any interruption from them, excepting what was occasioned by their having destroyed every bridge on our road. As the country is much intersected with marshy rivulets, the obstruc-

tions we met with were frequent, and the excessive heat of the season rendered the labour of repairing the bridges severely felt." TRENTON.

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BOOKS WANTED.

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*We beg to inform our subscribers that hereafter we shall devote so much of this column as may be necessary to a department of BOOKS WANTED. Through this medium collectors will be enabled to communicate with each other, and thus perhaps acquire books for which they have sought elsewhere in vain, or dispose of books for which they may have no further use. Collectors desiring to avail themselves of this column will please give their addresses in full, so that those who wish to communicate with them can do so directly, and not through us.*

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(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

#### EPITAPHS FROM THE OLD BURYING

GROUND IN GROTON, MASSACHUSETTS, with Notes and an Appendix, by SAMUEL A. GREEN, M. D. 8vo, pp. XXI, 271. LITTLE, BROWN & Co., Boston. 1878.

In July of last year we had occasion to review an interesting and valuable sketch of Groton, Massachusetts, from the pen of the accomplished Librarian of the Boston Public Library and of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and we now rejoice that the record of epitaphs from the old burying ground of this ancient town has fallen to the same practiced, skillful hand. A mere transcript of the epitaphs would have made a valuable and desirable volume. Dr. Green has not contented himself with this simple though laborious task, but has illustrated the quaint inscriptions with an introduction containing the various ordinances relating to the setting aside and preservation of the site, together with numerous notes, explanations of the text, and an appendix containing biographical sketches of some of the families of the founders, many of which have become celebrated in history. Here we find the names of Barron, Farnsworth, Havens, Lawrence, Parker, Prescott, Shattuck, Shepley and Winthrop, all well known beyond the limits of the old colony. Next, an account of some of the large families and the long-lived persons of Groton. As all that bears upon the record of longevity is of interest in these days of statistics and skepticism, we remark for the benefit of those in search of a bona-fide centenarian that the Groton graveyard bears witness to no more extended life than one of 94 years and 1 month. In a passing allusion to New England baptismal names, Dr. Green notes the total disappearance of those representing abstract qualities, as Faith, Hope, Charity, Temperance, Prudence and Virtue, and also a discontinuance of the use of the old English names of Molly, Polly, Dolly, and the adoption of the French terminations, as Susie, Bessie.

The epitaphs are chronologically arranged. James Prescott leads the list of honorable dead. He went the way of all flesh the 9th of May, 1704. The fro-tispiece is a fac simile of the now broken stone. The last recorded are of 1839. The old fashion of earth burial, "dust to dust," was not infringed upon until 1807, when a warrant was given for the building of vaults and tombs in an unoccupied corner of the burial ground. There are several heliotype illustrations and a name index. The volume is carefully edited and printed in the best manner of the distinguished publishers. Every

town in New England or elsewhere, which can boast of a graveyard, should follow this excellent example ere it be too late to save their valuable records from the ravages of time.

#### THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW. THIR-

TEENTH YEAR, June, 1878. STRAHAN & Co., limited, London; agents for America, THE WILMER & ROGERS NEWS CO., New York.

This number contains a variety of articles treating of subjects of contemporary interest, and in addition excellent historical essays; one, the second part of *Facts of Indian Progress*, by Professor Monier Williams; another, the third part of *Freeman's Review of Froudes' Life and Times of Thomas Becket*. The differences between England and Russia have awakened attention to the actual condition of the Anglo-Indian Empire. Mr. Williams holds that the present Empress of India is securely seated on the throne of Delhi but that there is still room for many reforms. These remedies, as in the case of all Indian remedies, must be slowly applied. With prudence the Arabs may be induced to accept education. We note with particular interest a mention of the gigantic works of irrigation, undertaken in the vallies of the Ganges and the Indus. The English postal service is now extended to every village in India, and the number of letters carried in 1875 exceeded one hundred and sixteen millions.

There are four articles of a philosophic character, chief of which, "A fresh attempt to reconcile determinism with moral freedom," by Paul Janet, of the French Institute, and a continuation, No. XV, of the discussion of Future Punishment, to which Messrs. Beresford Hope, Professor Mayon, and an anonymous layman contribute. Following in Browning's Grecian wake, Emily Pfeiffer utters odes to *Kassandra* and *Klytemnestra*. Contemporary life and thought in Italy and in Russia receive special treatment in letters from Florence and St. Petersburg. In the latter, Tourgheneff and Count Leo Tolstoy are critically discussed. It was the former who gave the pregnant name of "Nihilism" to the new movement which is upheaving the frame work of Russian society. Tolstoy is described as more thoroughly Russian than the great novelist. His name is not so well known with us. Russian character is not easily sounded by the plummets of western thought. The Slav nature has few points in common with the Teutonic or Latin races.

Perhaps of all the treatises in this excellent number, that by George Howell, entitled "Are

the Working Classes Improvident?" is most interesting at the present time, when the condition of the laboring classes is being thoughtfully studied to ascertain if in its amelioration a break-water may not be found against the tidal wave of Socialism and Agrarianism. The influence of Mutual societies, Trade Unions and Provident dent associations is noticed. On the whole, Mr. Howell reaches the consolatory conclusion that in the last quarter of a century "there has been a vast improvement in the character of the homes of the working classes."

In New York the subject has of late received the intelligent attention of the State charities aid Association, which in addition to its supervision of the various institutions of charity and correction in the State, is now making tentative experiments for the improvement of the condition of the laboring classes, which will, no doubt, lead to practical instead of theoretical suggestions, and at least supply the statistical information upon which reforms can alone be intelligently undertaken.

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**THE BATTLE OF MOBILE BAY, AND THE CAPTURE OF FORTS POWELL, GAINES AND MORGAN BY THE COMBINED SEA AND LAND FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES, UNDER THE COMMAND OF REAR-ADMIRAL DAVID GLASGOW FARRAGUT AND MAJOR-GENERAL GORDON GRANGER, AUGUST, 1864.** By COMMODORE FOXHALL A. PARKER, U. S. N., accompanied by two charts printed in colors. 8vo, pp. 136. A. WILLIAMS & Co., Boston. 1878.

This extremely valuable contribution to our naval history, prepared at the instance of the Military Historical Society of Massachusetts, and read before them in December of last year, now appears in a more complete form, accompanied by a number of official reports never before made public. The literary competence of the distinguished author is well known, and in addition, the pleasing fact is noticed that Commodore Parker was favored with the assistance of General Dabney H. Maury, of the late Confederate army. Such collaboration while of infinite importance to the truth of history, presents a happy evidence of a growing good feeling between the chief actors in the eventful scenes which, yesterday of the present, are to-day passing into the domain of the past.

Every American is familiar with Page's heroic picture of Admiral Farragut in the main rigging of the Hartford. The author describes the position as different from that given on the canvass. He was "in the port main rigging,

just below the futtock staff, reclining, as it were, in a sort of bridle, a swing passed around his back and under his arms, whose ends were fastened to the futtock shrouds, one hand grasped the rigging and the other held a marine glass; and thus without danger of losing his hold or footing, he could easily turn in every direction, and see all that was passing below him, on the water and on the land." Thence directing the movements of the fleet, the "grand old Admiral" led his vessels past the batteries of Fort Morgan straight into Mobile bay. The destruction of the *Tecumseh* by a torpedo, the heroic death of Craven, her commander, the desperate struggle of the fleet with the Confederate ram *Tennessee* and gun boats, her final surrender, and the capture of Fort Gaines are told with spirit.

An appendix contains some interesting notes, a bright poem by Commodore Thomas H. Stevens, entitled "The Battle of Mobile Bay;" the official reports of Admirals Farragut and Buchanan, commanding the respective fleets; a list of the officers of the Union ships engaged, and Roll of Honor taken from the "Record of the Medals of Honor issued to the Blue Jackets and Marines of the navy."

The admirable charts deserve special notice; one shows the topography of the harbor, the line of attack and the positions of the vessels at various periods in the action; the other is a copy of the record of the defense of Fort Morgan, by F. Gallinard, Jr., Captain of Engineers of the Confederate States Army. The volume is an admirable model for historical monographs. It is prefaced by an excellent engraved three-quarter length portrait of Farragut.

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**A YACHT VOYAGE. LETTERS FROM HIGH LATITUDES.** Being some account of a voyage in 1856 in the schooner yacht "Foam" to Iceland, Jan Mayen and Spitzbergen, by Lord Dufferin, Governor-General of the Dominion of Canada. Post 8vo, pp. XVI, 268. E. WORTHINGTON, New York.

Lord Dufferin is as well and favorably known on this side the Canada line as he is among his own subjects in the northern Dominion. Many a citizen of the United States has enjoyed his hospitality, and he has always been a welcome guest in our capitals and at the homes of the best of our people. This popularity will be readily understood by the reader of this pleasant volume, which now appears in handsome dress and a third edition. In his preface the author exults in three reflections which are so thoroughly English that they must be repeated; first, that the "edict has gone forth which constitutes our Mother tongue (the English) the common lan-

guage of the chief portion of the earth;" secondly, that the Mother tongue is his, Lord Dufferin's also; and thirdly, that writing in the Mother tongue, he has the exhilarating prospect of a "crowded house." We will not disturb this English complacency, and we cordially hope that the voyage of the adventurous yachtsman will find a warm welcome from our English-speaking countrymen, of whom he writes so generously and so kindly. The voyage of the *Foam* began at Oban, where Lord Dufferin joined her with his Icelandic guide in the early days of June, thence to Stornaway through the Sound and in the Hebrides, where the weather thickened to a heavy gale. On the 21st June the party anchored in Thule, a land made familiar to us by Black's charming tale. Here begins the series of letters from high latitudes, which are full of pleasant descriptions of nature, accounts of the manners and customs of the still primitive race which peoples this sun-bathed land, and occasional historical sketches of the Kings and Jarls of Saga memory. In August the cruise reached Thronjhem, near the northernmost extremity of Spitzbergen, only six hundred and thirty miles from the Pole, and within one hundred miles of the highest latitudes reached by ship. A chapter is devoted to old-time heroes; to Harald Haarfager, the fair-haired King of Norway, from whose tyranny the Icelandic colony fled; to the stories of Olaf Tryggveson, founder of Nidaros, and of Thormod the Scald; and on the 12th September we find the adventurous cruise concluded at Copenhagen.

In the rambling style of a true adventurer Lord Dufferin illustrates his journey with philosophy and history, and many a recollection of the Scandinavian romance cycle. A number of excellent cuts increase the interest of this delightful volume.

**THE EXPEDITION OF LAFAYETTE AGAINST ARNOLD.** A paper read before the Maryland Historical Society January 14, 1878, by JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS. Fund Publication No. 13. 8vo, pp. 36. Baltimore. 1878.

In this tastefully printed pamphlet is given an account of one of the operations of the revolutionary campaign upon which, though of minor importance, hinged the campaign of 1781, which terminated in the victory at Yorktown, and eventually closed the long struggle for independence. The defection of Arnold was not an advantage to the British cause. To reward his new born zeal, Sir Henry Clinton dispatched him to Virginia with a force sufficient to alarm Congress, and induce Washington to attempt his capture. This involved a movement of the French fleet, a counter movement of the British, and later

shifted the scene of general action to the southward. From material not before printed or used by any of our historians, a detailed account of the operations of Lafayette to cut off and capture Arnold is given. After the failure of this attempt the Light Infantry were moved from Annapolis to the head of Elk by a skillful maneuver, and thence marched to Baltimore, where this famous corps was refitted by the patriotic assistance of its citizens and the munificent generosity of Lafayette, and later joined General Greene, then hotly pressed by Cornwallis in the Carolinas. Yorktown ended the campaign.

**MEMORIAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.** By JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE. Post 8vo, pp. 434. The Riverside Press. HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & Co. 1878.

This collection contains numerous biographies of American characters such as John Allibon Andrew, James Freeman, Charles Sumner, Theodore Parker, Samuel Gridley Howe, William Ellery Channing, Walter Channing, Ezra Stiles Gannett, Samuel Joseph May, Susan Dimock, George Keats, Robert J. Breckinridge, George Denison Prentice, Junius Brutus Booth *the elder*, and William Hull, together with some chapters on Washington, Shakespeare and Rousseau, the last two of which seem out of place in this collection.

The sturdy figure of Andrew, worthy representative of the best traits of old Massachusetts character, well deserves the first place in this volume of personal reminiscence, and his friend pays just tribute to his "calm, tranquil" energy and sunny temperament. The notice of Theodore Parker, a discourse delivered after his death, is a keen psychological analysis of the traits of the clear intellect which led, if it did not create, a school of modern thought. In this Mr. Clarke observes that "there is no real greatness where we do not find in a man the three elemental tendencies of Intellect, Affection and Will, all in full and harmonious activity." This is a broad statement. Tested by this formula, Napoleon, of whom it was said that his intellect was so great there was no room for heart in his nature, would be excluded from Walhalla. In the brief notice of that brave Calvinist divine, Breckinridge, a glowing tribute is paid to his courage, consistency and patriotism, which held him amidst defection of family and friends firm in his loyalty to the cause of the Union. Under the head of Booth the reader will find an account of an interview with the great actor, in which occurred a peculiar instance of the eccentricities of this mad genius.

In the paper on Washington Mr. Clarke assigns the honor to American heroes in this wise.

The four greatest men of American product were Washington, Franklin, Jefferson and Lincoln. "Of these Jefferson was the greatest genius, Franklin the greatest intellect, Lincoln the most marked product of American institutions, and Washington the grandest character." We doubt the correctness of this selection. Washington and Franklin stood each in his sphere beyond the reach of competition, and the fitness of Lincoln for the peculiar duty which fell upon him is indisputable, but for the fourth place there are many candidates whose claims can never be settled upon by common consent, the only true judgment. The sketch of Shakespeare was written for the ter-centenary celebration of his birth. It presents an analysis of the intellect of this composite character, and fresh insights into the beauties of his compositions. The centenary of Rousseau's birth has recently revived our slumbering interest in this *bourgeois* product of the intellectual and moral revolution of the eighteenth century. The essay especially treats of Rousseau's religious convictions, and the persecutions he suffered for conscience sake. Rousseau believed in Christianity, but doubted the miracles of the New Testament, and was by turns pursued by the strict orthodox of every shade of faith and scorned by the "philosophers" who denied the mission of Christ. Mr. Clarke hardly touches the characteristics of this peculiar man, some of which indeed are too foul for handling or exposure.

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**HAND-BOOK OF PATRIOTISM, COMPRISING THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES, WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS, LINCOLN'S EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION, &c., &c.** 16mo, pp. 100. BURNTON & COREY, Publishers, New York, 1878.

Of this manual we need say no more than it is a handy little pocket volume, cheap and accessible to all. At the present moment we especially recommend to the consideration of our readers the two sections of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

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**TIMUCUA LANGUAGE.** BY ALBERT S. GATSCHE (a paper read before the American Philosophical Society, April, 1878, as a sequel to the article read April 6, 1877).

These pages have been struck off separately for the author's use. Our readers are familiar with the studies by this gentleman of the various

Indian dialects of this Continent. The present monograph is entirely devoted to the now extinct tribe of the Timucua, of whom, as of so many other of the Indian races which inhabited this Continent when it first became known to Europeans, nothing remains but the shreds of language preserved by the faithful priests or the indefatigable emissaries of the Society of Jesus. The volumes of Father Paréja consulted by Mr. Gatschet belong to the New York Historical Society and were collected by the late Buckingham Smith, whose manuscript note on the "*arca of the Timucua language*" we reproduce. It contains about all that is known upon the subject.

"The limits within which the language of the Atimucua was spoken can only be stated in general outline. On the north the boundary was not distant from the River St. Mary's, on the west the River Ausle and the Gulf of Mexico limited it, and with some irregularity it extended nearly to Tampa Bay; on the east the boundary was the ocean, whence it followed the shore line to the northward above the nearest limit of Georgia. The exception to this circumference is the territory lying east of the St. John's River, beginning about eighty miles from its mouth and approaching near the River Mayaimi; this section was occupied by a separate people, the Aisa."

The illustrious triumvirate—Gibbs, Smith, Trumbull—who divided among themselves the North American philological continent, has been long dissolved by death. Trumbull alone remains. Gibbs appropriated to himself the whole Pacific Slope, and following the pathway marked out by Gallatin in his root vocabulary, collected a large number of dialects of fast disappearing tribes. Trumbull confined his reaches to the language of the Algonquins and their numerous tributaries east of the Alleghanies, while Smith turned his chief attention to the early inhabitants of the southern part of the Continent, among whom the Timuquas reigned supreme.

A list of books in the Timucuan language was contributed to the Historical Magazine in 1860 (IV, 39) by Mr. Buckingham Smith, as an addition to the titles referred to by Mr. Gatschet, as contributed to the same periodical in 1858 (II).

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**MAINE STATE YEAR-BOOK AND LEGISLATIVE MANUAL FOR THE YEAR 1878-9, FROM APRIL 1, 1878 TO APRIL 1, 1879.** Prepared pursuant to orders of the Legislature, by Edmund S. Hoyt. Small 8vo, pp. 616. HOYT, FORD & DONHAM, Portland.

In this well arranged and compact volume are to be found the usual Calendar matter, a summary

Mr. Motley are discussed by John Bigelow in a paper, the conclusions of which are by no means favorable to Mr. Motley.

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THE PRINCETON REVIEW. FIFTY-SEVENTH YEAR. JULY, 1878. 37 Park Row, New York.

The contents of this number are fitted for the special reading of theologians. The exceptions are Classics and Colleges, by Professor Gildersleeve of John Hopkins University; Kant and his Fortunes in England, by Professor Mahaffy of Dublin; Christianity under the Roman Empire, by Professor Harnack of the University of Dublin.

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THE NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL RECORD. Vol. IX, No. 3. July, 1878.

The Anniversary Address before the Society, delivered in April by Dr. Samuel Osgood, is here printed in full. Its subject was Life and its Record in this Generation. The reader who looks for statistical biographical information will be disappointed; the purpose of the paper is rather a philosophic examination of the progress of the human race within a limited period of time. Mr. Purple continues his contributions to the history of the Ancient families of New York. The early settlers of Kings county is the title of a paper by J. G. Bergen. Mr. Isaac J. Greenwood, the accomplished antiquarian, furnishes a valuable article on the Holland family of New York. The controversy as to the name of the father of the second wife of Colonel Lewis Morris still rages, with the possibility of a future settlement. We have our own suspicions in regard to this matter, which with proper editorial prudence we for the present reserve. We notice with alarm the introduction of a new and foreign element in this genealogic discussion in the person of the famous East-Indian "Begum." Are we to have an inquiry as to the parentage of this copper-colored princess? Where is this zest for investigation to end?

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THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY. Vol. II, No. 2. Publication Fund of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. 1878.

The first article in this handsomely printed periodical is a sketch of the Mennonite Emigration to Pennsylvania, translated from the Dutch

of Dr. J. G. de Hoop Schefer of Amsterdam by Samuel W. Pennypacker. There are two letters, describing the battle of Monmouth, by Generals Hampton and Irvine, both eye witnesses of the engagement. They are carefully annotated by the editor. Captain Hutchins' Journal of a March in Western Pennsylvania, 1760, and Mr. Jordan's sketch of the Proposition to make Bethlehem the seat of Pennsylvania Government in 1780 are of special interest. The biographical department contains an elaborate essay on Robert Morris by Mr. Hart, a sketch of Gouverneur Morris by Mrs. Meredith, and of General John Sullivan by Thomas C. Amory. The Wharton Family is concluded. The Records of Christ Church complete the number.

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THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER. Vol. XXXII. July, 1878. 18 Somerset street, Boston.

The leader is a biographical sketch of the late Henry Wilson, Vice President; illustrated by a steel engraving. The number contains the usual amount of valuable contributions to family genealogy and history of New England.

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REPORT OF A JOINT COMMITTEE OF THE STATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF PENNSYLVANIA UPON THE CONDUCT OF THE FINANCIAL AFFAIRS OF THE COMMONWEALTH, FROM 1838 TO 1843. 8vo, pp. 21. Harrisburg, 1878.

The purpose of this report is to demonstrate that the State of Pennsylvania did not repudiate its obligations, as has been repeatedly charged. On the contrary, the Keystone State has always acted with a sense of integrity. In the early period of our history, she and New York were the only States which fully complied with the Federal requisitions.

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CATTSKILL MOUNTAIN GUIDE, WITH MAPS, showing where to walk and where to ride. Illustrated. By WALTER VAN LOAN, 8vo, pp. 52. VAN LOAN & VAN GORDEN. Catskill, New York.

We always gladly notice books of this character, which are valuable long after they have served the temporary purpose for which they are issued. They generally preserve local information, historical and traditional, which would otherwise perish.







SAM. HOUSTON

# AMERICAN HISTORY

## CHAPTER 1: THE AMERICAN EXPERIMENT

The American experiment in self-government began with the Pilgrims in 1620. They established the first colony in which the people had a say in their own government. This was the beginning of the American way of life.

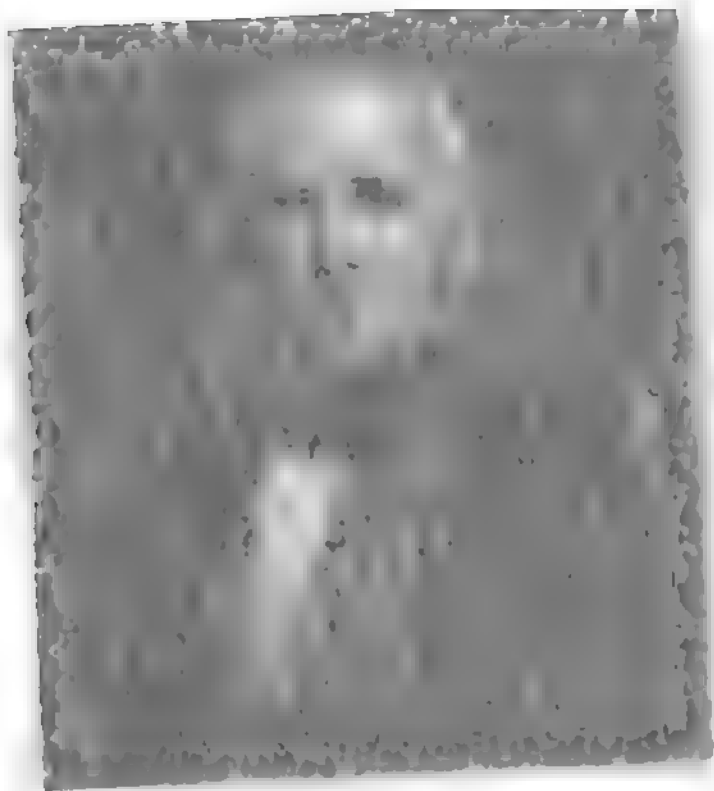
The Pilgrims were a group of English Puritans who sought religious freedom in the New World. They arrived in 1620 on the ship the Mayflower and established the Plymouth colony. The Pilgrims' experience was a landmark in American history, as it demonstrated that a group of people could create a new society based on their own principles. The Pilgrims' commitment to self-government and religious freedom laid the foundation for the American experiment.

The Pilgrims' journey to America was a long and difficult one. They faced many hardships, including lack of food, shelter, and disease. Despite these challenges, the Pilgrims remained committed to their vision of a new society. They established a system of self-government, known as the Mayflower Compact, which allowed them to make their own laws and elect their own leaders. This was a revolutionary idea at the time, as most colonies were ruled by British officials.

The Pilgrims' success in creating a self-governing colony inspired other settlers to do the same. By the mid-17th century, many other colonies had been established, each with its own system of self-government. These colonies were united by a common belief in the right of the people to govern themselves.

The American experiment in self-government was a bold and risky venture. It was a test of whether a group of people could create a new society based on their own principles. The Pilgrims' success in this endeavor laid the foundation for the American way of life, which is based on the principles of self-government, religious freedom, and the right of the people to govern themselves.

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# MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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## THE TEXAS REVOLUTION

DISTINGUISHED MEXICANS WHO TOOK PART IN THE REVOLUTION OF  
TEXAS, WITH GLANCES AT ITS EARLY EVENTS

**I**T may not be generally known that a few Mexicans of talent and standing, by identifying themselves with the cause of Texas in her early struggles, have acquired a place in the history of one of our States; and their names and characters may not be without interest to a portion of the public. Though they represented but a fraction of the population, which was politically insignificant, being mostly unenlightened, they may well be remembered more on account of personal traits and adventures than because of any potent influence which they exerted on the destinies of Texas. Among the strange re-appearances which occur in history, we find one in the fact that the first Vice President, and one of the founders of the Republic of Texas, had been one of the founders also of the Mexican Republic. He assisted in framing the constitutions of both, and at an earlier day had figured in the Spanish Cortes of Madrid. It would not have seemed more singular (allowing it chronological possibility) if one of the authors of the act of settlement, which gave the crown of Great Britain to the House of Hanover, had turned up in our Continental Congress.

Zavala, Navarro and Ruiz, who were members of the Convention of 1836, which declared the independence and framed the Constitution of Texas, are to be counted among the founders of that Republic, and consequently among the founders of the State of Texas. They were all Mexicans of respectable Spanish descent; and there was another reader of the same nativity and descent named Padilla, who, though his name is not found in the roll of the Convention, figured prominently during 1835 in the movements which originated that convocation. All four were men of superior or respectable talent, and the first two merit

a place in history; Zavala, from his whole political career, which began long before the Revolution of Texas, and Navarro for his patriotic sufferings and constancy after that event. The careers of the other two were less distinguished, and I shall have occasion to mention them only incidentally. Ruiz, a native of San Antonio, had been a respectable office holder under the Mexican Government, and Padilla had held prominent positions in the Government of the State. He was born I think at Saltillo, then the capital of Coahuila and Texas.

Don Lorenzo de Zavala was born at Merida, in Yucatan, in 1789. His mind was early turned to political speculations. In 1809, when he left college, there being no press in Yucatan, he formed an association of liberals, with the view of disseminating his principles by reading his manuscript essays to the members. Two years after he established the first political newspaper which ever appeared in the province. In 1814 he was elected a deputy from Yucatan to the Spanish Cortes; but when he was about to embark for Europe, a decree of Ferdinand VII. arrived, annulling the Spanish Constitution of 1812, and proscribing its known and zealous supporters. Zavala, being unmistakably one of these, was arrested, fettered and imprisoned in the Castle of San Juan de Ulloa, at Vera Cruz, where he remained over three years. During this time he succeeded in obtaining books, and lightened the hours of confinement by studying medicine, in which he made himself proficient. On being liberated in 1818, he returned to Yucatan, and found himself destitute under the process of official pillage which had followed proscription, and now his prison studies brought him the means of subsistence. He maintained himself for some time by the successful practice of medicine.

The Spanish Constitution being at length for a short time reestablished, he was again in 1820 elected a deputy to the Cortes, and took his seat in that body in September of that year. He was the most zealous advocate of the rights of Spanish America, and proposed to the Cortes a plan for a separate parliamentary administration for Mexico. Soon after the news of the revolution of Iguala, in that country, arrived at Madrid. It was the rising effected by Iturbide at the head of a portion of the native Royalist forces of Mexico, which he had brought over to sustain him; and the first plan which he offered to his country and to Spain was a separate constitutional monarchy, under the same sovereign. This coincided with the views which Zavala had already offered, and appeared to comprehend as much independence as was attainable. He accordingly urged on the Cortes the acceptance of the

offer, but it was rejected with scorn. This soon led to the entire separation of Mexico from the mother country, which proved to be far more easy of accomplishment than was then apprehended in Spain; for the native Royalist troops in Mexico turned over in mass to Iturbide, and they outnumbered the European regiments too greatly to leave any hope of successful resistance to the latter. Iturbide's offer to Ferdinand, which was afterwards modified into a similar offer to Don Carlos, was a sham, by which he beguiled his Spanish supporters in Mexico till strong enough to throw off the mask, when he took to himself what he had proffered to the Bourbons, and was proclaimed by his army Emperor of Mexico.

Before this result had come, however, the position of Zavala had become such that his continuance in Madrid was neither desirable nor prudent. He left there, and went by way of Paris to London, whence he addressed the Spanish American deputies who remained in Madrid an able and lucid political note, which has been looked upon as a standard declaration of the rights of the Mexican people. He returned to Yucatan in 1822. The independence of Mexico was now *defacto* established, and he was elected to the first Mexican Congress called by Iturbide, and was deputed from that body to a National Junta, chosen to deliberate on national affairs during recess. In that body he organized an opposition to the imperial usurpation of Iturbide, which eventually aided in effecting its fall.

Iturbide, who had shown great daring and ability in the attainment of power, evinced no capacity for keeping it, and fell as rapidly as he had risen. After he was deposed and banished, Zavala was in 1823 elected to the convention which formed the Federal Constitution of Mexico, known as that of 1824, and he was president of that assembly when the above instrument was signed. We then find him successively a Senator in the first Constitutional Congress and Governor of the State of Mexico. In 1828, while he was still in the latter office, the animosity of parties rose to a height which it was plain could end only in bloodshed. The Liberals were apprehensive of Spanish influence and monarchical tendencies, while their opponents were no less fearful of the disorders and proscriptions incident to popular sway, of which latter the recent arbitrary banishment of the Spanish residents had given a foretaste. Well-meaning men partook of the ultra views of the popular party, believing that violence alone could crush the influence they dreaded, while a large number of designing aspirants on both sides sought to drive matters to extremity, in the hope of working out their

own advancement. In such a state of affairs a man so prominent and zealous as Zavala could not fail to be drawn into the vortex. He was not only strongly attached to the Federal system, but rather a Red Republican in his views, deeming inferiority of race and intelligence not wholly incompatible with safe democracy. A presidential election, which it was alleged the conservatives had brought about for their candidate by bribery and corruption, and which perhaps they really had, received the forms of legalization, but was annulled by their opponents with force of arms. It would probably have been difficult to ferret out all the corruption on both sides, and ascertain which was heaviest; but it would have been well for Mexico had the legalized side of fraud been allowed to pass. The success of the Liberals inaugurated that course of periodical revolution which has ever since become chronic in that wretched country. The City of Mexico, on being taken by the insurgents, was plundered by the soldiery and the mob, and although order was soon restored, the example of this first outbreak under the Republic has had the most fatal effects. Zavala took a leading part in this revolt, and his enemies have even charged him with encouraging the worst disorders which ensued; but as such calamities never fail to beget calumny, the charge ought to be received with caution. In going into the movement I believe he was actuated by sincere views of what the necessities of the country demanded, and it is to be hoped that the heat of revolutionary conflict and the contagion of disorder did not hurry him into steps which in cooler moments he would have shrunk from.

These events occurred early in 1829, during a part of which Zavala filled the office of Minister of Finance under the administration of Guerrero. Towards the close of the year he was appointed Minister to Rome; but a new revolution prevented him from proceeding on that mission. President Guerrero was deposed by Bustamante, and subsequently executed. Zavala was for a time imprisoned; but being subsequently released, made, in 1830, a visit to the United States and Europe. While abroad he wrote an historical work, entitled *An Essay on the Revolutions of Mexico*. The style of it is lively and entertaining; but it seems to have been penned too hastily to admit of the accuracy which history demands.

In 1833, new revolutions having brought again into power the party to which he belonged, he returned to Mexico, and was for a short time Minister of Foreign Relations, while Pedraza was President. During the same year he was simultaneously elected a representative from

Yucatan, and Governor of the State of Mexico, which latter office he accepted for the second time. He filled it during the season of cholera, when his scientific as well as his administrative ability were of great service to the public. In Toluca, the capital of the State, there is a street called by his name to commemorate his exertions in the cause of humanity during that time of pestilence.

In 1834, during Santa Ana's first Presidency, he was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to France. While on that mission, the last office he filled under the Mexican Government, he published a book of travels in the United States. I have never seen the work, but I am told that his reflections on our institutions, and his speculations on the future destinies of Mexico, show great sagacity and depth; and that among the latter are surmises of the eventual annexation of Mexico to the United States.

Zavala had not been many months in Paris when the news arrived there that Santa Ana had consummated the usurpation he had long contemplated by subverting the Constitution of 1824, and making himself the head of a Central Government, with dictatorial powers. Zavala immediately sent home his resignation, accompanied by a protest, in which he denounced Santa Ana in the most indignant terms. He was ordered by Santa Ana to return home; but he had in effect renounced his allegiance to the then Government when he gave up his mission, the same as he had done his allegiance to Spain when he left his seat in the Cortes. He soon left Europe, and after another visit to the United States, repaired to Texas, the only part of Mexico which bid fair to hold out against Santa Ana's usurpation. The hope of aiding in resisting it was the only motive which drew him thither; for though he owned some lands in that province, their extent and value was too inconsiderable to create any interested object in the course he took.

Texas was often, for want of a better term, called a province while under the Mexican Federation, and I use that word as meaning a topographical section. There never was a Mexican State of Texas, though this is often implied by the misuse of terms; and the revolt of Texas against Mexico has no analogy with the secession of one of our States on the plea of sovereignty. In former times I often met with silly editorials in which that analogy was assumed, with much unmeaning twaddle about the original compact of the Mexican States. There never was such a compact; for the Mexican States were made by the nation, not the nation by the States, as in our case. When those States were formed, two adjoining sections, which had been under the



tion of the old one. The Mexican banner is a tri-color of perpendicular stripes, red, white and green, with the national eagle in the middle white stripe. That of the insurgents bore the number 1824 in the place of the eagle.

The Consultation proceeded to form a Provisional Government, consisting of a Governor and Council, and invited other sections of Mexico to join their uprising. Having taken these and other needful steps, and provided for the election and assembling of a new Convention during the following spring, the Consultation adjourned. The Provisional Governor chosen was Henry Smith, one of the early settlers of Austin's colony, and a patriot of more zeal than tact. Zavala and Padilla were members of the Consultation, and the latter was chosen a member of the Council, whose sessions were to be permanent.

An eventful and critical recess occurred between the sittings of the Consultation and Convention, the latter of which met at Washington on the Brazos on the 1st of March, 1836. The siege of San Antonio had been successful; General Cos, having capitulated, was permitted to withdraw his forces from Texas under a parole, which in a few months was basely broken. No central troops then remained in the province; yet no response to the voice of revolt came from the interior of Mexico. On the contrary, all other parts of the central Republic either continued inertly submissive, or were zealous in seconding the usurper's plans to crush the alien rebels, and for this extensive preparations were in movement. The Provisional Government of Texas, moreover, was virtually dead from dissension. The hard-headed Governor and factious Council had deposed each other, and the public accepted their opposite decrees so far as to ignore the authority of both. The careless presumption, which early success often creates, was followed by panic, and anarchy looked invasion inertly in the face. Santa Ana, with a part of his forces, was already in San Antonio, and had invested the Alamo, while Urrea's brigade was advancing on Fannin's post at Goliad. The hostile army now within or entering Texas amounted to about 7,500 men, and the Texan forces at the Alamo and Goliad, all that were yet in arms, did not exceed 700 in number. All hope of cooperation in the interior had ceased, while the position which Texas occupied as a revolted province in a great measure shut out the hope of help from abroad.

Such was the state of affairs when the Convention of Texas met. The time had come when the only course left was a formal and final separation from Mexico, and no deliberation was needed for reaching

that conclusion. On the 1st of March the Convention organized. On the 2d they declared the independence of the Republic of Texas. The declaration, drawn up under circumstances which often cause words to drown ideas, was a weak document, and would have been stronger had it said less. The substance of it might properly have been that the declarants had blundered into bad company, and would have to fight their way out of it or perish.

That Convention was a motley assemblage, comprising men of the highest order of talent, with others, rude, ignorant, and narrow-minded, but none, I think, deficient in hard sense and shrewdness. Among them were Houston and Rusk, who afterwards figured so conspicuously, not only in Texas, but in the United States Senate, and were often mentioned in connection with the Presidency. Two of the members of Spanish descent may be ranked among the superior class. There were two delegates from each municipality, a Spanish term which corresponds closely to the English word county. Zavala was from Harrisburgh, and had an Anglo-American Constituency. San Antonio de Bexar was represented by Don Francisco Ruiz and Don Jose Antonio Navarro. I consider the latter as morally and intellectually superior to the rest of the Spanish-American group, and equal to any man in the assemblage, though fortune never pushed him into the prominence which some of them reached. The Texans of Mexican blood had been naturally the last to be reconciled to the idea of Independence; but necessity now preached too strongly to be withstood. Zavala, a man of revolutions, now went readily into the movement. So, I think, did Padilla, an old Saltillo politician, who readily appreciated political needs. Though not a member he was present. Ruiz was a man of large mind, given to political speculation, and having long viewed the Mexican Republic as a failure, fostered a hope that he might live to see his own section annexed to the United States. Independence, as a step that way, was welcome to him; but Navarro, probably the most deeply conscientious of the group, felt a painful shrinking from a step which he knew to be needful. Though his will was brought over, the pang of severing national allegiance unnerved him for the act, till Ruiz took him by the arm and led him to the desk where the instrument awaited his signature. He signed it, and felt that the first plunge which puts an end to all shrinking was over. From that moment he never swerved from the obligation he then incurred. Ruiz was by several years the senior of Navarro, and did not, I think, live to the end of that year. Padilla died two or three years later, but did not again take part in political affairs. The three

last named of the Dons had to speak through an interpreter, but Zavala was able to express himself with some fluency in English, and in the debates showed much of the sagacity of a statesman, though his ideas were cast in the mould of the Latin instead of the Saxon race. Though well appreciated, his words of course could not there carry the weight they had done of yore, when he rolled out his Castilian periods to those who shared his nativity of language ; and it must at times have occurred to him with half sad, and half comic effect, how oddly history can repeat herself, when he compared his labors of 1824 and 1836, and contrasted the convention which assembled in the palace of an old stately city, and the more pompous assemblage at Madrid, with the knot of frontier leaders who gathered at a shabby frame building in a hamlet of log cabins. Zavala, who was not wholly free from the pedantry of a doctrinaire, was addicted to citing ancient examples more often than was entertaining to men of log-cabin education, or than suited to those more intent on business than edification. On one occasion, rather late in the session, when he commenced his speech with, "A Roman once said," Rusk was moved to interrupt him, and exclaimed, "We had better think about the live Mexicans instead of the dead Romans, and finish up our work in time for one good sleep before we have to run."

One of the most gifted men and pestilent disturbers of that Convention was a namesake, whose cognomen every old North Carolinian will remember, a name which for a time introduced a new word into our language, a man of singular adventures and unique deeds of violence, one in whom unusual powers of brain and tongue were perverted by evil impulses, which brought him to a tragic end in his prime. His disorganizing propensities proved a serious bar to business, till Rusk checked him, in the only way which with him was effective. Immediately after the declaration of Independence, the Convention had entered upon the hurried formation of a Constitution for the new Republic, and concluded their work on the 17th. That instrument provided for a provisional President and Vice President, for the first year to be chosen by the Convention—their successors to be elected by the people ; and so soon as the Constitution was finished, David G. Burnet, a native of New Jersey, and an old resident of Texas, was chosen President, and Lorenzo de Zavala, Vice President. Although the latter was almost a stranger to the Convention and its constituents, his standing as the most zealous and distinguished advocate of Republican principles in Mexico, and the sacrifice he had made of high position in that country, to share the doubtful fortunes of Texas,

demanded this tribute of respect and gratitude. The Convention wished also to show to the world that the cause they sustained was not a war of races, but a contest based on principle. The executive branch of the Government being installed, the Convention adjourned to Harrisburgh. That adjournment was a flight and dispersion, perhaps without the one good sleep which Rusk had coveted. Some of the delegates hastened to Houston's camp, and others to their homes to place their families in safety, for the whole population, save what was in the army, was in flight; and the army itself in retreat.

On the sixth day of the session General Houston had left the Convention to take command of the few volunteers who were mustering at Gonsales. On that day the Alamo fell with its last defender, and on the next a body of invaders, far outnumbering Houston's meagre band, moved on Gonsales, whence he retired in haste, after a rather needless burning of the village, an example which the enemy thereafter took up. Three days after the close of the session Fannin and his command surrendered, and were soon after massacred. Though Houston's force had considerably increased, he felt compelled to retreat successively across the Colorado and the Brazos, leaving behind a panic which emptied every house, and sent the inmates flying towards the Sabine and Galveston Island. The President, Vice President and Cabinet reassembled at Harrisburg, near which Burnet and Zavala had their homes; but the enemy's approach soon drove them to the aforesaid coast island, where a crowd of fugitives of all ages and sexes had taken refuge, and were bivouacked, for the island had till then been almost uninhabited. Famine and the sea were before that multitude, and the sword behind it; and in a few days the anxiety which reigned among them was intensified by the booming of cannon, which faintly reached them from the mainland. It seemed like the forerunner of doom; but soon a messenger boat came, and mystery and dread at once vanished.

" O stunning joy, when hope had fled  
Our cause had risen from the dead."

The battle of San Jacinto had been fought, and invasion crushed at one blow—by what seemed the last blow of despair; and the captive usurper was a suppliant for his life. Exultation, whose intensity cannot be realized, now succeeded to flight and dismay.

The President and other members of the new Government immediately repaired to Houston's camp, near the field of San Jacinto; and there Zavala had an interview with his former friend and more recent enemy, Santa Ana. The latter, who knew that the sword of justice

hung over him by a hair, was keenly alive to every chance which offered of moving any influence in his favor, and sought, in the insinuating way he knew so well how to exercise, to appeal to the generosity of the exile. Zavala sternly replied: "You have not only subverted the liberties of my country and butchered my new friends, but have sought to destroy me, and have pursued me almost to my own door in the land of my exile. I am not the man whom you can expect to plead for you." I have always viewed the sparing of Santa Ana, from unmanly motives of policy, as a bartering of justice, which brought no compensating return; and though Zavala was not a bloodthirsty man, I believe Texas would have escaped that reproach, had the fate of the felon chief depended on him.

But though Zavala, I think, never favored the design of making Santa Ana available as a medium for negotiation, I am told that he was willing to make his captured officers and men available, if it could be done, as a military resource for securing the independence of Texas and retrieving his own fortunes in Mexico. I have heard that about this time he entertained a vague plan of this nature; but nothing came of it. It was impracticable in itself, and received no countenance from the Government of Texas. Many of Zavala's friends in his new adopted country were also much displeased to find that he could still entertain any political aspirations looking to the land of his birth; but I am confident that those dreams, of which he spake openly and freely, did not contemplate aught which would involve a betrayal of the cause he had espoused; but that he looked forward to a time of peace and intimate relations, but not of political reunion between Mexico and Texas. He must have known that the day for that was forever past.


The time, however, was near when all visions of an earthly future for Lorenzo de Zavala were to cease. The autumn of 1836 proved to be a very sickly season in Texas, and the severe mental trials he had lately undergone may have impaired his vital forces. He did not outlive his term of Vice-Presidency, but sickened and died at his home near Harrisburgh, on the 25th of November, 1836. His death was followed in about six weeks by that of General Austin. Zavala had been twice married, and left a widow, an American lady, who may be still living in Texas. A son by his first marriage, already grown up, came with the father to his adopted country, and distinguished himself in the battle of San Jacinto.

Zavala, though a man of talent, energy and resource, and in many things of deep discernment, was too much of a doctrinaire and visionary

to have made a first class, practical statesman. Like many other ultra Democrats of a reddish tendency, he combined with that trait some vague idea of a head which, in certain straits and contingencies, might exercise dictatorial powers; and he never fully appreciated the Anglo-American conception of wholly distinct and independent functions in the legislative, executive and judicial departments, without a head over all; yet the sincerity of his zeal as a friend of human liberty and progress cannot be doubted, and in any good cause his aid in conjunction with men of more sober intellect would always have been valuable. The fact that he had for over three years trod the dungeon stones of San Juan de Ulloa as a suffering friend of liberty, would entitle him to our veneration, had there been nothing else in his history to claim it.

The story of the birth of that short-lived nation—the Republic of Texas—which I have endeavored briefly to relate, considering the shortness of time and the limited numbers involved, contains a big volume of the romance of history; of that kind of romance which combines farce with tragedy. In going through it we are continually stepping from the sublime to the ridiculous. The defiance of a nation of 8,000,000 by a province containing 20,000 souls seemed a piece of farcical presumption, and the Provisional Governor Henry Smith made it seem more so by a silly threat in his inaugural to carry his conquests to the walls of Mexico; and this bravado was uttered when Texas was anxious to conciliate the liberal element of Mexico. The revolt would have been an atrocious farce had it failed; but eventual success converted the defiance into a sublime act of daring.

The successful siege of San Antonio, where a well-appointed Mexican army capitulated to a horde of rustics and bear hunters, commanded by men who had never set a squadron in the field, is sublime enough to contrast farcically with the supineness which a few months after made no efficient preparation or timely muster against invasion, and with the panic and flight which left the country untenanted. The Convention of Washington met, we may say, within the enemy's reach, for a forced march of dragoons could have surprised them; and there they declared the independence of a country, whose inhabitants were flying from their homes, apparently forever, and framed a constitution for a Republic, which to all appearance would in a month be inhabited only by the invaders; and as soon as the constitution was signed the framers dropped their pens, and fled from an approaching enemy. In all this the sublime and ridiculous are so mixed up that we cannot separate them. When the Convention met, about seven hundred soldiers



stood between them and over seven thousand invaders. In six days near a third of those defenders were slain, each man fighting till his last breath; and a few days after the flight of the lawgivers the remainder of the seven hundred were butchered in cold blood by the perfidy of their captors. There was no farce in this, nor in the eleventh-hour victory, which plucked up the drowning honor of Texas by the locks. The sparing of Santa Ana, the butcher of Goliad, would have been sublime had not its motive made it contemptible. It was done to obtain from him an order of retreat to his forces still in the field—an order from a captive chief, whom they were no longer bound to obey, and for a movement they would have made in more haste, and under no protection of truce, had no such order been issued. They were so demoralized that half their number could have routed them, and now, with the return of fugitive Texans, a number almost equal to that of the remaining invaders could in a few days have been mustered. The assassin ought not to have been left to die in his bed and in his dotage after thirty more years of mischief. Had he been shot, and Filisoli, his second in command, been attacked by the exulting victors, not many of the soldiers of the latter, nor any of his cannon or baggage, would have recrossed the Rio Grande.

The campaign of 1836 in Texas exhibited in the space of little more than forty days an epitome of the vicissitudes to which a nation may be subjected in a long and desolating, but finally triumphant war of defense. There was defeat, surrender and wholesale massacre; storming of ramparts and putting to the sword of defenders; a track of fire and rapine; forsaken homes, leaving league after league of country unpeopled; a squalid and destitute horde of fugitives, before whom famine and pestilence yawned—and all this condensed into a space of time that seems prescribed by the rule of dramatic unity. Then the scene changes, as if by the working of high dramatic art, and in comes a victory as sudden and rapid, but not as bloodless, as if wrought by the mimic combat of the stage—a wide slaughter, almost without loss to the victors, with all the triumph that stage effect could ask to grace the last act of the play. It ends with a grand tableau, in which the head of a nation bows as a captive to the rebel chief, whose execution he had a few days before been expecting soon to decree. What a mercy that the shifting scenes passed so rapidly, with a loss of life so light compared with the weight of vicissitude, and ended before famine and pestilence had time to enter upon the stage; yet this immunity makes it all seem the more dramatic and unreal. The direct victims of the sword probably did

not exceed eight hundred on the part of the victors, and fifteen hundred on that of the vanquished, yet the fruit of victory was a domain as wide as an extensive kingdom in the old world. Here again tragedy takes on a farcical aspect.

The Constitution of the Republic of Texas, the throes of whose birth I have described, had as a document a singular history which is not generally known. About eight years after it was framed I heard from Mr. Henry Smith, the ex-Provisional Governor, some casual remarks in regard to that instrument. "There is something," said he, "about that constitution which I cannot comprehend. I was present when it was framed, and watched its formation closely all through, and I am certain there were some good things put into it which I cannot find there now." Another gentleman, who had been an attendant on the Convention, told me at a still later day that had not the break up and flight from Washington occurred so soon, he would have been the first incumbent of an office which he named. "But," said I, "there is no such office provided for in the Constitution." After a moment's reflection he replied: "I do not remember to have seen it in the present printed form, but I am confident there was such a provision in the original." I was puzzled by the remarks of both, and it was not until some years later that the mystery was explained to me, as a piece of secret history, related by Dr. Miller, a gentleman who was prominent in the affairs of Texas both before and after the Revolution. When victory enabled the new Government to get into working order, the Constitution, that is, the enrolled form of it, which bore the signatures of the framers, could not be found, and there was no complete or connected copy. There had been a scattering of everything, and it could not then be ascertained who had taken charge of the instrument. The time was near when it ought to be submitted to the people for acceptance, but there was no Constitution to offer them; yet one must be had; the executive tub would not hold the little authority it had, if the public should discover that its bottom had dropped out. To call a new convention would stave the tub outright, and there was no knowing what mischief such a body might do, when there was no fear of the sword to keep them at their legitimate work. People returning to devastated fields, moreover, had more important work in hand than even constitution making, as Houston seems to have thought when he announced his late victory. His proclamation which gave the news ended with, "Let the people plant corn." In this strait of the Government the only resource that offered was that adopted by Tom Pipes, a nautical charac-



ter in one of Smollet's novels. His master had entrusted him with a love letter, which the bearer put into his shoe as safer than his pocket, and wore it out before suspecting the danger. Being anxious to fulfill his duty without confessing his carelessness, he employed a village schoolmaster to write another letter in place of that destroyed. One or more persons connected with the Convention had preserved rough draughts of constitutional sections, the papers by which they had been introduced, or from which they had been enrolled. This data was not complete, but the President and others remembered the substance of other sections which could not be found in writing. One of the best lawyers in Texas was employed to put all these written and remembered fragments together in fitting order and connection. Thus a constitution was made out, and this substitute was submitted to the people, and ratified by a popular vote. Not long after its acceptance the original document, like Hilkie's book of the law, turned up. Here was a new dilemma. A tub with two bottoms might be as embarrassing as one with none; and lest the question should be raised which was the true constitution, that made by the Convention, or that ratified by the people, it was thought safest to consign the former to oblivion. It was accordingly sealed up and laid away among the secret archives of the Government of Texas, where it may still remain, if it escaped a burning of records which occurred some twenty years ago. The work above referred to ought not to be classed among the pious frauds which really devout men in early days occasionally committed. The fabricators aimed at reproducing the same constitution which had already been made, and were more nearly successful than Tom Piper's pedagogue. There was no new matter forged, and very little of the old left out. Their patriotic fabrication must have been carried through with great secrecy; for it was long unknown to those most likely to have discovered it. Hard-headed Henry Smith probably went to his grave in California without any solving of the mystery he complained of.


I return to what was the leading object of this article, that of giving a sketch of the most prominent of the Mexican citizens who took part in the Revolution of Texas.

Don Jose Antonio Navarro, whose course in the Convention I have already briefly mentioned, was born at San Antonio, Texas, in 1796. His father, though of Spanish paternity, was by birth a townsman of the great Napoleon, being a native of Ajaccio, in the island of Corsica. The grand-father of Jose Antonio Navarro was a Spanish army officer, who, after marrying a Corsican lady of Ajaccio, took up his abode

there for some years, and then removed with his family to Mexico, and established himself at San Antonio. The Corsican element in Navarro's ancestry has been commemorated by a local name. A county in Texas called Navarro has a county seat named Corsicana.

In 1811, while Navarro's father was living, and the Mexican war of Independence was in progress, a small auxiliary force was raised in the United States with the view of aiding the insurgents, and planting the banner of revolt in Texas, to which the rising had not yet extended. The expedition was at first successful; it was joined by a considerable number of the natives of the province, and the town of La Bahia (now called Goliad), and afterward that of San Antonio were taken. After some other successes, however, the insurgents were, in 1812, overpowered and totally defeated on the Medina, by a strong body of Royalist troops under General Arredondo. The larger portion of the troops and most of the subordinate officers of this force were native Mexicans; and among others of this class was a sprightly, knavish young cadet, about sixteen years of age, who was attached to the staff of the Spanish General. He had just made his first essay in arms, in a province where, twenty-four years later, he was very near making his last. The name of that cadet was Antonio Lopez de Santa Ana. He became a guest of the Navarro family, when the victors, after the battle of the Medina, occupied San Antonio. Young Navarro, the subject of this sketch, was then absent from his home; and though they did not become personally acquainted, the guest came to know the other lad by character. The latter, being the pride of the family, was often mentioned as a youth of promising talents; and some of his letters and essays were shown to the General and his officers. It is probable that the cadet at this time formed an opinion of Navarro's abilities, which was of no advantage to him at a later period. Another thing occurred which had the same effect. The cadet was detected in a fraudulent act, which would have disgraced him had he suffered the justice which it was so often his luck to escape. Though the matter was hushed up, it was known to the Navarro family; and Santa Ana, in his days of power, had no kind feeling for those who knew of that early stain.

Jose Antonio Navarro was educated for an advocate, and though he never went into regular practice, was well read in the system of Civil Law which govern in Spain and Spanish countries. He was for some years a Commissioner for the granting of donation land titles to the settlers of DeWitt's colony on the Guadaloupe; and it was, I think, while holding that office that he met with an accident which made him a



permanent cripple. He had the usual passion of Mexicans for skill in horsemanship, and in throwing the lasso; and while engaged one day in those exercises, his horse fell on him, and crushed his leg in such a way as left him with a stiff knee for the rest of his life. He served one or more sessions in the Legislature of Coahuila and Texas, and on the 2d of March, 1835, was elected to the Congress of Mexico; but owing to the revolutionary movements which followed he declined to take his seat, and on the same day of the following year he signed the declaration of independence of Texas. So soon as the Government of the new Republic went into operation he was elected to the Senate, and continued a member of that body as long as it existed, except during the interval when he was a prisoner in Mexico.

The Mexican citizens of Texas who were loyal to the Republic often had their loyalty severely tried by the illiberal suspicions and rough bearing of the lower order of the Anglo-American element; and it was this, more than any normal tendency to disaffection, which drove Seguin from the flag under which he had fought so gallantly. In no people are race antipathies liable to be more bigoted and mean than in those of Anglo-Saxon blood; and of the under strata of that breed the low American is perhaps the worst sample. The Navarro family suffered a terrible blow from the hand of such a specimen. In revolutionary times families are liable to be divided, and brothers sometimes take opposite sides. Don Angel Navarro, a younger brother of Jose Antonio, adhered to the cause of Mexico, and was mustered into her service under a commission he held as a Captain of the Mexican Militia. But the brothers did not allow political difference to extinguish fraternal affection. Don Angel return to, or remained in Texas after the Mexican army retreated, and reported himself to General Albert Sidney Johnston, then in command; the same who, twenty-six years later, fell at Shiloh. Don Angel frankly owned that he was unable to take sides with Texas, and that he had served Mexico, and tendered to the General the surrender of his sword, willing, if required, to remain as a prisoner, or to go to the interior of Mexico; but requesting that, if not incompatible with the General's sense of duty, he might be permitted to remain, on the footing of an alien, and under parole, at San Antonio, where his relations lived. This soldierly candor could not fail to tell with such a man as Johnston, and he granted the request. Some month after this, and while the younger Navarro was domiciliated at San Antonio with his brothers, there came to that place a young American, named Tinsley—a Captain in the service of Texas. He may have been attached to a local garrison, but of that I

am not certain ; but he was of that peculiar type of ruffianism which is bred only by " the greatest nation on God's earth." As pretentious and swaggering as no one but a coward ought to be, yet without a white feather in his gaudy plumage ; perfectly fearless, yet capable of the most cowardly acts, such as stabbing in the back a man whom he would not have shrunk from fronting openly. The peculiar position in which young Navarro stood towards Texas, could not fail to draw to him the attention of this bravo, who announced a determination to seek and find a feud with the Mexican. The latter, who did not wish to compromise his kindred, was guarded, but courteously unflinching in his deportment, and for a while, avoided the collision which the other sought. At length Tinsley took occasion to post up a pasquinade on the corner of the Navarro residence, with an announcement that he would chastise any one who should dare to take it down. It reflected, in scurrilous terms, on a person in whom young Navarro was supposed to feel an interest, and was, no doubt, put up as a decoy to a quarrel, and in the expectation that he would remove it. The first person of the family who saw the paper was the elder Navarro, then acting as a justice of the peace. He immediately removed it. The corner room of the dwelling, which had been fitted for a store, and was now used as an office by the Navarros, was soon after entered by Tinsley, who found no one there at the moment but the man he sought. The few words which passed between them—the last words of both—were heard, and a glimpse of the last struggle was caught, through the open door, by persons outside. " Did you take down that paper?" imperiously demanded Tinsley. " No," replied Don Angel, " it was taken down by my brother, the Justice of the Peace, in his official capacity." " I believe you took it down yourself, or had it done," said Tinsley, " and I will chastise you, as I promised." At this Navarro grasped his opponent and demanded : " Do you threaten me with the cowhide?" While he was repeating the question, Tinsley drew a pistol and shot Navarro through the chest. But the latter retained sufficient vitality to keep his hold till he drew a knife and buried the blade into the assassin's breast. His grasp then relaxed, and Tinsley staggered out of the door, and to the other side of a narrow street. There he sank upon a seat by the side of a shop door, and in another moment, fell dead to the pavement. Navarro's two brothers rushed to the office the moment they heard the pistol. The dying man was still on his feet, with his back against the counter. They spoke to him ; his eye seemed to recognize them, but he could no longer speak. They laid him gently down ; but by the time they had put him into a recumbent posture, life was gone.

As soon as the news of the tragedy spread, Navarro's friends and relations seized their arms and rushed to the spot where it had occurred, for they knew not what outrages might follow this opening scene. There were in the place a number of Americans of Tinsley's type, though none perhaps who equalled him in its distinctive traits. They also came rushing in arms to the spot, and each group was followed by others, Mexicans and Americans, till the two half hostile elements of the population confronted each other. Had only one of the antagonists fallen, there would have been an attempt to avenge him, which would have brought on a frightful collision, bloody enough to leave the town half desolate; but when the fierce factions saw that the representatives of both lay dead within a few yards of each other, their excitement was chilled, and the more peaceful of both races found no difficulty in inducing them to disperse. The elder Navarro afterwards observed, that since one of the two combatants had to fall, it was a mercy of Providence that both died in the first encounter; for a survivor could not long have outlived what would have followed such a beginning, and the result would have been many deaths instead of two. The Navarros received the deep sympathy of the whole Anglo-American population of Texas, or at least of all whose sympathy was worth accepting, and they had enough discernment to know that a calamity, resulting indirectly from the contest in which they had taken sides, had no identity with the aims and principles of the cause of Texas.

In 1841, during the administration of President Lamar, an ill-devised and unfortunate expedition against New Mexico was undertaken by the Government of Texas. A part of that province, lying east of the Rio Grande, was within the bounds claimed by Texas, but never yet held, and it was thought that as the claim of the Republic to the Rio Grande boundary could only be established by possession, an effort ought to be made to hold the country up to that line, at least on the upper portion of the river, where no dense population stood in the way of occupancy. The objection to the plan was that New Mexico, though nearer to the centre of Texas than to the centre of Mexico, was physically more severed from the former country than from the latter. Hence it was more within the reach of Mexico than of Texas, and could be defended by the stronger power with less effort than it cost the weaker to assail it. The expedition was commanded by General Hugh McLeod, and was accompanied by two civil commissioners, entrusted with all the organizing powers which the President had authority to depute. Don Jose Antonio Navarro and Colonel Wm. G. Cooke were

appointed to that commission. The former accepted the appointment with misgiving, and only at the earnest solicitation of the President, who, as the expedition was destined to a province having a Mexican population, deemed it essential that the commission should have the aid of a Mexican citizen of Texas, who was a man of talent and character, as well as of Spanish legal education. Navarro was the only one who could be found completely filling those requisites, and he finally accepted the mission. He felt that in case of success he might prove a useful protector to a Mexican population brought suddenly under the military control of another race.

The expedition, which marched by a route little known, and beset with unappreciated difficulties, had to fight with famine and toils and accidents of the way before it saw any other enemy than the Comanches; and it finally entered New Mexico, so destitute and exhausted, that the only thing it could do to save life, was to surrender to a superior Mexican force.

The prisoners were soon put on a march from Santa Fe to the city of Mexico. Their terms of capitulation entitled them to be treated as prisoners of war; a march of that immense length, much of it through a region almost of deserts, would necessarily involve no little hardship even under a merciful escort; but the treatment of the prisoners depended mainly on the character of the officer who, for the time being, had charge of them; and they were at times subjected to great brutality. One well-remembered case of this kind was that of a man named McAllister, a cripple, who was cut down by the officer of the guard because he lagged behind the march. Navarro, who was as much a cripple, at times had to travel on foot, but was generally allowed means of transportation.

During the early part of the march, and I think before it had got out of the bounds of New Mexico, an incident occurred, for which Navarro was then unjustly censured by his companions. The prisoners, or a portion of them, formed a conspiracy to rise on the guard and liberate themselves. They could perhaps have overcome the escort after some loss of life, as the Mier prisoners did two years later, but the result would have been the same, or worse. The Mier prisoners, after great sufferings, in seeking to make their way through a mountainous desert, were recaptured, and decimated by way of punishment. The Santa Fe prisoners, when the attempt was contemplated, were much farther from the frontier of Texas, and in a country more difficult to traverse. After a portion had perished, the rest would have been


recaptured, and probably have suffered a worse fate than decimation. Had the rising been effected, I doubt if any of them would ever again have seen Texas. As it was, most of them, after all their sufferings, came back. When the plot was nearly ripe, one of the conspirators made it known to Navarro, through his driver, for he was at the time riding in a buggy drawn by two donkeys. He saw at a glance that it was probable death to them and certain death to him. Should the rising succeed, the flight, owing to his condition, would have to leave him behind to take the brunt of resentment for their escape, and for the blood they would shed in effecting it; and if he were not knocked in the head during the melee, he would be sure to take that stroke of retaliation afterwards. He at once gave such intimation to the officer of the guard as led to an increase of vigilance, and the attempt at rising was prevented. About five years later I heard this affair related by one of the conspirators, an Irishman, then a steamboat hand on Galveston Bay. He spoke with much bitterness of Navarro's "blowing of the plot," as he called it, but it took but few words to convince him that the informer had saved all their lives; and he finally admitted that, "after all, the old man acted right."

The Santa Fe prisoners at length reached the city of Mexico, where Navarro was confined for some months, and then transferred to the Castle of San Juan de Ulloa, at Vera Cruz. Santa Ana, after repeated ups and downs, was again President of Mexico. He had never given up the hope of recovering Texas, though not anxious to enter it himself, and he now, for the first time, held in his power one of the signers of the Texan declaration of Independence, and the most odious then living, for he was the only survivor of the few who were Mexicans by birth, tongue and race. A few years before, this would have soon led to an execution for treason, and it was currently rumored in Mexico that Navarro would ere long suffer the death penalty; but Santa Ana probably did not feel free to proceed in the same summary way as in the beginning. The independence of Texas had been acknowledged by one or more of the leading foreign governments, and it was not advisable to shock the civilized world again with atrocities like those of 1836. Santa Ana, moreover, had come round, somewhat, to John Wilkes' opinion, that a man may be put to a better use than hanging; and if Navarro could not be made useful, his punishment, by endless imprisonment, would be more gratifying to the punisher than would his release by execution. After it was thought that Navarro's fortitude had been sufficiently wrought on by rigorous confinement, and hints of a postponed trial for treason, it was intimated

to him that not only full pardon and liberty, but also rich reward were within his reach, if he would consent to earn them. He could have the rank of Brigadier-General in the Mexican army, or if he preferred civil life, the position of Collector of Customs at Vera Cruz, one of the most lucrative offices under that Government. All he had to do to secure this boon was to renounce his citizenship of Texas, recant the act he committed in signing the declaration of Independence, consent to enter the Mexican service, and do what he could to bring back Texas to her former allegiance. Santa Ana, who could not have well comprehended the nature of social and political elements in Texas, probably supposed that there, as in Mexico, each leading man could carry with him the votes and following of a considerable district, and that the chief who could secure the support of those magnates could control the country. Having been from boyhood impressed with a belief of Navarro's superior talent, and knowing the estimation in which he was held by the Mexican population of Texas, he no doubt greatly over-estimated the political influence which his captive could exert. Against the above offer stood, at best, the apparent alternative of imprisonment for life, two thousand miles away from family and friends. That offer, moreover, was an appeal to the sympathy of race against principle, made to one who had suffered by the struggle of principle against the collision of race. But Navarro knew where the highest duty was enthroned. Bonds and death were better than dishonor, and the offer was spurned.

The weary months lagged on, and one year after another of imprisonment was completed. The Santa Fe prisoners, all save Navarro, were at length released as an act of grace. The same favor was then extended to those captured in 1842, during Woll's raid on San Antonio, and then to those of the Mier expedition, after they had suffered decimation. Each of those bodies of prisoners, as well as I can recollect, endured a year more or less of captivity and were then dismissed, with a kind of contemptuous clemency, as insignificant; and Navarro was the only Texan prisoner that remained. Liberty could any day have been bought, but the price was not forthcoming.

At length he was informed that liberty would be granted without any other pledge than that of remaining in Mexico, if he would but send for his family; and that he should be liberated on those terms immediately on their arrival. He saw at once in this an insidious proposal, made with a view of gaining a new grasp for controlling him. He had met previous advances calmly but sternly; but this awakened a fierce outburst of passion. He denounced Santa Ana as the meanest of





oppressors, and said to the messenger that he would sooner rot in chains than listen to any offer the tyrant was capable of making. "He may destroy me," said Navarro, "but he cannot deprive me of the respect of the brave and constant people with whom my lot is cast, and who will appreciate my loyalty and honor my memory."

These attempts to tamper with the loyalty of the captive were, I think, all made after he was transferred to Vera Cruz. The last one certainly was. Within the castle of San Juan de Ulloa, along the foot of the eastern rampart, is a circuit of cells for prisoners, which open upon a paved walk. In one of those, which, as well as I recollect, was numbered 51, Navarro was confined. Some time after what has just been related, how long I do not remember, an officer of the garrison called on the prisoner and told him that President Santa Ana had arrived at Vera Cruz, and would visit the Castle in the afternoon. "He will," said the officer, "make an inspection of the works, and in the cool of evening will pass along with his staff in front of these cells. The door of yours will be left open. You will hear when he passes, and will have an opportunity to go forth and make a personal appeal to him." He spoke in the manner of one delivering a set form of words, and made no suggestions. The evening came, and the door was left unlocked. Among other changes which had come to Santa Ana since he was released from Texas, was the loss of a leg, and the use of a wooden substitute. Navarro sat alone in his cell listening for the approach of the military group, but with no thought of availing himself of the opportunity. At length the measured step of a number of men was heard, and among them, as Navarro expressed it, the stumping of that wooden foot accursed. (*Maldita pata de palo.*) In front of his cell they paused. He then heard Santa Ana say: "This is cell No. 51." He was replied to in the affirmative. He still paused, as if to make some indifferent inquiries about the works. The pause was evidently intentional; but finding that nothing came of it he stumped onward. Though Navarro had harbored no intent to humble himself before the tyrant, that pause of his great enemy before the cell door brought to him, as he said, an indescribable rush of memory and feeling, such as is said to come to a drowning man.

" Though in existence almost nought,  
It was eternity to thought."


He thought of his family, the friends of his youth, and the scenes in which nearly his whole life had been passed. Santa Ana was human, and had at times been generous. He had liberated others. Would

anything be lost by a personal appeal? Might not liberty be recovered without loss of honor? But Spanish pride rose up against the tempter. Navarro stirred not a muscle, but sat listening to the beating of his own heart, till the less audible footsteps died away in the distance.

The next day the officer who had given Navarro the information just related called on him again. "You did not avail yourself of the opportunity," he observed. "No," said Navarro. "Nothing was to be gained of that man by humiliation; and even if there had been, it was a price I was unwilling to pay." "You have done right," said the officer, "and I respect you for it more than I can express."

Santa Ana, I have no doubt, had devised the opportunity, and caused it to be announced, as an occasion for humbling and spurning a man who was in his power, and who had exasperated him by the indignant manner in which he had repulsed his last advances; for Navarro's words on that occasion had probably been reported to the President. Such was the belief of Navarro; and the officer just mentioned, whose name I regret that I do not remember, seems to have been of the same opinion.

Navarro's confinement, which had been rigorous, in the city of Mexico, and for some time after his removal to San Juan de Ulloa, was, in consequence of his failing health, somewhat relaxed during the later portion of his imprisonment in the castle, when he was allowed, during the day, the freedom of the ramparts. He probably then received from subordinates more indulgence than their superior would have sanctioned. Yet this partial freedom brought with its relief many gloomy reflections. The view of the busy mart intensified his desire for larger liberty; and the sight of vessels sailing out of the port and disappearing in the horizon reminded him too mournfully of that distant home which he hardly hoped ever again to reach. Casual remarks often made it evident that he was looked upon by those around him as one doomed to wear out his last years within prison walls. An old employee of the post, who had passed many years at the castle, was one day speaking of the cyclical recurrence of sickly seasons, and said to Navarro; "*You will see that once in every seven years the vomito will prevail at this place with unusual violence.*" The evidently unintentional character of what was implied made it more pointed, and carried a pang to the heart of the listener. He said that while wrapped in dreamy musings of this kind, the sight of a Texas newspaper which reached him brought a consolation which was indescribably sweet in its sadness. It contained a resolution of the Congress of Texas, or of some representative assemblage, expressing



deep sympathy with his sufferings, and a full appreciation of his heroic patriotism. He had often given way to a somewhat morbid apprehension that no merit of his could overcome prejudice of race; and this manifestation of public sentiment, which relieved him from that dread, brought tears to his eyes, and made him feel that he could endure, for a people who could do him justice, the worst that fate still had in store for him.

But all things have an end, and the time at length came when the trials of the patriot were to terminate. In the spring of 1845, Santa Ana was overtaken by one of those oft repeated falls from which he had as often risen. He was deposed by a revolution headed by Paredes, and had to fly the country. The officer in command at Vera Cruz, who took sides with the revolutionists, had compassion on Navarro, and to avoid the delay and uncertainty which might attend the procurement of a formal liberation, connived at his escape and concealment on board of a British steamer about leaving the port. That vessel left the fugitive at Havana, whence he proceeded to Galveston by way of New Orleans. His arrival spread joy through Texas; and he was everywhere received with the demonstrations of gratitude and admiration which his patriotism so well merited. His captivity had lasted from about the close of 1841, to the spring of 1845. He arrived in Texas when annexation to the United States was pending, and in the summer of 1845 took his seat in the Convention which framed the constitution of the State of Texas, preparatory to its reception into the Union. He was that year elected to the State Senate, and served in it two or three terms, when he declined a reelection, and retired from public life. When the secession of the State occurred, he had for several years ceased to take any part in political affairs. He died, I think, in 1871 or 1872.

I have named four Mexicans of Texas who figured in her declaration of Independence and what led to it. Two of them, Zavala and Ruiz, I never saw. Padilla I knew slightly, but with Navarro I was intimate, having acted as his interpreter during the first session of the State Senate. He was a man of clear and analytical mind, with the kind of capacity, and the depth of it that would have fitted him for the highest positions; executive, legislative or judicial. In Texas he represented an unenlightened fraction of the population, to whom the new element was alien, and the tongue of the former only was his. This kept him down from the prominence which would have claimed him, had the country been peopled equally by the two races; for he had the capacity, not only to represent one, but to unite the two. He was the most eloquent

Spanish orator whom I have heard; but this gift was mainly thrown away upon an assemblage whom he had to address through an interpreter. Had early education made the English language as available to him as his sonorous native tongue, he would not only have been a star in the Congress of Texas, but have passed from it to that of the United States. Indeed, during the first year or two after annexation, he was frequently spoken of as a fitting candidate, notwithstanding the disadvantage that clogged him. His life and character exhibit one of those obscure cases of heroic worth for which early oblivion yawns; and glad would I be to know that words of mine could rescue, even for a little while, from such a fate, the memory of a friend so noble and beloved. The dungeon stones of Ulloa, trod first by Zavala and then by this Bonnivard of Texas, ought to be as sacred to the eye of Patriotism as those of Chillon,

"For they appeal from Tyranny to God."

R. M. POTTER



DESCRIPTION OF THE FALLS  
OF NIAGARA

1785

PRELIMINARY NOTE.—Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur, the author of the following description, was born at Caen in Normandy in 1731. He was descended from a distinguished French family, and when about sixteen years old, was sent to England for his education. He remained there six years. In 1754, being of an enthusiastic temperament, and captivated by the romantic descriptions of life in the new world, then current in Europe, he sailed for America, where he married, became naturalized and settled as an agriculturist. He resided in Pennsylvania and New York for several years. In 1780 he was arrested by the British as a spy and imprisoned for three months. Released through the mediation of a friend who became security for his neutrality, he returned to his paternal home in Normandy. On the ratification of peace in 1783 between the United States and Great Britain, he was appointed French Consul-General for New York, New Jersey and Connecticut. On his arrival at New York he found his property burnt, his wife dead and his children in the hands of a stranger. A Mr. Fellows of Boston, having learned that Mr. St. John had befriended some American sailors wrecked on the coast of Normandy, went over three hundred miles to the relief of his children and took charge of them in their father's absence.

Mr. St. John remained in America until 1793, during which time he traded extensively among the western Indians. He visited an Onondaga council in 1789

where he was received as an adopted son of the Oneidas under the name of Kayo. He was also present at an Indian treaty held at Fort Stanwix, now Rome. He had a daughter who was married to an attaché of the Consular office by the name of Otto, who rose to high diplomatic rank in the French service, even to the embassy to England for a short time.

Mr. St. John was the author of that curious and interesting work entitled "Letters from an American Farmer," written in English, two editions of which were published in London in 1782 and 1783. He subsequently enlarged and translated it into French, two editions of which appeared in Paris in 1784 and 1787. In it he paints in glowing colors the attractions of rural life in America. His graphic descriptions drew many an emigrant from Europe to our shores, to find disappointment in the hardships and privations of a new country. General Washington briefly characterizes the book as "a work, though founded in fact, embellished in some instances with rather too flattering circumstances."

Mr. St. John was the author of another work written in French and entitled "Voyage dans la Haute Pennsylvanie, et dans l'Etat de New York." It was published in 1801 in three volumes octavo. It purports to have been translated from an English manuscript, rescued from an American vessel that had been wrecked at the mouth of the Elbe. In it he gives an account of his travels in America and his intercourse with the Indians, interspersed with observations on the history, geography, agriculture and antiquities of the country. It is a curious mosaic of romance and reality, written in a

florid, though pleasing style and well worthy of perusal. Its chief value consists in its numerous notes, which disclose an intimate knowledge of the history and resources of the country at that early day, and a prophetic view of the future we are now realizing.

St. John was befriended by Washington, with whom he corresponded and by Franklin, whom he accompanied in 1787 to Lancaster, Pa., when he laid the corner stone of the college which bears his name.

He made an excursion to Niagara Falls in 1785. The description of his visit is contained in a letter written at the time to his son Alexander, then fourteen years old. It has never been published. Copies of the narrative and of the map illustrating it were courteously furnished by his great-grandson, Count Robert de Crèvecoeur, the present representative of the family, now residing in France.

He gives a graphic description of the cataract as it appeared in its primeval grandeur, undisturbed by the innovating hand of man. His chart of the river, from Lake Erie to Ontario is remarkably correct, much more so than many modern plans of greater pretension. Among his other accomplishments he must have been a skilful engineer and draughtsman to have produced so accurate a map without actual survey.

Mr. St. John resided in France during the last years of his life and died at Sarcelles, near Paris, in 1813, aged 82. It is understood that his biography is in course of preparation by the present Count. It will illustrate an interesting

period in the early history of this country.

O. H. MARSHALL.

*Buffalo.*

DESCRIPTION.—It was in the month of July 1785, my friend Mr. Hunter and I arrived at the Fort of Niagara, after a long and painful voyage up the river St. Laurence, the particulars of which being foreign to my present subject, I will therefore proceed to the immediate description of the wonderful Cataract of Niagara, which of its kind, is the greatest phenomenon in nature.

Early in the morning of July the 12th, a gentleman of the name of Hambleton to whom we had been introduced, called upon us with horses to accompany him to Fort Slausser, "A" near which place the falls are situated. Our route was upon the banks of the river which takes its name from the Cataract, and is generally from  $\frac{1}{4}$  to  $\frac{1}{2}$  a mile wide, the current extremely rapid, but being deep water for about 9 miles, is navigable with a strong northerly wind to "B." Here the rapids begin and whose fury and violence increases for 9 miles more, which bring you to the head of the river "C."

From the landing place as it is called (because the boats discharge their loading) we found the banks became more steep, and we continued to ascend them until we arrived at Mr. Stedman's house "D" who forms this place of Government, and has the Exclusive right of transporting the stores and merchandise from Lake Ontario to Lake Erie, the men received by the gentleman with the greatest hospitality, who amused us for

the remaining part of the day with various details of the incidents which had occurred during his residence here. Having concerted every thing for our Expedition to the Falls, we retired to our rooms.

July 13. We arose before the Sun, and in company with several gentlemen of the Army, began our walk to the river Erie, which is here some miles over and interspersed with a number of beautiful small islands, covered with forest trees.

We pursued the course of the river for nearly two miles, our Expectations were kept awake by the distant sound of the Fall, which became louder as we approached it. About a mile before you arrive at the Cataract "E," the rapids commence, and which of themselves, in any other part of the world would be thought superior to anything of the kind. You distinguish them best from a sawmill, "F" which projects from the shore. These rapids are formed by a continuous chain of craggy rocks of various heights and the descent below the bed of the river being great, the vast body of water which comes from the upper lakes and which are discharged by this river, force themselves over these rocks, with inconceivable fury and rapidity, producing billows of white foam which for magnitude, can only find a companion in the agitation of the Atlantic Ocean in a gale of wind.

We continued our route through a wood until we came in view of this tremendous Cataract; but where shall I find language to convey even an idea of the grandeur of the Scene? when the period of astonishment was over, and the mind at liberty to investigate

each part of these varied beauties, we found a very ample field for observation.

The most sublime and elevated object was a column of spray or vapor, that rises from the basin "C" into which the waters are hurled, the weight and elasticity of which make it rebound at least one half the height of the fall. The upper particles being light form into a thin vapor, which appears like a cloud. The weather was remarkably serene, not a breath of air nor a cloud to be seen. The sun rose with peculiar lustre, and as the night clouds were dissipated then succeeded a clear Azure sky. The rays of the sun gilded the tops of the surrounding mountains, and at length, in oblique angles, struck the cloud I have mentioned. It was instantly vivified by the colors of the rainbow, three of which were visible at once. One as it were under our feet upon the surface of the basin below, was at least 180 feet. The splendor of those objects was truly beautiful, and lasted some time until the sun rising in the horizon from its attracting influence, left only a light cloud which upon many occasions has been seen at the distance of 50 to 60 miles. Our attention was now taken up with the general appearance and shape of the Cataract, which, from the situation we were in, appeared an irregular curve. We were standing upon a rising ground on the Eastern Shore, and within a few yards of the lesser fall, for it is so distinguished from another which is separated from this by an island, and which conceals a great part of the large fall, and can only be seen to advantage on the opposite side.

I shall here confine myself to the


small fall, which is near  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a mile wide; this vast body of water all in a foam, is precipitated 150 feet perpendicular, with a noise like thunder.

I shall reserve the most minute and descriptive part until I arrive on the Western Shore, but before I leave this, I must mention the perilous and dangerous descent we made. We had provided a strong rope which we attached to the trunk of a large tree about 40 or 50 yards from the edge of the little fall. The rocks are nearly perpendicular, from the fissures of which grew a number of shrubs and plants, which served to fix our feet upon whilst we held firm by our hands on the rope. In this manner we descended nearly 150 feet, not without having experienced the greatest bodily fatigue, but also some fearful apprehensions. What will not curiosity stimulate us to encounter, for certainly there was more danger than pleasure or advantage.

However this is considered as a part of a travellers duty, and being come so far, we were determined not to be excelled in spirit or variety of attempt. We approached the falling waters until we were completely wet. We rested ourselves upon a rock and from thence we could see these tumultuous waters which seemed to threaten us with instant death, but before they could arrive to us, they were diverted from us by a ledge of rocks which conveyed them into the immense vortex below, for we were still elevated above the bed of the river. We had now to return by the way we came, which we effected without any material injury, except some bruises which could not be avoided. We had

been several hours on this Expedition, and returned to Mr. Stedman's where we ate our breakfast with keen appetites, which were whetted by the feast of mental gratification we had just been enjoying.

We had the pleasure of an introduction to Capt. Jones, commanding officer at this Post, whose obliging communications and very polite attention, I shall ever recollect with gratitude. We were desirous of crossing the river Erie to the opposite shore, where we might see the Cataract in the best situation. The general route is to return to the landing place upon the river Niagara "B," pass the river and proceed by a road through thick woods until you arrive at the Falls. We were saved this troublesome route by Mr. Jones offering us one of the Military Batteaux, with six soldiers, to put us and our horses over. After expressing our obligation to him for his convenient offer, which we accepted, we took our leaves of the friends we had met with. The river here is about 3 miles wide, the waters very deep, which conceals in some measure the rapidity of the current, which is so great that we were obliged to pole up the river close in shore for near two miles. Our men then took to their oars and with incredible labor arrived at the other side and landed in Chippeway Creek "I." This passage is extremely awful, for many accidents have happened from the breaking of an oar and the current running at the rate of 6 miles an hour, it requires great exertion to prevent being hurried along with it; and this is the reason they ascend the river so high, for Chippewa Creek is even lower down





than Fort Slausser. The terror is increased by a full view of the rapids I have described, and the spray and cloud within two or three miles. An accident such as I have mentioned would expose persons to be driven by the current into the rapids, where you must inevitably perish.

We however had this only in idea, for we were safely landed upon a beautiful plantation occupied by Mr. Birch, a gentleman from London, but who from a long residence in the State of New York and attached to the British Government, came under the description of a Loyalist. He had the lands granted him which now seem to repay his labors and difficulties, with the greatest abundance of every thing useful; we were entertained by him with great hospitality and we found him a very sensible well informed character, his conversation pleasing and instructive, and his communications very novel, which some day I may take an opportunity of imparting. This gentleman directed us how to proceed in a choice of situation and objects, and we derived considerable advantage from it. We pursued our route upon some elevated ground covered with large forest trees, through which we now and then caught a glimpse of the river. One station we took gave us one of the most beautiful views I had ever seen. We arrived at the house of Mr. Ellsworth, a Loyalist, "K" who is settled upon a fine plot of land which is cultivated to the very edge of the Falls "L," and which with the river and extensive prospect, is plainly seen and commanded from his house. We induced him to act as a

guide, and having put ourselves under his direction, he conducted us to a shelf of rocks which are upon a level of the river Erie, "M" upon one of those we took our stand, but how shall I attempt to describe the scene before me. The bare recollection seems to deny my pen the expressing the influence of the mind, in vain the ideas form and seek expression. They multiply upon each other so quick that even now I require reflection to arrange them.

The view of this cataract from the Eastern Shore seems only preparative for that on the west side, where we now stood. I shall begin with observing, that you command here every drop of water, since there is not a curve or undented line but may be seen. We were within 30 or 40 yards of the great fall, the waters of which force themselves over these great rocks, and occasion two small falls, the waters of which washed our feet. The great fall is in the shape of a horse-shoe, and is about  $\frac{1}{4}$  a mile broad, its descent at least 175 feet. The vast bodies of water which are discharged here, are more than the ingenuity of man can ascertain. To form a competent idea, we must trace them to their sources, which are derived from those great inland seas which are distinguished by lakes and which in order of magnitude are,

The Lake of the Woods which is of no fixed size.

The two chains of Lakes which are small.

Lake Superior	is	350	miles	long,	250	miles	broad
Lake Michigan	"	290	"	"	60	"	"
Lake Huron	"	280	"	"	180	"	"
Lake Erie	"	330	"	"	75	"	"
Lake Ontario	"	190	"	"	70	"	"





These lakes have all a communication with each other, and their collected waters, except Lake Ontario, are precipitated over the falls of Niagara with a force and weight inconceivably great. It rises again at least 80 feet and produces a spray, which when the wind blows is like a shower of rain and is felt at some 100 yards distance. The vapor and cloud are similar to what we observed on the East side, only here we observed four distinct rainbows at once.

The waters in the center of the great fall appear of a fine green color. On each side of the crescent the waters are in a white foam, the contrast of which has a very beautiful effect.

At the extremity of the crescent a right line runs for 100 yards over which the water flows. You then come to an island covered with trees and shrubs, whose foliage and situation have a very happy effect amidst the turbulent scene around. The breadth of it may be near a quarter of a mile when the lesser fall continues for about a quarter more, making in all a mile. The appearance of the whole is level, and the island enables you to see the ledge of rocks which forms the base over which it runs, being like a wall, the sides of which are so smooth that you might think it proceeded from the chisel rather than from the hand of nature. The waters fall as it were, into a large basin, which from the fermentation of the water may be justly compared to an immense caldron of boiling water, every part of which is only increased by the magnitude of the object. This immense basin appears land-locked from this station and the turn of the river is so quick and the

body of the water so great, seeking a bent, that it causes an amazing whirlpool, which would swallow up the largest vessels. The basin is surrounded, except the outlet, by high steep craggy rocks, covered with trees of various sorts, and which are from 150 to 200 feet above the level of the water. Objects below are very minute. The rock we were upon, pends over at least 20 or 30 feet, and to look down makes you giddy, particularly from the agitation of your feelings.

Our attention had been so much taken up with the cataract, that we could think and see nothing else for some time, but when we raised our eyes to make a more general survey, I was at once transported and astonished with the variety of natural scenery and beauty, that had been overlooked in the contemplation of a more sublime and uncommon object than is to be found in any other part of the world; we were relieved from this by one of the most varied prospects I had ever beheld. First you see the rapids sweeping with inconceivable force and in different courses round the several islands which are interspersed in the river, which from its breadth and great extent appears like a lake. At some miles distant appears, on the opposite shore, fort Slausser, Mr. Stedman's house and his plantations, and if you pursue the scenery around, you are lost in the immeasurable extent. The back grounds at a great distance are terminated by a chain of high mountains, which lose themselves in the clouds and are bounded by the horizon. Having dwelt with pleasure and delight upon the objects before us,

which my eyes run over a thousand times and with which the mind could never be fatigued, we were at length admonished by our conductor that we had no time to spare, if we meant to complete our tour, and satisfy our curiosity. We followed him upon the bank or ledge of rocks for a short mile, in which walk we had many striking views of the falls, altering their appearance as we saw them from projecting points. We arrived at a break in the rock, "N" which serves as the only admittance or path to descend to the river. This we pursued for some distance down a very steep bank, and were obliged to hold by the roots of trees and shrubs that surrounded us. We came to a large tree which stands alone "O," and upon the back of which were carved a number of names of different persons who had been here. Being fatigued we rested here some little time, and amused ourselves by adding ours to the number. We now continued our route until we came to a large rock, the sides of which are perpendicular and near 30 feet high. We were obliged to make use of an indian ladder, which is simply two strait trees in which, with their tomahawks or hatchets they cut notches at 12 or 15 inches from each other. In these notches you put your feet and by this means we got to the bottom. We now found our route more difficult, being obliged to change our course in different directions, according as we thought it could accelerate our passage, sometimes we crept on all fours for many yards together, passing through holes in the rocks, which would scarce admit our bodies. At other times we absolutely passed under the roots of

trees which had been hollowed by the savages who have made this indian path in order to amuse themselves with fishing, which is a very favorite amusement. At some seasons fishes are found here in great plenty, and then many hundred savages frequent it. We had now been near an hour in descending and but a very small part of our difficulty overcome. We were arrived upon a broken shelve of rocks which had fallen from above in the spring of the year when the ice began to thaw, the rocks being loosened. It is from the expansion of the fissures which have snow and water in them during the winter, and melting in the spring of the year produces this effect. There have been instances of persons losing their lives or being lamed from the falling of these pieces, some of which would weigh many tons. At this period of the year there was little danger. We were nearly a mile and a half from the foot of the cataract, and the whole way back was strewed with these broken pieces of stone, and owing to the great declivity to the river we were in fear of falling in, as the stones sometimes gave away, and the only way to save ourselves was by laying down, by which we frequently were hurt. The pending rocks above us added much to the horrors of our situation, for knowing those under our feet had fallen at different periods, we could not divest ourselves of apprehension. However we encouraged each other with the idea of surmounting the same difficulties which others had done before us. We came at last to the two small falls which I have mentioned before. Being excessively fatigued and warm we sat down sometime to refresh

ourselves, and prepare for advancing. Here we undressed and in our boots and trousers, began the most hazardous expedition I was ever engaged in.

After climbing over several very high and craggy rocks, we came to the first of the small falls, under which we passed without much inconvenience, though the pressure of the water was so great from the height it fell, that I can only compare it to a violent storm of hail, but when we came to the second through which our guide with difficulty passed, I felt no inclination to proceed. Our guide returned to encourage us, and upon my hands and feet I followed him, expecting each moment to sink under the weight of water, but I began to find it less disagreeable as I advanced, and I was soon relieved by enjoying the open air, which now I breathed with pleasing avidity. Here we reposed a little. My friend Hunter was entirely spent ; I repented his coming, for fear of some accident, and indeed had endeavored to dissuade him from this perilous excursion, but he could not bear being left behind.

We now were recovered in some degree, and proceeded toward the great fall, and here I may say with propriety, that the most awful scene was now before me that we had yet seen. Our difficulties and dangers as well as our gratifications, had been progressive and this was the height of our ambitious pursuit. I have before remarked that the waters run over the shelves of rocks, that pend over in many places their base. The great force with which they are precipitated, gives them an horizontal direction, so that at the bottom where we stood, it

left an opening between the water and rocks. It was here we entered by slow and cautious steps. It soon became dark, which proves the immense body of water there must be betwixt us and the light, for we all know we can see a great depth in the river, and here I should imagine the light would assist in rendering it more transparent, but we found it opaque or dark. We had proceeded about 15 to 20 yards, when we found it so very sultry that we might be said to be in a fumigating bath. We hastened out of this dreary place, and once more congratulating each other with our safety, and in seeing the sun whose beams seem to shine with peculiar lustre, from the pleasure and gaiety it diffused over our trembling senses. I found here ample subject for reflection. I admired this cataract as one of the great efforts of a Providence, shewing the omnipotence of a supreme being, for it certainly is one of the most sublime and terrific objects in nature, at once impressing the mind with reverence and admiration. It has often been matter of surprise to me that men do not pursue the study of nature more. Its works are possessed with every requisite to gratify the senses, and our feelings are harmonized into placid contemplation. Where is there in being one who could refuse his cheerful matin praise when he rises from his pillow after the refreshing slumbers of the night and beholds that grand luminary the sun, vivifying every object ; there is not a tree or a shrub but seems to welcome the return of day. If we indulge in a contemplative walk, what an immense variety presents itself to our notice. We may learn the most useful lessons of

moral duties from every surrounding object. The progressive rise of every plant and flower, teaches us the gradation of man from infancy. Their decay informs us of the instability of human nature, and indicates the dissolution of time and the whole of the animated universe. How preferable are these innocent contemplative reflections, to the hurry and bustle of a licentious world, where our sensibilities are alarmed with the sight of men preying upon men, and degrading the finest and noblest works of God-man, below the level of the brute creation. The awful majesty and craggy appearance of the great and stupendous works which are on both sides the river, form a kind of impenetrable barrier for many miles, except the winding path by which we descended seemingly made by the hand of nature to admit prying man into every one of its secrets.

Here also is to be found a Phenomenon of which kind there can be seen no other, that is an eternal or never ceasing shower, the influence of which is felt to a great distance. I mean the spray of the clouds which is occasioned by the concussion of the water, the rainbows are ever visible where the God of day, bright Phoebus, makes his daily course and diffuses his genial rays.

I found here a kind of calcareous earth, which is called the Surf stone. It certainly derives its formation from some hidden cause proceeding from the agitation of the waters which imbibe certain cohesive particles, but I am not sufficiently acquainted with chemistry to analyze its peculiar properties.

It is dissolvable in water though formed by it, but it acquires its solidity by being

thrown upon its shores and exposed to the sun and air. It seems to have many of the qualities of soap but less greasy. It may be melted by heat, but when cold becomes a solid mass again. When found it has the appearance of Derbyshire Spar or marble, is quite white but much lighter. I saw nothing else curious here. There are great numbers of snakes amongst the rocks, particularly the rattlesnake, which delights in these retired and gloomy places. We found an Indian of the Messasauga nation fishing at the mouth of the Basin. We exchanged some friendly signs and took our leaves. We could have wished for a balloon to have ascended at once, but we were obliged to toil the same way back, in which we were often constrained to repose upon the ground. We at length arrived upon the summit, and who can speak the pleasure we received from our safe return. We had been six hours and upwards descending and ascending. Our friend Mr. Hambleton had been under some fears for us and welcomed us back. He had prepared us a homely but wholesome repast at Ellsworth's house, which we eat voraciously. The evening was advancing and we wished to return to Niagara that evening. We mounted our horses and after riding some miles in the woods, we came to a fine cultivated country interspersed with good farms. Government lately has given every possible assistance to these new settlers. After a ride of 18 miles we arrived at Butlersburg, so called from Col. Butler, who had barracks for his Corps of Loyalists and another for the savages. There are several good buildings here and an appearance of civilization. We had only

to cross Niagara river and found ourselves once more in that hospitable garrison. The commanding officer, Major Campbell, to whom we had brought letters of introduction, had shown us great attentions, and continued them during our stay there. I saw very little worth remarking at Niagara Fort. The garrison consisted of 400 soldiers. The fortifications are defensible. The fort is built upon an elevated point of land which commands the entrance of the river from Lake Ontario, which is seen to great advantage.

## SEVEN LETTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

### I

Communicated by John Austin Stevens.

Still Water, Aug. 7th, 1777.

Honored Sir.

With heartfelt joy I embrace the opportunity of writing to you, and though for considerable time I have been deprived that pleasure by adverse scenes of providence respecting the situation of the Army in our department, yet coming to a stand I am again in a situation to inform you in some degree of the state and Condition of the Corps which I have the honour to command.

Confined by sickness at the time of the retreat from Ticonderoga, I could not take an active part at that time, though I gave the most deliberate orders the shortness of the notice of that measure would admit, and am happy to inform you that my orders were executed in such a manner that, had not the enemy pursued in so hasty a manner, I

should have saved a very considerable quantity of Stores, some small cannon, and the two eight inch howiters, which I had just got compleatly mounted, but at Skeensborough all fell, and I have only now to lament their fall; from that place we retreated to fort Anne, where we had a brush, which was much to our advantage; from thence to Fort Edward, after a short stay to fort Miller, then to Saratoga, and lastly to this place. where we are busily employed making every disposition to get things into a proper course, in order if needfull to be able to repel any sudden attack. Since my arrival here Six Officers of the Train have come here from Peekskill, but as they brought no men with them, it was impossible for them to take any command. I should have been very happy to have had the gentlemen with me, but having my full complement of Officers, I thought it would be an injury to the service to retain them. I therefore advised them to join their Regts, which they have accordingly done. We are now collecting Stores from every quarter. As soon as any considerable quantity arrives I shall be carefull to furnish you with a return. As I am conscious to myself that I have invariably made the publick good my moving principle, I hope and trust that I shall meet with your approbation, which being obtained, will give a fresh spring to one devoted to the publick and your honour's Service.

I am with great respect your honours

Most obedient humble Servant,

EBENEZER STEVENS.

To the honl. Brigadier Genl. Knox.

P. Script.—I would beg your honour



to send me ten Ammunition Waggons, as without them our Ammunition must suffer much in the transportation; likewise a large quantity of horse harness, as we have very little here, and we have a large number of horses united to the Cannon which ought to be compleatly fixed, as I am sensible you would chuse they should be.

## II

Communicated by John F. Lattimore (of Clear Lake, Iowa.)

New York, Nov. 25th, 1777.

My dear Sir.

I shall endeavour to answer your several queries concerning Gen. De Borre, but in the first place permit me to lay down a certain general principle by which I am actuated.

To counteract by all prudent and possible means a certain rage against foreigners that has unhappily possessed the American mind, and which I fear will injure our cause extremely in Europe.

Gen. De Borre is certainly an officer of rank and old service in France, and I believe of more military knowledge than many 10 Continentals Generals that I could mention. It is not true that any real misconduct at Brandywine occasioned the proceedings against him that happened in Congress. The matter stands thus. The Maryland troops behaved ill that day, and their advocate, Mr. Chace, with some other noisy members, attributed the cause to the insufficiency of Generals Sullivan and De Borre. Many aspersions was thrown on the characters of both these officers, and they were both

ordered before a Court of Inquiry. The former passed through his trial, and has been acquitted with much honor. The latter being old, passionate and fractious, was so disturbed that he, without knowing the consequences, hastily resigned. His enemies were satisfied, since all that they wanted was to remove him from the army. It is true that he afterwards desired the rank of Major General, but this is rather a fashion of his country than vice in the man. Eager after military honors, nothing stops their pursuit. I am of opinion that there is no person who can now produce any fact against the reputation of this gentleman. And therefore I might well say that he was rather unfortunate. Wishing him to return to his own country as little hurt with our treatment as possible, and knowing that he was to pass thro Williamsburg, I gave him the letter which has fortunately produced your civil notice of him. You do not mention Monsieur Balford, to whom I gave a letter also, as he thought of visiting you on his way to Charles Town. This gentleman is of singular worth, and far above the action of our little paltry American Wits, who think it so clever to insult foreigners with their silly attempts at ridicule. It is certainly wise, dear sir, to be guarded against impositions from foreign Adventurers, but it is equally unwise to cast into one undistinguished group all of other countries, without distinguishing the good from the bad. This is a remnant of English unsociability and self sufficiency, which it becomes us now to get rid of as quickly as possible. In a former letter you desire to know my reasons for contending

against Maj. Butler that Ticonderoga was an important post, and you concluded it was for the sake of argument. I am not fond of such practice, and consider it the product of vanity or idle amusement. The truth is that Ticonderoga in its modern sense, being the place where the French fortified on the West side of Lake Champlain, is not a place of consequence, altho Mount Independence, opposite it on the East side, is a very important Post. It was seen that the former might fall, as it was not a very good situation, and required a great number of men to hold it, while Independence was very tenable by a much inferior force, and really of more consequence. It was judged proper to guard the public mind against false conclusions in case of advancements, and therefore it was that I more than once in public contended for the same thing that I then did with Maj. Butler. Ticonderoga in the Indian language signifies the congregation of many waters, and comprehends the whole district, but the modern meaning of the word is the old French fort. I will not trouble you here with a minute recital of the foreign intelligence we have received. Suffice it to say that a war between France and G. B. seems inevitable immediate. Its certain that all homeward bound French West Indians are stopt Embargo to prevent their falling into the enemies hands. The French General has been ordered to put his hands into immediate state of defence, and is assured that 5000 additional troops shall directly be sent over. Portugal has acceded to the family compact. Prussia has opened his ports to

the Americans. M [—] it is reported has been taken from the English by the natives. No foreigners would meddle with the last Parliament loan, altho the inducements were greater than usual. These are all favorable circumstances, yet we stand on precarious ground without immediate and extensive taxation, great economy, and wise attention to our military defences. How does it happen, my dear Sir, that the Barges of the men of war take our vessels at the mouths of our rivers, when we incur so great an expense in Gallies? These vessels, instead of being constantly at the mouths of the respective rivers, and the best of them in the Bay, looking the men of war in the face, are generally far distant in some snug creek or harbor, living at ease and diverting themselves on shore. This will not do. Our marines must be better managed. I am glad to hear we have got an able Engineer, and hope no time will be lost in strengthening and securing our harbors and rivers. Accessible as we are by water, this is of great consequence. Mons. Loyeante declines the command of the Academy. He says that military honors and a desire to help secure the liberties of America by immediate action, not the desire of money, brot him to America. If he can't be in the War, he will return to his own country. His father is a General of estimation in the Artillery of France, and has taken pains with the education of his son, who is sensible, well bred, and an able officer in the Artillery branch; but we have lost him, and I hope the person preferred to him in the command of our Regiment will be able to serve the pub-

lic. I am sure we want such knowledge extremely, and unless skillful men are appointed to the principal commands in that Regiment, how shall the great expense it will create be compensated by real utility?

Bad water, bad air, and bad every thing else, joined to excessive business, have injured my health and compels me to go home for the winter season. When I am at Chantilly I shall be glad to hear from you when you are most at leisure, or when any important news shall reach you.

I am, dear Sir, most affectionately yours,  
RICHARD HENRY LEE.

NOTE. This letter bears no superscription, but is presumed by the owner to have been written to General Washington.

EDITOR.

### III

Communicated by J. Carson Brevoort.

Bottetourt County, Dec. 3, 1777.

Sir.

I take this opportunity of thanking you for your readiness in granting me the assistance I requested of you, and am extremely sorry that the mutual exertions of your County and Augusta were so badly seconded as to put it out of my power to carry my designs into execution for the benefit of the Distressed Frontiers, but hope that the Rapid successes of the American Arms to the Northward will do more for us than we can do for ourselves. Should that unhappily not be the case, I have every reason to expect that you will on a future occasion shew the same readiness to assist your Neighbours. I ordered your troops under the command

of Col. Skilron to March Back from Fort Randolph & to be discharged on their return. Their Number fell short of your Orders, but beg that this circumstance may not exclude Major Poag from his appointment; his readiness to serve in any capacity merits that mark of respect.

I am, Sir, with respect,  
Your Obedt. Hbl. Servt,  
EDWD. HAND.

Col. Wm. Fleming,

### IV

Communicated by John Austin Stevens.

Camp Great Valley, 7th Jan., 1778.

Dear Sir.

I received a few days ago your letter of the 17th Nov'r last, enclosing the return of the Cannon and Store which you have at Albany—a most noble Park indeed, and highly honourable to the Army which acquired them. I hope they will long remain in the hands of the Americans.

I am sorry that you complain of not having received any letters from me in the course of the campaign, and that you say that you have written often to me. I am sure I have answered all the Letters received from you, but to have given you any particular directions without being acquainted with circumstances was impossible. I have a high esteem for you which is founded on the universal character given you of a brave and vigilant officer, and have ever considered it as a credit to claim connection with you.

My sentiments of an Independent Corps of Artillery are widely different from yours. I cannot conceive of any

Independent Corps being in any well regulated army whatever. An Army consisting of Independent Corps would soon prove the impropriety of the measure. I know not how far you have considered yourself as independent, nor upon what grounds. Your three Companies were raised by Massachusetts, and considered by that State as part of Colonel Crane's Battalion, and by them and me arranged as such. Whether you have received powers from Congress, or other superior authority, I know not. I wish to do every thing for you in my power consistent with the general good of the service.

The honorable Congress will soon take such methods as to completely fill up the several Battalions of Artillery. Massachusetts will fill up the three Companies with you, and the nine with Col. Crane to 60 men each.

Capt. Lieutenant Johnston, with the other Officers and men here belonging to your three Companies have been very unhappy at their situation, their accounts being unsettled and they at such a distance as rendered a settlement impossible. I have therefore ordered them to join you at Albany, and it is his Excellency's orders that Lieut. Hall and the men with him return as soon as possible to the companies they belong to now at Headquarters.

I know not what operations may be in view to the Northward to render so much Artillery necessary at Albany. If there should be no enterprize which would require it, a considerable part will be ordered here for the service of the grand Army.

I shall set out for Boston in two days

in order to make preparations and arrangements for the next campaign. I wish you to write me, and if you may require any service in my power, I shall be happy to execute it.

Please to present my regards to the officers with you, and believe me that it will ever afford me a sensible pleasure to promote their Interests consistent with the good of the service.

I am, dear sir, Your most

Obedt and humble Servant,  
H. KNOX.

Major Stevens.

V.

Communicated by John Austin Stevens.

Albany, March 21st, 1778.

Sir.

Altho your well known Activity and zeal on every occasion might render any advice to you unnecessary, yet I desire to mention a few things to you on our present circumstances. You have received from Governor Clinton the Resolution of Congress, respecting the defence of the North River; the Time is now partly elapsed, and swiftly elapsing in which this defence might be necessary. I would have you therefore, Sir, to use every possible exertion in your Power to have the Cannon down; every Assistance that is in my power to afford you, you shall have if requisite; also that of Col. Lewis is at your Service. As it is a matter of the utmost Consequence, I wish it to be done with the greatest dispatch and Expedition.

I am with sincere respect

Sir, Your most obedient Servant,  
The M. de Lafayette.  
To Maj'r Stevens of the Artillery.

## VI

Communicated by George C. Beekman.

Albany, 7th Oct'r, 1779.

Dear Uncle.

Yours of the 14th August last I have Rec'd about a fortnight. It has, and always will give me pleasure to hear of the health and welfare of yourself and Family, which happens seldom, altho I did hear of you about Two months since by Cols. Lansing and Jno. Zabriskie, who informed me they had been at your house. Our Family are well excepting my Father in Law, who has had a very sore hand for about a fortnight since, and the Fever with it which still continues.

Politicks I conceive are much the same with you as they are here. Goods of all kinds very scarce and high, occasioned by an Embargo being laid on every article of Goods in the State of Massachusetts, and in Pensilvania the Committee stopping it. What the Rulers of those two states mean I cannot conceive, as they must know that we are blocked up, and have no chance of getting any thing but from them—how far this agrees with Christian principles we shall leave for them to answer hereafter.

Salt sells here at 140 Do'l'rs pr B's, Pepper 28, Tea 28, and in Short every thing in that proportion and higher, where and when it will end God only knows.

The Letter you sent directed to John Fine I have destroyed, as I am informed that he entered himself into our service when the war first began, after which he deserted to the Enemy and came against us with Burgoine, with whom he was

taken and sent to Boston, what is become of him since I have not been able to learn. I am at present in public Service, and bear a commission of Asst Depy Quarter Master Gen'l for the Northern Department; my business lays altogether within this City, time will not permit me to say any more at present, but that my wife joyns me in our kindest Respects to Your Good Family, and the remainder of our Friends in your quarter, and please to except the same yourself from

Your Affect. Nephew,

TEUNIS P. VAN VAUGHTEN.

## VII

Communicated J. Carson Brevoort.

Carlisle, 19th May, 1780.

Dear Col.

Tho we have parted so lately I should feel no little reproach from myself were I not to drop you a single line by this opportunity. The girls of all orders from Miss ——, down to battered pot, lament your departure. Every morning begins with wishes expressive of health and happiness, and the day ends with prayers for your return. *The Banks of the Dee*, in allusion to their own feelings is now the favorite song, and not a child but has caught the emphatic line,—“Restore oh! kind Heaven my soldier to me.” Things as they respect myself remain in statu quo, not a syllable for the Genl. But were I to draw an inference from the late Southern Accounts our destination will be upon the No. River. It's a country I detest, and were it not probable that I may be led thither in the line of duty, I would this moment take an oath never to see it

again. Your damn'd West Points, Stony Points, are too many hills. But you will say that they have been productive of laurel, and that this paltry weed the idol of mankind, grows best in obdurate soil and almost inaccessible heights. True—but all this as it may apply to myself is light as air. I could sit as happy and be as great under the perishable verdure of Leeks and parsley—as you and Anthony under a weight of nodding evergreens.

I saw Mrs. Butler yesterday—she's very well—and little Dick is perfectly recovered from the accident which happened to him the day you sett off, I wish and expect to hear frequently from you, without regard to the receipt of letters from me.

Nothing shall prevent me from writing, but I cant be responsible for the security of conveyance.

I am to-day engaged, and have been for three days past at parties with a bold excentric but honest fellow of Lancaster—Purdy—If you knew the man you will believe me, when I assure you that two or three minutes is a great acquisition of time from the flights and impetuosity and restlessness of his temper.

I am, my dear Butler,

In the utmost sincerity

Your most obed't Servant  
and affect. friend,

J. ARMSTRONG, JR.

Col. Butler.

## RIVERS AND PEOPLES DISCOVERED BY LA SALLE

1681-2

(Translated for the Magazine)

*From a detached leaf, without beginning or end,  
in the handwriting of La Salle.*

. . . neighbors of the Cisca and their allies as well as the Cicaca. The Chucagoa, which means in their language the Great River, as Mississippi in Outaouas and Mascicci in Illinois is the stream we call the river St. Louis. The river Ohio is one of its branches and receives two others of considerable size before emptying into the river St. Louis; that is to say Agouassaké to the north and the river of the Chaouesnon to the south. The Tukahagane dwell on the north bank of the Chucagoa in about 32 degrees of north latitude; the Cicaca in the interior about 30 and one half degrees south of this same stream, almost north and south of the mouth of the river of the Illinois in the river Colbert; that is to say, at about 39 degrees of longitude to the west of Isle Percée, seventeen days travel up the river, estimating the days travel at seven to eight leagues, *one after the other*, the route being nearly east northeast. The Kaskias are to be found in their island, but there are now very few of them, the Iroquois having nearly destroyed or driven them to flight, the Tchatakés on the north bank of the same stream about 34 degrees from the North Pole. This stream is much wider in its whole extent than the river Colbert. I have not yet been able to descend it. The Apalatchites people of English Florida can not be far distant from some one of

to take the same channel going up stream, so that it may be that it has its mouth by this other channel without any widening of the Mississippi, its channel not changing in width at its junction with four other great rivers as considerable as the Chucagoa, which fall into the Mississippi on the west.

The arrival of the Ciscas and Chaouenon, was followed by the return of the Islinois, Peoueria, Kaskaskia, Moingoa, Tapouero, Coiracoentanon, Chinkoa, Chepouessea, Maroa, Kaockia and Tamaroa, all these nations are included under the name of Ilinois, because they are allied, and there are some families of each in the village of the Kaskaskia, (who are the true Islinois) although their villages are apart and distant from each other more than a hundred leagues. That of the Tamaroas alone numbers three hundred cabins. Now all these nations unite and come here to settle. The village of Matchinkoa of three hundred fires (each fire includes two families) is thirty leagues from the fort, to which it also has come, and a part of the Emissourites, the Peanghichea, Kolatuca, Megancockia, Melomelinoia, which together form a village of two to three hundred fires; I have established their fields at four leagues from the fort. The Oiatenon, to the number of five cabins have now come in, having left their villages in my company. For that matter several of these nations have given me their children to be brought up in the French manner. Some of them and these of the most distant nations already speak French. They will be of excellent service as interpreters, and to make peace with their tribes.

I have one of the Pana nation who live more than two hundred leagues to the west, on one of the branches of the Mississippi, and there inhabit two villages one near the other. They are neighbors and allies of the Gattacka and Manrhoat, who are south of their villages, and who sell horses which they steal apparently from the Spaniards of New Mexico. These horses I hope may prove of great service to us. These savages use them in their wars, in the hunt, and in the transport of all kinds of things, are not accustomed to stable them, but leave them to rest outside even in the snow, and give them no other nourishment than their pasturage. Horses of this kind must be of great endurance and strength, since I am told that they carry the meat of two beeves, which weighs more than one thousand pounds. What leads me to think that they get these horses from the Spaniards, is that although they are wholly naked, they use when on horseback a tanned leather seat which they make themselves. This little Pana, sixteen to seventeen years old, and who understands French, says that there are stones, in his country, which I take to be turquoises. I have one similar; but he has also given me another piece of information which greatly pleases me that he has seen the pilot of the bark which was lost in the lake of Islinois and one of the sailors, whom he described to me so particularly that I can have no doubt on the subject, who were taken with their four comrades in the river Mississippi, going up to the Nadouessiou in bark canoes; that the four others were killed and eaten, which fate

the pilot escaped by firing off one of the grenades which they had stolen from the boat, and giving them to understand that, if his life and that of his comrade were spared, he would destroy with others similar, the villages of the enemies of their captors. These savages the next spring carried these Frenchmen to the village of the Missouriites, whither they went to conclude a peace, and the pilot at their request then fired off a grenade in the presence of the little Pana who was then there. It appears that these rogues counselled thereto by my enemies, had formed a design to sink the bark and go up by way of the Mississippi to join du Luth, who was among the Nadouessiou, after taking the best of the goods which it contained to exchange for beaver and to come out by way of the North Bay among the English if their affairs turned out badly. This is more than probable, as the aforesaid La Rivière of Tours who deserted me to follow the said du Luth, was in the bark where I had left him, after recapturing him. They could not have taken this route without passing by the house of the Bay Jesuits, who always pretended an entire ignorance on the subject and wished, . . . . .

of *... Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'ouest et dans le sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale, etc., Pierre Margry. Deuxième partie. Paris, 1877.*

#### WASHINGTON'S REAL ESTATE

*Mount Vernon, April 2, 1784.*—The subscriber would lease about 30,000 acres of Land on the Ohio and Great Kanhawa, for which he has had patents

ten or twelve years: ten thousand of these, in three tracts, lie upon the Ohio, between the mouths of the two Kanhawas, having a front up on the river of fifteen miles, and beautifully bordered by it; the remaining twenty thousand acres, in four other surveys, lie upon the Great Kanhawa, from the mouth, or near it, upwards: these four tracts together have a margin upon that river, by which it is bounded, of more than forty miles.

After having said thus much of the land, it is almost superfluous to add, that the whole of it is river low grounds of the first quality; but it is essential to remark, that a great deal of it may be converted into the finest mowing ground imaginable, with little or no labour, nature and the water stops which have been made by the beaver having done *more* to effect this, than years of hard labour in most other rich soils; and that the land back of these bottoms must forever render the latter uncommonly profitable for stock, on account of the extensiveness of the range, as it is of a nature, being extremely broken, not to be seated or cultivated.

These lands may be had on three tenures—First, until January 1795, and no longer—Second until January 1795, renewable every ten years forever—Third, for nine hundred and ninety-nine years.

*The Rents, Conditions and Privileges are as follows:*

*First,* An exemption from rent three years, upon condition, that five acres for every hundred, and proportionably for a greater or lesser quantity, contained in the lease, shall, within that space, be cleared and tilled, or in order for the latter, and a house fit for the comforta-



ble accommodation of the tenant erected on the premises.

*Second,* That before the expiration of the term of the leases of the first tenure, or the first ten years of those of the second and third, a dwelling house of brick or stone, or of framed work, with a stone or brick chimney, and a good barn, suited to the size of the tenement, shall be built thereon; an orchard of good fruit, to consist of as many trees as there are acres specified in the lease planted and inclosed; and five acres for every hundred, and proportionably for a greater or less quantity, improved into meadow; which, or the like quantity, shall always be retained for mowing.

*Third,* The land to be accurately measured to each grantee, who will be allowed to take (in regular form with an extension back proportioned to the front of the river) as much as his inclination and ability may require; which quantity shall be secured to him and his heirs, by a lease in the usual form, with proper clauses, binding on landlord and tenant, for performances of covenants.

*Fourth,* A Spanish milled dollar of the present coin, shall pass in payment for six shillings, and other gold and silver in that proportion.

*Fifth,* The staple commodity, or other article of produce (for the greater ease and convenience of the tenant) may be substituted in lieu of money-rent on the leases, if the parties, at or before the first rent shall become due, can agree upon a medium value for it.

*Sixth,* If the exigency or policy of the state in which these lands lie, should at any time impose a tax upon them, or

their appendages, such tax is to be borne by the tenant.

*Seventh,* These conditions, &c. being common to the leases of the three different tenures, the rent of the first will be *Four Pounds* per annum for every hundred acres contained in the lease, and proportionably for a greater or lesser quantity. Of the second, *One Shilling* for every acre contained in the lease, until the year 1795; *one Shilling and sixpence* for the like quantity afterwards, until the year 1805; *Two Shillings* afterwards until the year 1815—and the like increase per acre for every ten years, until the rent amounts to and shall have remained at *Five Shillings*, for the ten years next ensuing; after which it is to increase *Threepence* per acre every ten years forever. Of the third, *Two Shillings* for every acre therein contained, at which it will stand for 999 years, the term for which it is granted.

The situation of these lands are not only pleasant, but in any point of view in which they can be considered, must be exceedingly advantageous; for if the produce of the country, according to the ideas of some, should go down the Mississippi, they are nearly as convenient for that transportation, having the stream without any obstruction not descend, as those which are now settling about the falls of the Ohio and upon Kentucky; to the choice of which, among other reasons, people were *driven* by the grants to the officers and soldiers of which these are part in the upper country, and from the impracticability of obtaining lands in extensive bodies elsewhere: if it should come by

way of Fort Pitt to Potomack (which is the most natural) or to the Susquehanna; by the Great Kawhawa to James River or by the lakes Erie and Ontario to New York, they are infinitely more so; being, according to Hutchins's table of distances, 422 miles (all of which is against the stream) nearer to those markets than the settlements last mentioned; and what in the present situation of things, is a matter of no trifling consideration, no other claims can interfere with these, patents having been long granted for the land, and the property of it well known; and, besides, by lying on the southeast side of the Ohio, can give no jealousy to the Indians: the proprietors of it therefore may cultivate their farms in peace and fish, fowl and hunt without fear or molestation. Although I do not lay any stress upon it, the presumption being, that the Indians, during the late war, have laid all *in ruins*: yet it is on record in the courts of Botetourt and Fincastle (in which counties the land did lie) that buildings, meadows, and other improvements, which were made thereon in the years 1774 and 1775, designedly for the accommodation of tenants, cost the subscriber, as appears by the oaths of sworn assessors (conformably to the directions of an act of the assembly of Virginia, for seating and cultivating new lands), 1568  $\text{£}$  18 s 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d, equal to 1961  $\text{£}$  3s 3d Maryland, Pennsylvania or Jersey currency.

These lands being peculiarly well adapted for small societies, who may incline to be detached and retired; any such applying in a body, or by their pastors or agents, shall have every assist-

ance and encouragement which can with convenience and propriety be given, by

G. WASHINGTON.

N. B. I expect to be in Philadelphia during the first week in May next. I have been full in description and terms, to prevent the trouble and expence which might attend fruitless enquiries.

G. W.

*Pennsylvania Packet, April 27, 1784.*

To be Let to the highest Bidder for the Term of Ten Years on Wednesday the 25th of September next, on the Premises, to be entered upon at Christmas or sooner if the Crops can be disposed of, the Plantation or Farm on which Mr. Gilbert Simpson, the Copartner, now lives, lying in the county of Fayette, state of Pennsylvania, commonly called and known, by the name of *Washington's Bottom*. The Lot contains 600 acres (part of a large tract), but may, if it should be found more convenient be divided into two tenements: it is near the river Yohiogany, and on the great road leading from Virginia and Maryland to Pittsburgh, distant from the latter about 35 miles. Appertaining to this lot are about 150 acres of cleared lands in meadow, pasture and tillage, under good fencing, a good dwelling house, kitchen, barn, stable and other necessary buildings, 120 bearing apple trees, &c. The quality of the soil is inferior to none in that country, and the situation advantageous for a tavern.

At the same Time and Place will be sold, the *Stock*, which is large, of Horses, Cattle, Sheep and Hogs; and the Ne-

groes, for the ensuing year hired, or otherwise disposed of. Bond, with approved security, will be required, and twelve months credit given without interest; provided the principal is punctually paid, at or before the expiration of the year, otherwise to bear interest from the date of the bond.

A Merchant-Mill on another part of the tract, distant about a mile from the above farm, will be let on the same day to the highest bidder, for a Term of Years: this Mill is near the river, but not exposed to freshes, works two pair of stones in a large stone house, has bolting cloths and other conveniences for manufacturing; it was built by the famous Dennis Stephens, and grinds incredibly fast; grain may be received, and flour transported to all parts of that country by water. The subscriber, or an agent properly authorized to transact the business in his behalf, will be on the premises at the time of sale.

G. WASHINGTON.

*Mount Vernon, June 24, 1784.*

At the time and place aforesaid, will be Let to the highest Bidder for the Term of Ten Years, a *Lot of Land* at, and including the Great Meadow, or larger part of it, situate on the main road from Fort Cumberland to Pittsburgh, and about half way between the two. On this lot there either is, or ought to be some improvements, and it is calculated to receive very many, being one of the best stands on the whole road for an inn.

At Bath, in the County of Berkclay, on Tuesday, the 7th of September next, will be Let to the highest Bidder, for

the term of eleven Years, a small *Peninsula*, or *Neck of Land*, (formed by a bend of the river) containing 240 acres; near 200 of which is rich low ground. This land is situate on Potowmack river, and bounded thereby 400 poles, 12 miles above the Springs, or town of Bath, aforesaid; which place affords a ready market for grain and smaller produce of a farm; whilst it is become highly probable, that the navigation of the river will be so far improved, as to render water transportation easy and cheap for the heavier and more bulky ones. There are improvements on the place.

G. W.

*Pennsylvania Packet, July 10, 1784.*

#### NOTES

AN ORDERLY BOOK OF THE BRADDOCK EXPEDITION.—In the Library of Congress there are two small quarto volumes in manuscript, entitled Major-General Braddock's Orderly Book, Nos. 1 and 2. They appear to have belonged to Washington, who was Aid to General Braddock in the campaign of 1755. The first two pages of the 1st volume read:

"What immediately follows is the orders of his Excellency General Braddock, from his arrival in Virginia until the 17th of June following; when indisposition obliged the writer or copier thereof to separate from him and remain (until he was in a condition to move forward again) with the rear division of the Army. Rejoining, in a low and enfeebled state, only the day before the action of Monongalia (which happened on the 9th of July), there was not time if he

had been *able* to enter the orders that had issued during his separation, which is more to be regretted, as it is probable the order of battle and many other important orders were among them.

"He did, however, as may be seen by a letter to Capt. Orne, dated the 28th day of July, request a Copy of these orders, but as they never were sent, they cannot be inserted."

The first order is dated at Williamsburg, Feb. 26, 1755, and is directed to the Commanding officer of each ship as to their proceeding "upon their arrival in Hampton Roads." The last order in the first book was issued from the Camp at the Grove, Wednesday, June 11, 1755, and begins with instructions "to Capt. Rutherford and Capt. Gates Independent Company's," and all the American troops, to be under Arms immediately at the head of their respective encampments.

The second volume is a continuation of the first, beginning, Camp at the Grove, Thursday, June 12, 1755; the last order is dated from the Camp at the Little Meadows, Tuesday, June 17, 1755, and contains marching orders for the detachment under Lt. Col. Gage. Capt. Gates was with this detachment. The volume closes with the following in the handwriting of Washington.

"N. B.—After the orders in this and the Book preceding it are transcribed, leave six pages blank for insertion of the Commn. of G. W——n and the proceedings which intervene between the defeat of Genl. Braddock and the resumption of the Command by G. W——. Next the Letters, Instructions and Orders in the order they appear in the Parch-

ment Covered Book are to be transcribed."

EDITOR.

NEWPORT CERAMICS.—Residents of New York City have been instructed and amused for many years by the correspondent of the Evening Post residing at Newport. One of his letters contained a description of rare pieces of old china-ware preserved in that ancient town. Perhaps the following item from a Colonial newspaper may throw some light on the source of supply: "*Newport, R. I., May 17, 1745.*—Last Wednesday Night arriv'd here Capt. Dennis, in one of our Privateers, and brought in with him a Spanish Ship, and was bringing in two more, but off the Havanna he fell in with two large Spanish Men of War, which took them from him, and he narrowly escaped himself. They have already taken out of this Prize 30,000 Dollars, and have found a Case of wrought Plate that will weigh some thousand Ounces. Her other cargo is very valuable, consisting of many Tons of Copper plates, and a *great Quantity of Valuable China*. The Spanish Captain says the Cargo is of much greater value than the money."

PETERSFIELD.

HARD TIMES IN BOSTON.—*Extract of a private letter from Boston, June 17, 1750.* Trade is quite dead, the Town is dull and still as on a Sunday; full of Goods, but no Money to buy; less Paper than formerly, by 500,000*l.* of our own Province Bills, besides those of the other Governments that used to pass

here, and not so much Silver stirring as we had before the Treasury was open'd. Not a Dollar has come to my Share yet; all Countenances dull; we curse one another, especially those are cursed who were for the Act. Nobody lays out a Penny, but for meer Necessity; and in a few Months' Time there will not be a Shilling passing. As soon as the Dollars come out, they are shipp'd for London, New York, Philadelphia or Hispaniola, or laid up to worship. What a deplorable picture is here! W. K.

—  
AN INDIAN RECEPTION.—We were then (23 June, 1687) a half league distant from the Cadodaguious. One of our Indians went to give them notice of our arrival. They came to meet us, the chief mounted on a fine grey mare.

This chief showed us great kindness on his arrival. We explained to him that we did no harm to any one unless we were first attacked. We made him smoke, after which he made signs to us to follow him, and we arrived with him at the border of a river, where this savage chief made us signs that we should wait while he went to give the old men notice.

Soon after a band arrived, who, joining us, gave us to understand that they had come to carry us to their village. Our Savages made signs to us that this was the custom of the country, and that we must submit to it, and let them do as they wished. Although this ceremony was embarrassing to us, seven of the most important presented to us their backs or shoulders. M. Cavellier, as the chief, was the first who mounted, and the others followed his example.

As for me [Joutel], who am of small size, and was, moreover, laden with clothes, a gun, two pistols, lead, powder, a kettle, and various pieces of wearing apparel, certainly I weighed as much as the man who carried me could well support, and as I was taller than he, and my legs would have touched the ground, two other Savages held me up. Thus I had three persons to carry me. Other Savages took our horses and led them, and in this ridiculous fashion we arrived at the village. The men who had carried us, and who had come more than a quarter of a league, needed rest, and we were anxious to be rid of the men who carried us to laugh at them behind their backs, for we had to take good care not to do so before them.

As soon as we had arrived at the cabin of the Chief (of the Cadodaguious), where we found more than two hundred persons, who had come to look at us, and after our horses were unladen, the old men gave us to understand that it was their habit to wash all strangers on their arrival, but as we were dressed, they would only wash our faces, which one of the old men did with some clear water which he had in a sort of jar, only washing our foreheads.

After this second ceremony, the chief made signs to us to sit down on a kind of small scaffold, raised about four feet above the earth, made of wood and cane, which done, the chiefs of the villages, to the number of four, approached, and harangued us, one after the other. We listened to them in patience, although we did not understand what they were saying, quite weary, not only with their length, but still more with

the heat of the sun, which fell directly upon us.

These harangues finished, which were for no other purpose than to assure us that we were welcome, we made them understand that we were going to our country with the design of soon returning, and bringing with us such kinds of merchandize as they stood in need of.

We then made them the usual present of hatchets, knives, colored beads, together with needles and pins for their women, telling them that when we returned we should bring them more.—*Margry's French Discoveries and Settlements in the West and South of North America.* III, 404. J. A. S.

GILBERT LIVINGSTON'S FLOWING WALL OF ADAMANT.—Gilbert Livingston, a delegate from Dutchess County to the New York Federal Convention, assembled at Poughkeepsie, 1788, remarked (June 24th) in the course of debate on the first paragraph of the third section relating to Senators: "What will be their situation in a federal town? Hallowed ground! Nothing so unclean as State laws to enter there; surrounded, as they will be, by an impenetrable wall of adamant and gold; the wealth of the whole country flowing into it."—Here a member, who did not fully understand, called out, what Wall the gentleman meant? On which he turned and replied: "A wall of gold—of adamant, which will flow in from all parts of the continent." At which flowing metaphor a great laugh was raised in the Convention.

Chancellor Robert R. Livingston of New York City said in reply: "All the

arguments drawn from an imaginary prospect of corruption have little weight with me. From what source is this corruption to be derived? One gentleman tells you that this dreadful Senate is to be surrounded by a wall of adamant—of gold, and that this wall will be a liquid one, and to flow in from all quarters. Such arguments as these seem rather to be the dreamings of a distempered fancy than the cool, rational deductions of a deliberate mind. Whence is this corruption to be derived? Are the people to corrupt the Senators with our gold? Is bribery to enter the federal city with the amazing influx of adamant, the gentleman so pathetically contemplates?" S.

RIGHT OF SEARCH, 1739.—Verses occasioned by the Report that the Spaniards are to have the Liberty to search the British Ships, if found within two Leagues of their Coasts in America.

How wou'd our Neighbors sneer at this strange Scene:

What, Spaniards search the Master of the Main!  
When that Day comes, no more let Britain boast  
Her ancient Courage and her Naval Host:

Let her 200 Ships in Harbour rot,  
And all her Sea Atchievements be forgot;  
Pretend henceforth to Sovereignty no more,  
But seek Protection from some Foreign Pow'r

Thus should the Nation act, who, tho' she might

With Ease compel the Foe yet fears to fight,  
And, 'stead of venging Wrongs, gives up her Right.

*London Newspaper*, 1739. W. K.

ALLAN RAMSAY AND JOHN SMIBERT.—*For the Morning Herald*:—Mr. Editor, The papers having mentioned the death of Allan Ramsay, Esqr, Portrait Painter

to his Majesty, it put me in mind of a letter in my possession, which was written by his father, the famous Scotch Bard, to Mr. John Smibert, a Portrait Painter, who left England with Dean Berkley, afterwards Bishop of Cloyne, to settle in Bermudas; that project miscarried, Mr. Smibert went to Boston, married, and died.

As the letter gives some account of Mr. Ramsay in his youth, it may serve to illustrate any future anecdotes of English artists, and not be unexceptionable to both painters and poets.

I am, Sir,

Your most obliged servant,

JOHN GREENWOOG.

*Leicester Square, Aug. 24, 1784.*

To Mr. John Smibert, in Boston, New England.

My dear old Friend, Your health and happiness are ever ane addition to my satisfaction. God make your life ever easy and pleasant—half a century of years have now row'd o'er my pow, that begins now to be lyart, yet, thanks to my author, I eat, drink, and sleep as sound as I did twenty years syne; yes, I laugh heartily too, and find as many subjects to employ that faculty upon as ever; fools, fops and knaves grow as rank as formerly, yet here and there are to be found good and worthy men, who are ane honour to humane life. We have small hopes of seeing you again in our old world; then let us be virtuous, and hope to meet in heaven. My good auld wife is still my bedfellow; my son Allan has been pursuing your science since he was a dozen years auld—was with Mr. Hyssing at London for some time, about

two years ago; has been since at home, painting here like a Raphael—sets out for the seat of the Beast, beyond the Alps, within a month hence—to be away about two years. — I'm sweer to part with him, but canna stem the current which flows from the advice of his patrons, and his own inclinations.—I have three daughters, one of 17, one of 16, one of 12 years old, and no re-wayl'd dragle among them, all fine girls. These six or seven years past I have wrote not a line of poetly; I e'en gave o'er in good time, before the coolness of fancy that attends advanced years should make me risk the reputation I had acquired.

Frae twenty-five to five and forty,  
My muse was nowther sweer nor dorty;  
My Pegasus wad break his tether,  
E'en at the shagging of a feather,  
And throw ideas scour like drift,  
Streaking his wings up to the lift,  
Then, then my saul was in a low,  
That gart my numbers safely row,  
But eild and judgment gin to say,  
Let be your sangs, and learn to pray.

I am, Sir, your friend and servant,

ALLAN RAMSAY.

*Edinburgh, May 10, 1736.* W. K.

THE BOGERT FAMILY.—From memoranda of Miss A. B. of Hackensack, N. J.

Cornelius Bogert, my grandfather, son of Nicholas and Alida (Ritzema) Bogert, says in a letter, dated 1847:—"Our house in Broadway, built about 187 years ago, in which Alida, myself, John and James were born, has now been pulled down to erect a more magnificent store. It was on the west side of Broadway between Liberty and Cedar Streets. This being the house of his daughter,

Dominic Ritzema, was doubtless often there, during his New York pastorate. The Asia man-of-war, when bombarding New York, fired a ball right through this house, which shot across the bed where lay Alida Ritzema Bogert and her son Cornelius, then a babe."

Two sons of Nicholas Bogert and Maria Quick, his first wife, (his second being Alida Ritzema) were patriot soldiers in New Jersey, during the Revolution. Both lost their lives in the service, one being drowned, by foul means as was supposed, and the other shot in the battle of Springfield, 1780. To this we add a paragraph in the words of Miss B.: "My father's eldest full brother, David Ritzema Bogert, scouted down to Hoboken, and we have a Scotch broadsword, taken by him from a British cavalry soldier in an orchard. My uncle was in a tree and covered him with his musket until he threw down sword and pistols, and was then allowed to ride away. The pistols, I think, are all in possession of some of our family."

W. H.

MASSACHUSETTS REPENTANCE.—*Boston in New England, November 13, 1727.* The late dreadful Earthquake was felt at Guilford in Connecticut Colony, 160 Miles from this Place, where it was so violent that it shook down a Chimney, threw open the Doors of the Ministers House, tolled a Bell, removed Blocks in the Chimney Corner, and a Chest about the Floor, and shook the Houses to a great Degree; the Shock lasted about a Minute. A considerable Town in this Province has been so awaken'd by this awful Providence, that the Women have

generally laid aside their Hoop Petticoats. PETERSFIELD.

THE MOUND-BUILDERS.—Since my article on the mound-builders appeared (II. 533) there has come into my possession, through Mr. J. P. Butler, a well-known lawyer of Saratoga Springs, another copper spear, precisely similar to those given in the September number. It was picked up, two feet below the surface, in a field belonging to Elijah M. Rounds, in the town of Schroom, between Schroom and Paradox Lakes. I take occasion to add, that I have lately learned from Mr. Parish that he took the pipe, account of which I also gave, from a mound, and not from a simple flat grave. WILLIAM L. STONE.

*Jersey City Heights.*

WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS AT VALLEY FORGE.—The house which Washington occupied during the winter of 1777 was built in 1759 by John Potts of Pottstown, Pa., and left by him to his son Isaac Potts, who sold it in 1805 to Joseph Paul, who subsequently sold it to James Jones in 1826, in whose family possession it still remains. IULUS.

WHAT'S IN A NAME.—Died in Somers, Connecticut, the widow Mary Sexton, aged 91 years; she practiced midwifery 55 years, and by her records she was at the birth of 1000 children; she was the mother of 11.—*N. Y. Evening Post, June 12, 1806.* PETERSFIELD.

THE GRAVE CREEK MOUND.—There having been some misconception as to the opinions entertained, concerning this



so-called discovery, by the International Congress of Americanists, which met at Nancy in 1875, a formal declaration was made on its behalf at the late session at Luxembourg, "that the Americanists met at Nancy neither admit the version of Mr. Luy-Bing (who asserted the true character of the mound), nor the authenticity of the inscription, nor the existence on the soil of pre-Columbian America of any semitic element." The question may now be considered as settled, and the genuineness of the inscription condemned.

EDITOR.

#### QUERIES

THE PLAN OF CHARLESTON.—Rousseau in his confessions, Part I. Book V. (1732-1736) says: "My uncle Bernard had some years before crossed over to the Carolinas to build the city of Charleston, the plan of which he had given. He died there soon after."

Gabriel Bernard, as Rousseau elsewhere in the same volume says, was the brother of his mother. He was an engineer, and had served in the Empire and in Hungary under Prince Eugene. He distinguished himself at the siege and in the battle of Belgrade. Later he was employed on the fortifications of Geneva, where Jean Jacques was under his guardianship.

Is anything known of his residence at Charleston or of the plan?

J. A. S.

EARLY IMPROVEMENT IN NAVIGATION.—Joseph Morgan petitioned the General Assembly of New York, May 28, 1714, "That he had invented a Machine,

whereby to row a ship or boat with much swiftness against wind and tide, praying leave to bring in an act, to entitle said Morgan to the sole benefit of said invention for a certain number of years."

The house ordered that leave be given to bring in a bill according to the prayer of the petition; there the matter rested; no bill was offered nor further mention of the inventor occurs in the journals.

Information is wanted as to the existence of the original petition, or any details in regard to the machine or its inventor.

W. K.

COOPER'S HISTORY OF THE WESTERN COUNTIES OF NEW YORK.—In his *View of the United States*: Newcastle-upon-Tyne, [1819] Mackenzie quotes a "*History of the First Settlements in the Western Counties of New York*," by "the late Judge Cooper." Is such a book now extant?

G. H. M.

STINKING-LINGO INDIANS.—A letter written from Charleston, S. C., October 17, 1759, after describing an attempt to murder the Hon. Mr. Atkin, who was giving a "grand talk" to the Creek Indians at Tuckabatches Town, contains the following paragraph: "I am just now informed that the fellow who struck Mr. Atkin is a Stinking-Lingo Indian, though he lived in the Cussitan Town; that Mr. Atkin would never admit him or shake hands with him; and that the first blow was made when Mr. Atkin was at that period of his talk relating to the taking away the trade from the Stinking-Lingo people. The assassin's Indian name is Huthleypoa (enemy hunter).

What was the proper name of this

tribe, where were they located and what caused this odd name to be applied to them ?

PETERSFIELD.

COL. JOHN BUTLER.—Was Colonel John Butler, who commanded the British forces at Wyoming, July 3, 1778, a native of New England ? If so, where was he born ? or was he a native of Old England ?

B. C. S.

NEW YORK EMIGRATION SOCIETY.—We have in our hands a circular of this Society, dated May 22, 1794, and we learn from the appendix of the New York Directory of that year that a meeting was held in this city on that day, at which it was "*Resolved*, that from the great increase of emigration from Europe to the United States, it is expedient to form such a Society," which was accordingly then instituted. Its objects were humane, and philanthropic, and specially for "affording information and encouragement to emigrants on their first arrival, &c." The chief practical feature of the Society was a Committee of Conference and Correspondence, to be elected by ballot every six months. It was to meet every Saturday evening at 8 o'clock in Water street, near Crane's wharf. The first committee consisted of the following prominent citizens: Melancton Smith, corner of Dover and Cherry streets; Dr. Dingley, corner of Ferry and Gold streets; Orange Webb, 162 Water street; Dr. Mitchell, Columbia College; Alexander Cuthill, corner of Nassau and Market streets; James Lee, 142 Pearl streets; Levi Wayland (also Secretary), bookseller, 151 Water street. The President was William Sing,

merchant, 138 Pearl street, a member of the New York Chamber of Commerce.

Possibly our circular may be the only surviving original one of this Society. How long did it continue ? W. H.

## REPLIES

CHASTELLUX MEMOIRS.—(I. 258, 329.) Referring to the April number of 1877, where the inquiry is made if there is a copy in this country of the edition printed on board the French squadron off Newport in 1780, and to my reply in the next number, which notes that Mr. Sumner's copy was not found with his books when they were received by Harvard College, I now observe by the title of the book in the Harvard Library Bulletin, No. 6 (for 1st June, 1878), p. 175, that the copy seems to have been found, as a transcript is given of manuscript notes in it, with other matter. Perhaps the work is rare enough to make it worth your while to print the title, notes and all, as given in the Bulletin. In case this is thought proper, I append the same:

"[CHASTELLUX, François Jean, *Marquis de*]. Voyage de Newport à Philadelphie [*sic*], Albany, &c. Newport, *de l'imprimerie royale de l'escadre* [1780.] small 40. *Vign.*"

At the top of the title-page is written, "A Mr. Sumner, souvenir de Paris. Ed. Laboulaye." Under the title is another manuscript note, reading: "Cette relation qui n'a été tirée qu'à 24 exemplaires, dont 10 ou 12 seulement sont parvenus en Europe, et qui fut imprimée à bord de l'Escadre de Rhode Island, est de Mr. le Marquis de Chastellux, et a été reim-

primée dans ses *Voyages dans l'Amérique Septentrionale*. Paris 1788, 2 vol. in 8°. (2me Ed'on). C'est une rareté bibliographique. Ed. Laboulaye."

This is the first edition of the author's work, entitled "*Voyage dans l'Amérique Septentrionale*." See Quérard's "*La France*" litt., II, 147, and the "*Avertissement de l'imprimeur*" in the subsequently published edition of the book, Paris, 1786; also translated in the London edition, 1787.

Boston.

SAMUEL A. GREEN.

COL. JOHN LASHER.—(I. 129, 261.) This brave officer died at New York City February 22, 1806, aged 83 years. His funeral took place from the residence of Henry Mesterton, an attorney at law, No. 46 Beekman street. H. S.

MELLEN FAMILY.—(I. 260.) An inquiry was made some months since in this Magazine concerning this family, genealogically. A venerable lady in this city of that name before marriage gives us the following items:

Col. James Mellen, her grandfather, of New Braintree, Mass., was a Revolutionary officer. He married a daughter of Jonathan Russell, sister of Rev. John Russell of New Braintree. Their children were Dr. David of Hudson, N. Y.; William of Pittsfield, Mass., who married Lucretia, daughter of Dr. Perez Marsh of Dalton, Mass., and James, who removed West. The children of William Mellen were as follows: 1. Lovett; 2. John S.; 3. Christopher M.; 4. William H.; 5. Elizabeth, who married Timothy Kellogg of New York city; 6. Mary W., who married Samuel Leeds of New

York city; 7. Martha, who married Joseph Benjamin, of Carbondale, Pa.; 8. Charlotte, who married Wm. W. Pinneo, of Elizabeth, N. J. Their family residence was for many years Hudson, N. Y. W. H.

GEN. JOHN BEATTY.—(I. 373.) The following remarks on the removal of General Beatty from the office of Secretary of State of New Jersey by the Democratic Legislature appears in the Trenton *Federalist* of November, 1805: "General Beatty was early distinguished by his attachment to American Liberty. He held a Colonel's commission in the Continental Army in the year '76, and was among the few gallant adherents of the great Washington after the unsuccessful battle of Long Island and during the succeeding gloomy period in our revolutionary history. As Secretary, it was justly observed by Judge Anderson, that the State never had a better, never had so good an officer. He found the public records in the utmost confusion—he has left them in the best possible state of order. For two years past he has received little or no compensation for his services, and now his office is taken from him and given to another [James Linn], already holding an appointment worth a thousand or fifteen hundred dollars a year."

TRENTON.

THE FOUR KINGS OF CANADA.—(II. 151, 313, 371, 503.) *Extract of a letter from "Trent Town," New Jersey, dated April 18, 1755.* "The antient King of the Mohawks (the same who was in England in Queen Anne's Time) came

down with some of his Warriors this Winter to Philadelphia, and assured them of his Friendship, though he own'd many of the young Mohawks were gone over to the Enemy. They were entertained at the Stadt house, and made their Appearance also among the Ladies on the Assembly Night, where they danced the Scalping Dance with all its Horrors, and almost terrified the Company out of its Wits. I must tell you they brought with them a beautiful young Lady, who in publick made the Indian compliment, a Tendre of her Person to the Governor; as gallant a Man as he is, he was quite confounded at that Time. I know not if he accepted her."

PETERSFIELD.

PROPHCY OF THE GREATNESS OF AMERICA.—(II. 557.) The verses quoted by Newport are from an ode entitled *The Muse Recalled*, written March 6, 1781, by Sir William Jones.

PETERSFIELD.

PLANS AND FORTS IN AMERICA.—(II. 566.) Rich's *Bibliotheca Americana Nova* gives the date of the first publication as 1763, and states that the plates, thirty in number, were engraved by R. Andrews. The title page was changed probably after the death of the compiler, John Rocque, the date altered to 1765, and the name of Mary Ann Rocque, as publisher, added. On the first map, one of New York City, the change of date from 1762 to 1763 is quite evident.

John Rocque was the well-known compiler of a *Plan of London*, 1748; *Map of ten miles around London*, 1749; *The Travellers' Assistant or Road Book*,

1763, an octavo, giving all the roads and cross-roads in the United Kingdom. One of his latest publications was a four-sheet *General Map of North America*.

BIBLION.

A TRAVELED MOHAWK.—(II. 440.) In the Magazine for July, 1878, I find an extract from the *Daily Advertiser*, August 6, 1788, with the above heading, signed J. A. S. The extract is (in part): "In the late vessel from France came passenger Peter Otsiquette, who, we are told, is a son to the King of the Six Nations, and whom the Marquis de la Fayette some time since sent to France to be educated," etc. I am not aware that the Six Nations, of which the Mohawks was one, ever had a king, although some of the tribal chiefs were designated Kings of their tribes by English writers—but it is the heading to the extract, "A Traveled Mohawk," I wish to criticise.

Peter Otsiquette was not a Mohawk, but was an Oneida chief. In an Act of the Legislature of New York, passed March 18, 1791 (Chap. XXXII), one thousand acres of land are directed to be set apart for the use of "Peter Otsequette of the Wolf Tribe of the Oneida Nation." This land was then in Herkimer County, now in Westmoreland, Oneida County. The writer remembers it as "Squaw Bush," a great place for berries in his boyhood days.

In an original document now before me, dated Oneida, December 6, 1788, signed by eleven Indians as "Oneida Chiefs," ten of whom, including the great Shonondoah and Colonel Lewey Cook, signed with their marks, I find

the well-written signature of Peter Otsquette. General La Fayette would hardly have taken a Mohawk chief to France, unless it were to test Dr. Guillotin's machine upon an Indian.

Utica, N. Y.

M. M. J.

COLONEL RITZEMA.—(II. 163, 312.) In his biographical sketch of this officer, Mr. Hall omits the statement relative to his discharge from arrest in July, 1776, to be found in the "General Orders from Head Quarters," under date, "New York, July the 17th, 1776," which is as follows: "The Court of Inquiry upon Col. Ritzema's conduct having reported that no other of the charges made against him were supported, except that of using disrespectful expressions of Brigadier-General Lord Sterling, and his Lordship having generously overlooked the personal affront offered him, the General orders that all further proceedings cease, and that Col. Ritzema be discharged from his arrest."

Brownsville, Pa.

H. E. H.

E PLURIBUS UNUM.—(II. 444, 568.) In the American Journal of Numismatics for 1870, Vol. V., p. 27, is a brief article by Dr. Samuel A. Green of Boston, which is entitled "Origin of E Pluribus Unum." Dr. G. says that the only expression similar to it to be found in the classics is in Virgil's *Morctum*, line 103, "e pluribus unus," and Horace, 2d Ep. 11. 212, "de pluribus una;" that it was for over one hundred years one of the mottoes of *The Gentleman's Magazine*, hence doubtless its origin on United States coins; that it is claimed that it was first suggested by

Mr. W. Barton of Philadelphia, 1782; that on the New York "doubloon," and one of the New York coppers of 1787, and one of the Washington cents of 1791, occurs the legend, "Unum e pluribus;" while on the "Immunis Columbia" of 1787, the New Jersey cent of 1786 and the Kentucky cent of 1791 it is "E pluribus unum," and also that it appeared for the first time on the national coinage of 1796.

H. E. H.

Brownsville, Pa.

#### BOOKS WANTED.

We beg to inform our subscribers that hereafter we shall devote so much of this column as may be necessary to a department of BOOKS WANTED. Through this medium collectors will be enabled to communicate with each other, and thus perhaps acquire books for which they have sought elsewhere in vain, or dispose of books for which they may have no further use. Collectors desiring to avail themselves of this column will please give their addresses in full, so that those who wish to communicate with them can do so directly, and not through us.

RATES, 30 cents a line of ten words. Advertisements must be accompanied by the cash in every instance.

A. S. BARNES & CO.

O. H. MARSHALL, Buffalo, N. Y.

St. John Hector (Crève Coeur) Letters from an American Farmer. Philadelphia. Matthew Carey. 1793.

J. SABIN & SONS, 84 Nassau Street, N. Y. City.

Burke's Virginia, 4 vols., 8vo, *uncut*.

Beverly's Virginia, *uncut*.

(Peters, S.) History of Connecticut, London edition, *uncut*.

Brereton's Virginia, 4to.

Bullock's Virginia, 4to.

Hamor's Virginia, 4to, original edition.

Weymouth's Voyage to Virginia, 4to.

Harriot's Virginia, London, 1588, 4to.

J. HOPE SUTOR, Lock Box 1088, Zanesville, O.

Has for sale or exchange for historical works, a copy of Knight's Shakespeare, Virtue & Yorston's Edition, 2 vols., 4to, illustrated and handsomely bound.

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

DÉCOUVERTES ET ÉTABLISSEMENTS  
DES FRANÇAIS DANS L'OUEST ET DANS LE  
SUD DE L'AMÉRIQUE SEPTENTRIONALE (1614-  
1754). Mémoires et Documents Originaux  
recueillis et publiés par PIERRE MARGRY.  
Troisième Partie (1669-1698), 8vo, pp. 656.  
Imprimerie de D. JOUAUST. Paris, 1878.

This is the third of a series, which we state by authority is to consist of six volumes, besides a folio atlas of maps. This publication is made under an Act of Congress passed March 3, 1873, which authorized the joint Committee on the Library to purchase and print a series of unpublished historical documents relating to the early French discoveries in the Northwest and on the Mississippi. The edition is limited to five hundred sets, but we learn from Mr. Margry that he contemplates issuing a second edition, with an introduction and notes, at his own cost.

The volume before us includes a table of the documents comprised in the three volumes already issued, all of which relate to the Expeditions of de La Salle, and the sources from which they were obtained, namely: the Archives of the Prefecture of Seine and Oise, the National Archives, the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Archives of the Minister of Marine and the Colonies, the Depot of Charts, Plans and Journals of the Marine, the Communications of M. the Abbé Failon, of the Abbé Ferland and of Mme. Em de Montruffet (the papers of the family of de La Salle).

In the pages of the volume before us, which are entitled A Search for the Mouths of the Mississippi, and a Voyage across the Continent, from the Coast of Texas to Quebec, 1669-1698, Chapter I. recites the demand of Louis XIV. of the right to navigate every sea, his threat of reprisals upon Spain should French vessels be attacked in the Gulf of Mexico, and the weakness and sufferings of the Spaniards in America. Chapter II. recites the proposal of La Salle, returned from the discovery of the Mississippi, descending from Canada, to find its opening into the Gulf of Mexico. He proposed there to establish the station desired by Colbert for the protection of French vessels. In time of war this settlement would favor the conquest of the rich countries bordering on the Mississippi. Chapter III. contains the offer made by the Comte de Peñalossa to settle the French on the Rio Bravo, and finally to conquer New Biscay, and the possibility of a combination of his prospects with those of La Salle. Chapter IV. contains the relations of the Abbé Bernou with the Count de Peñalossa and Cavalier de La Salle.

Chapter V. gives the account of Henri Joutel of the last expedition of La Salle, his departure from France and station at St. Domingo; the exploration of the Gulf of Mexico for the discovery of the Mississippi; the establishment of a colony on the coast of Texas; the discovery by M. de La Salle of the interior country as far as Ceniz; the assassination of the discoverer and of his nephew, Crevel de Montrenger; the fatal quarrel of the murderers. The Abbé Cavalier, Father Anastasius Douay, young Cavalier and Joutel continue to ascend the continent from Ceniz to Quebec. The return to France (24 July, 1684—8 December, 1688). Chapter VI. is composed of the last report and last letter of Cavalier de La Salle (1686-1687); the Procès-verbal drawn up by the discoverer before conducting his brother to the Mississippi. Chapter VII. gives the letters of Henri de Tonty upon what he had heard concerning M. de La Salle; the voyage he undertook in search of him, and his early departure to march against the Iroquois (1686-1689). Chapter VIII. describes the movements of the Spaniards on occasion of the supposed occupation of the Bay of Saint Esprit by the French (1686-1688). Chapter IX., the uneasiness in the metropolis concerning the fate of La Salle; the arrival there of the Abbé Jean Cavalier. Chapter X. is the Report of Jean Cavalier on the necessity of continuing the expedition of his brother (1690). Chapter XI. describes the stir among the enemies of La Salle at the arrival of the Abbé Jean Cavalier, and the manner in which they attacked the memory of the Discoverer when they learned of his death. Chapter XII. relates the fate of the colonists of La Salle's settlement at the Bay of St. Louis.

The reader will readily see the graphic interest of the documents which fill these twelve chapters. They abound in picturesque descriptions of country, accounts of the habits of the aborigines, who had never seen a white man until La Salle's adventurous expedition, and the romantic incidents which attended the journey across the continent. The Jesuits appear to have been the "sworn enemies" of de La Salle, whose independent character would not bend to their presumptuous dictation; and their persecution of Peñalossa, whom they seem to have stripped of his property and held banished from his country by their intrigues, corroborate the charge of an interference amounting to personal enmity. The anxiety in France at the fate of La Salle reminds us singularly of the universal sympathy for a long lost traveler on another continent. Even the Grand Monarque interested himself to know what had befallen his faithful servant.

The details of his murder, by some mutineers of his troop on a voyage of discovery to the Illinois country from the Texas coast, are recited with a simplicity which awaken personal feeling. We have already extracted many passages, and printed them for the benefit of our readers, and shall continue to select others, but we hope the entire series may soon be presented in an English dress.

**THE ATLANTIC ISLANDS AS RESORTS OF HEALTH AND PLEASURE.** By S. G. W. BENJAMIN. Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 274. HARPER & BROTHERS. New York, 1878.

This most readable work on the islands of the North Atlantic is specially intended for the traveling public. In its design and execution it reminds the foreign traveler of the inimitable Guides-Joane, which include history, romance and tradition, with practical advice concerning employment of time, places to be visited and the accommodation for man and beast.

Those islands have been alone selected for notice which are free from yellow fever and malaria. The Bahamas, Azores, Channel, Magdalen Islands, Madeira, Teneriffe, Newfoundland, the Bermudas, Belle Isle en Mer, Prince Edward's Island, the Isles of Shoals, Cape Breton Island and the Isle of Wight have chapters of their own, all copiously illustrated with scenes, figures and portraits, which at once familiarize the reader with the peculiarities of nature and life. A copious appendix, the author says, contains the pith of the book, conveying abundant information as to the attractions of each island for both invalids and sportsmen, sanitary statistics, the means of reaching these resorts, the hotels and the cost of living.

In these sea-girt abodes all conditions of health may be gratified.

**THE FEDERAL RELATIONS OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH EXAMINED IN LETTERS TO A VIRGINIA CHURCHMAN.** By G. W. RIDGELY. 8vo, pp. 144. CLAXTON, REMSEN & HAFPELFINGER. Philadelphia, 1878.

In this pamphlet those interested in the government of the Protestant Episcopal Church will find an argument, which Bishop Perry considers "an important contribution to the discussion of a subject which has occupied the minds of the most profound students of church constitution and polity from the time of the late Dr. Hawks to this day." In his preface, the author describes the American ecclesiastical tribunal to be a composite institution. Half court, half jury, it determines the deepest questions of law as well as the plainest issues of fact. He

allows that the judgments thus rendered are sometimes more distinguished for promptitude than wisdom; and that good men, required to discharge duties for which they are not qualified, become the victims of thoughtless ridicule and unmerited contempt.

In this the Reverend Doctor finds a noticeable difference between the mother church in England and her daughter in America. The former, we quote his words, seems to have connected the worst ecclesiastical legislation known to Protestant Christendom with (in some respect) the best ecclesiastical judiciary. He calls "her legislature the worst, because in ignominious vassalage to the State she allows her laws to be made in Parliament, and of course to be at the mercy of demagogues and politicians;" and he considers her judiciary the best, because these laws are interpreted by the most thoroughly trained legal minds in the kingdom.

The animadversion upon the demagogue tendencies of a British Parliament sounds strangely to our ears from an Episcopalian source. But for the connection of Church with State by the English establishment, and the large revenues it granted and secured to the Church, it is questionable whether it would have been able to maintain its supremacy in the United Kingdom.

**THE LIVES OF THE SIGNERS OF THE Declaration of Independence.** By N. DWIGHT, Esq. 12mo, pp. 373. A. S. BARNES & Co. New York, Chicago and New Orleans, 1876.

This is a new edition of a work first published in 1851, to supply in a cheap form a general knowledge of the distinguished men whose names are set to the declaration of American Independence. It is thus brought within the reach of the youth of the Republic.

**AB-SA-RA-KA, LAND OF MASSACRE,** being the Experience of an Officer's Wife on the Plains, with an outline of Indian Operations and Conferences, from 1865 to 1878. By Colonel HENRY B. CARRINGTON, U. S. A. 12mo, pp. 378. J. B. LIPPINCOTT & Co. Philadelphia, 1878.

This is the third edition of the narrative prepared in 1866 by Margaret Irvin Carrington at the suggestion of General Sherman, who recommended to her the preservation of a daily record of the events of her experience, by summer and winter, on the plains, and her visit to Absaraka, home of the Crows. This new edition contains a preface by Col. Carrington. The text is illustrated by sketches, portraits of Indians, costumes, and two maps, showing an outline of Indian operations on the plains.

**THE STUDENT'S COMMON-PLACE BOOK, A CYCLOPEDIA OF ILLUSTRATION AND FACT, TOPICALLY ARRANGED.** For the use of Students in every Department of English Literature, interleaved for additions. Volume I. English literature, with an Appendix, containing hints on the formation of a Student's Library, etc., etc. By HENRY J. FOX, D.D., Professor in the State University of South Carolina. 4to, pp. 133. A. S. BARNES & Co. New York, Chicago and New Orleans.

In this volume the author informs us that he gives the result of over thirty years of miscellaneous reading, arranged upon a plan suggested by Todd's Index rerum and Poole's Index to Periodical Literature. The first volume, interleaved with excellent paper, and fine head lines and side rulings for subject divisions, is strictly limited to English Prose Literature. There is no more excellent manner of securing the result of reading than by the regular jotting down of such passages as strike the judgment; but, on the other hand, the exercise of a ripe judgment is necessary. For this reason it is better to put in the hands of the youthful reader a well-made index for amplification and correction by annotation than to entrust the beginning of a Common-Place book to his own uninstructed efforts. We heartily commend this excellent volume, which we shall be glad to have always at our elbow.

**PARRY FAMILY RECORDS. PRIVATE** edition. With an Appendix, containing miscellaneous items. 8vo, pp. 40. Philadelphia, 1877.

This valuable edition to family genealogy is compiled by Richard Randolph Parry of Philadelphia, apparently as the base of a more extended history of the Parry family.

**A HISTORY OF MARYLAND, FROM ITS SETTLEMENT TO 1877, WITH THE CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE,** embellished with fine Engravings, for the use of schools. By HENRY ONDERDONK, Head Master of St. James. Fifth revised enlarged edition. 12mo, pp. 376. JOHN MURPHY & Co. Baltimore, 1878.

The favor with which the public has received this little volume has led the author to publish a new edition, and afforded opportunity for some additions, which will more thoroughly adapt it to the use of the class-room. The portion that relates to the period of the civil war has been re-written. This work has been adopted as a

text-book by the public schools of the city of Baltimore, and recommended by the State Board of Education for adoption by all the schools of the State. The Constitution of the State is appended.

**ANNUAL RECORD OF SCIENCE AND INDUSTRY FOR 1877.** Edited by SPENCER F. BAIRD, with the assistance of eminent men of science. 8vo, pp. 480. HARPER & BROTHERS, New York, 1878.

This volume, by the distinguished gentleman who has recently, after long service in the same line, succeeded the late Professor Henry in the direction of the Smithsonian Institution, is the seventh of a series commenced in 1871, as a continuation of the Annual of Scientific Discovery undertaken in 1850. The continuous record, therefore, covers a period of twenty-seven years—years replete with discoveries of the greatest importance. The matter is divided into subjects, as Astronomy, Physics of the Globe, Physics, Chemistry, Mineralogy, Geology, etc., each treated by the most eminent professors in each branch of inquiry. There are chapters upon agriculture and rural economy, which the farmer may examine with profit, and another on industrial statistics, which will interest a large class. A department of scientific bibliography, a record of necrology, in which are many well-known names, and a careful index complete this valuable and admirably arranged volume.

**AMERICAN COINAGE AND CURRENCY.** An Essay read before the Social Science Congress at Cincinnati, May 22, 1878, by DARBIN WARD. 8vo, pp. 20. ROBERT CLARKE & Co. Cincinnati, 1878.

The main object of this essay is to show that the volume of all currency, whether metal or paper, should be made self-regulating. The problem of specie resumption is not discussed, and the adoption of the system here recommended is not urged until after resumption shall have taken place. The subdivisions of the subject, as Measure of Value, Medium of Exchange, Self-regulating Volume, and Machinery of Paper Issue, show the method of treatment. The author takes what we believe to be sound views as to the necessary restriction of the issue of currency by Government authority, and of a Government supervision of such interference. He opposes the State bank system of issues, and believes with us that paper issues will be hereafter made by the authority of the Federal Government. We believe with him also that it will not be long before all issues will be made by the Federal Government directly. We en-



tirely agree with the author also that both metals should receive unrestricted coinage, but hold that the United States cannot well set itself against the general opinion of Christendom, that a single standard, and therefore one legal tender, is better than two.

With regard to the amount of paper currency which can be maintained with a certainty of convertibility into coin, we will formulate this plain axiom, which is practically that on which the British plan is founded, and will be carried on when the country bank issues lapse, and the only paper money of the United Kingdom shall be Bank of England notes—*i. e.*, the *minimum of circulation should be the maximum of issue*. The volume of paper being thus fixed, the flexibility of the circulating medium will be provided by the precious metals attracted to the country when money is dear, and leaving it when other countries offer more profitable employment.

We are glad to see such publications as this. They show the advance made in the study of the financial problem since the convulsion of five years ago.

**ZWEI GEDICHTE VON THEODOR KIRCHHOFF. DAS FELSBILD IM YOSEMITETHAL. PATTU UND LAVALETTA, Eine Indianersage vom Columbia. Two Poems by THEODORE KIRCHHOFF—The Rock Image of the Yosemite Valley. PATTU AND LAVALETTA, an Indian Legend of Columbia.**

These verses describe the natural scenery of the wonderful formation of the California Valley, with which the famous pictures of Bierstadt have made us all familiar, and the mountains of Pattu and Lavaletta, better known as Mount Hood and Mount St. Helens.

**THE WEST POINT CENTENNIAL.** Historic Oration, delivered at the Decoration of the Graves of the Immortal Heroes who lie in the National Cemetery at that memorable post, on Decoration Day, May 30, 1878, by Major HENRY C. DANE. 8vo, pp. 31. G. W. CARLETON & CO. New York, 1878.

The graves of the officers and soldiers who lie buried in the National Cemetery at West Point, were for the first time decorated this year. The summer visitor remembers the beautiful spot where rest the heroes of our several wars. Here are monuments to Kosciusko, who laid out the first defense of the post; to Sedgwick, the sturdy commander of the Sixth Corps; to the victims of the Florida war; to Anderson of Sumter memory,

and many another as brave and loyal, though less known to fame; to Scott, the conqueror of Mexico, and here, last of all, were laid away in honor the remains of the gallant Custer, the Bayard of American soldiery. *Requiescant in pace.*

**IN MEMORIAM WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT.** Funeral Oration by H. W. BELLOWES, D.D. 8vo, pp. 11. RELIGIOUS NEWSPAPER AGENCY. New York, 1878.

All that concerns the life of the greatest of American poets is of interest now that the national grief for his death is fresh and warm. In this sermon, preached over his body at All-Souls' Church, New York, by his city pastor, Dr. Bellows, will be found a careful analysis of his moral and mental nature.

**SOME OF THE DESCENDANTS OF LEWIS AND ANN JONES OF ROXBURY, MASS., THROUGH THEIR SON JOSIAH AND GRANDSON JAMES.** Compiled for the family by WILLIAM BLAKE TRASK. Printed for private distribution. 4to, pp. 75. Boston, 1878.

In this elegant volume is found a sketch of one of the innumerable branches of the family of Jones. That here described is descended from Lewis Jones, who, with his wife Anna, joined the church at Roxbury, Mass., in 1640. The conjunction of names sufficiently shows the Welsh origin of the early settler.

The value of the compilation for genealogical purposes is greatly increased by a full index.

**EARLY SETTLEMENT OF VIRGINIA AND VIRGINIOLA, AS NOTICED BY POETS AND PLAYERS IN TIME OF SHAKESPEARE.** With some Letters on the English Colonization of America never before printed. By Rev. EDWARD D. NEILL. 8vo, pp. 47. JOHNSON, SMITH & HARRISON. Minneapolis, 1878.

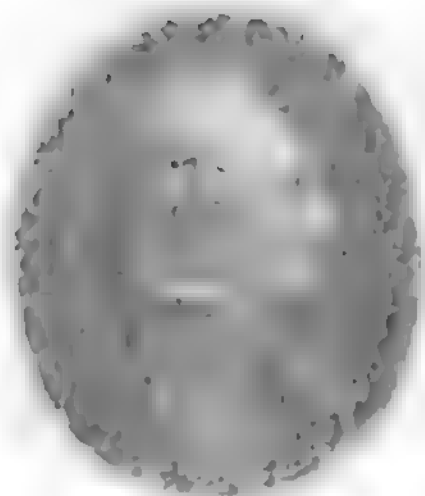
In this pamphlet the erudite author has collected a large number of early references to the American settlements. In *Eastward Ho* are allusions to the habits of the first Virginia emigrants; Drayton wrote an ode on the voyage of the expedition of the Virginia Company. Shakespeare made the vex'd Bermoothes forever famous by a touch of his pen, and the arrival of Gates and Newport from America was occasion for a complete poem. Some documents never before printed, illustrative of the English colonization of America, complete the volume.

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BEAUMARCHAIS





# MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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## THE LAST OF THE PURITANS

THE SEWALL DIARY

**T**HERE are two kinds of history—one written by historians and antiquarians, the other by the poet, the dramatist or the novelist. The latter seize the spirit and the essential truth of the past age and often present it, if not so accurately, more impressively and with more realistic force than any others. Who can doubt that the kings and queens, the lords and commons of England thought and acted and appeared as Shakespeare says they did? It is a constant source of surprise not to find the speeches which the poet has put into their mouths recorded in the national archives, and duly confirmed by unimpeachable contemporary documents. So, in New England, the history with which we are most familiar is that according to Nathaniel Hawthorne. Now dark and sombre, now warm and full of sunlight, always picturesque and imaginative, the story of the past, disconnected and uncertain, but yet vivid and real, has been woven by the hand of the enchanter to charm and fascinate all who listen. In Hawthorne's pages, the ancient Puritan society, austere and rigid, and the later colonial aristocracy, laced and powdered, live and move, a delight to the present generation. But over all alike, over grave and gay, over the forbidding and the attractive, the delicate and morbid genius of the novelist has cast an air of mystery. In these stories we live in an atmosphere of half-told secrets, which are so real that we cannot help believing that somewhere, in some musty records or in letters, yellow with time, we shall find answers to the questionings with which they fill our minds. Surely there must have been some one who had peeped beneath the black veil, who had known Maule and the Pynchons, who had seen the prophetic pictures, who could tell us what the little world of Boston said about Hester Prynne and little Pearl, about Arthur Dimmesdale and Roger Chillingworth. One cannot help looking on every page of New

England history for the characters of Hawthorne, and for an explanation of their lives. Disappointment always ensues, but hope is revived with each old manuscript that finds its way into print. This is especially the case with the Sewall diary, the publication of which has at last been undertaken by the Massachusetts Historical Society, and of which the present volume forms the first installment. This diary is the most important work of original authority in the whole range of New England history. Its existence has long been known, and historians have occasionally drawn upon its stores for evidence of isolated facts. But for the most part, even those who knew anything about it were only aware that it covered a long period in New England history, was written by a man of prominence, and was rich in details of daily life and personal experience. This long record of more than half a century covers a large part of the history of Massachusetts prior to the Revolution. The period embraced in the diary was, at first one of great political change, and afterwards of profound repose, and it is to this time that most of the traditions and doubtful stories of early New England belong. The last, the most important, and the most personal of all the historical documents of the time, the Sewall diary, has gradually drawn to itself the mystery and secrecy which Hawthorne has given to the history of Massachusetts. In a work so extensive, so minute, so long hidden from the public eye, it seems as if the curiosity awakened by the great story-teller must be satisfied. In this very journal, perhaps, Hawthorne discovered strange traditions and dark suggestions, and found, in the exact description of the unimaginative diarist, models for his own wonderful pictures of the past. Such a fancy unfortunately fades away as we read the printed pages. Hawthorne had no "authorities," and we are fain to be content with the belief that he was not able to solve his own riddles. We open the book and drop at once into the region of fact. Yet there is one great question which the diary can answer. From the multitudinous minutes of the worthy Judge, we can extract material for a tolerably accurate picture of the men and the society depicted by the genius of Hawthorne.

Henry Sewall, grandson to one of the same name who was Mayor of Coventry in Elizabeth's time, came to Massachusetts in the first Puritan emigration, married there and returned to England, where, in 1652, his son Samuel, the author of the diary, was born. In 1661 Samuel Sewall returned to New England with his mother, and in 1668 entered Harvard College. The Sewall family belonged to that important class of landholding Puritan gentry which furnished leaders for the famous "country party," and which numbered among its representatives Oliver Cromwell

and John Hampden. They were evidently people of consideration, and owned estates in England, to the disposition of which Samuel Sewall makes frequent allusions. The diary begins in 1674. At that time Massachusetts was still under the independent government framed by the founders. She was still the free Puritan Commonwealth, conducted according to the Puritan theory of an indivisible church and state, where the test of citizenship was godliness. Scarcely ten years had elapsed since her bold and sagacious magistrate had driven the meddling Commissioners of the King of England from her borders. But time and delay, which had worked with Massachusetts against Charles I., and finally gave her victory, had a precisely opposite result in the contest with Charles II. The scourge of Indian hostility had fallen upon the Commonwealth and was draining her resources. Philip's war broke out in 1675, and Sewall records many massacres and surprises, "lamentable fights and formidable engagements," and notes in a matter-of-fact way repeated executions of Indian prisoners on Boston Common. The Puritans were slow to anger, but when aroused by Indian atrocities they waged war upon the savages with the persistence, the merciless thoroughness, and the calm determination which was peculiar to their race and creed. Samuel Sewall was a man of gentle and peaceable nature, but he writes in 1676, "As to our enemies God hath in a great measure given us to see our desire on them. Most ringleaders in the late massacre have themselves had blood to drink, ending their lives by bullets and halters." After making due allowance for the phrase of an elder day, there still remains a certain fierceness in this expression. Yet we should do an injustice if we attributed it to a mere spirit of vindictive exaltation. The words are typical. Their enemies were God's enemies. They were themselves the chosen instruments of Divine vengeance. Such words from such a man show the stern character which rendered the Puritans invincible and which, in the performance of duty, made men ready to march through slaughter even to the throne.

But besides the exhaustion produced by this war, other causes were at work in Massachusetts which destroyed her independence and brought the great Puritan experiment to ruin. Wealth had increased, and a timid, conservative class had grown up who were not ready, like their ancestors, to take to the woods rather than submit to the Stuart. A liberal but at the same time debilitating spirit was creeping into the church, as was shown by the failing strength of the once all powerful clergy. The systems of church and state were breaking down together.



The former made a more prolonged struggle than the latter to maintain itself, as was apparent in the witchcraft excitement, and in the desperate effort to retain control of the college. But all was in vain, and while it was thus weakened at home the cause of the New England Puritan was hopeless abroad. There was no longer a great party in sympathy with them in the mother country and master of the government. Their friends in England were beaten, broken and dispirited, and their own success in settling the new country drew upon them the attention of the ministry. In 1674 Randolph was already at work, and the train was laid which in a few years shattered the beloved charter government. Conservatism and timidity soon changed under the influence of external power into division and discord. The people of Massachusetts no longer presented a united front to the royal power. A set of men became prominent who were trusted by the people, and were ready to betray them and become the servants of England. To this new party of prerogative and submission the government of Massachusetts was committed on the dissolution of the charter. Then followed the stupid and oppressive policy of James II., the revolt against Andros, and the apparent recovery of the old liberties. But the appearance was deceptive. The spell was broken, the Puritan Commonwealth as it had been designed by its founders perished with the charter and could not be revived. After a few faint efforts Massachusetts relapsed into the common-place and fairly liberal provincial government accorded her by William of Orange.

Sewall's diary begins when the Government of the founders still prevailed, and was in seeming as strong and vigorous as ever. It comes down through the succeeding years of rapid transition, and ends when the provincial system had been long established. The colonial period is dark and forbidding, though not without a gloomy picturesqueness, and is elevated and honored by the high aims and great objects of its actors. But it is stern and cold like the New England winter, and we turn from it with a certain feeling of relief to the baser provincial period of petty interests and material wealth. If the former resembles New England's winter the latter suggests its summer. There is warmth and light and the repose of a summer's day about the provincial times. There were no great questions then and no great struggles, only a complete and unambitious quiet. We think of the people at that time as living in romantic old houses with seven gables, and basking in the sunshine at their doors and in their pleasant gardens, their only interests being the affairs of the peaceful villages, to which the confused noises of the great world

came only in distant murmurs. The historical and social temperature of Sewall's diary varies therefore considerably. The first volume, beginning in the colonial period, covers the loss of the charter, the rapid changes which followed, and concludes under the provincial government. Politically, therefore, it possesses a greater interest than either of its successors can have. But its chief value in this respect is in the knowledge we obtain of the character of the writer, where we find the clue to the unsuccessful and feeble resistance offered by Massachusetts to the second attack upon her charter. Sewall was a representative of the most devout English Puritans, but he was of a submissive, not an aggressive temper. He was honestly attached to the old church and state government of the early settlers. His political and religious principles were thoroughly Puritan, and he had an almost morbid dislike of innovations of all sorts. He became at an early period a deputy and then a magistrate under the old charter government, and he sadly records the events which led to its destruction. But it seems never to have occurred to him to oppose a vigorous resistance to the encroachments of the royal power. He bowed before the storm, accepted the loss of the charter as inevitable, mourned in silence the death of the old system, and took office under the new governments that followed in rapid succession. He was not one of the small minority who would have resisted to the bitter end, still less did he belong to the party of the crown. He represented the great intermediate body of the people, whose action was decisive, and who, while they clung affectionately to the traditions of their fathers, were not ready to oppose any effectual resistance to the ministerial policy. The character and behavior of Sewall and men like him were the prevailing cause of the overthrow of the charter government. It was to such men that the success of the crown and of Joseph Dudley and his faction must be wholly attributed. But it is not proper on this account to censure Sewall and the mass of the New England people who thought as he did. Times had changed, and men are to a great extent the creatures of the period in which they live. The terrible spirit which carried the Puritan armies in triumph from the field of Marston Moor to the "crowning mercy" at Worcester had passed away in England, and Oliver Cromwell had been succeeded by the most contemptible of the Stuarts. In a similar fashion the spirit which had rent St. George's cross from the flag because it was an emblem of idolatry, and which had nerved a new and feeble colony to do battle with England, was nearly extinct in Massachusetts. The great movement of the seventeenth century had spent its force.

Prosperity and material well-being, the acquisition of property, the establishment of society, and great changes at home and abroad had done their work. The stern and daring fathers were succeeded by gentler and more timid sons. The Puritan experiment was doomed, and in every entry of Sewall's diary, in every feature of his character, we see the causes of the fall of the Puritan Commonwealth, of the elevation of Dudley, and of the subsequent successful establishment of a dependent provincial government.

But as has already been said, this journal acquires its deepest interest from the picture of a past society, and of forgotten manners and modes of thought which it presents. Sewall had been nearly three years out of college when he began his diary. He was still, however, a resident fellow attached to the college, and performed various duties, for which he was duly remunerated. His principal business was to be "common placed," or, in other words, to deliver religious discourses to the students.

The following entry gives a good idea of the nature of college offences, and the methods of discipline in vogue in 1674:

"Thomas Sargeant was examined by the Corporation. Finally, the advice of Mr. Danforth, Mr. Stoughton, Mr. Thatcher, Mr. Mather (then present) was taken. This was his sentence: 'That being convicted of speaking blasphemous words concerning the H. G. he should be therefore publicly whipped before all the Scholars. 2. That he should be suspended as to taking his degree of Bachelour (this sentence read before him twice at the Prts. before the committee, and in the library I up before execution.) 3. Sit alone by himself in the Hall uncovered at meals, during the pleasure of the President and Fellows, and be in all things obedient, doing what exercises was appointed him by the President, or else be finally expelled the Colledge. The first was presently put in execution in the Library (Mr. Danforth, Jr., being present) before the Scholars. He kneeled down, and the instrument Goodman Hely attended the President's word as to the performance of his part in the work. Prayer was had before and after by the President.'"

The ludicrous contrast between the "Colledge" of 1674 and the great University of the present day is obvious enough, and constitutes perhaps the chief interest of the passage. But if we look a little more closely, we find that this apparently trivial entry exhibits the great characteristic which marked English Puritanism in the old world and the new, and which divides it by an impassable barrier from our modern life. This is the religious element. The offense was one against religion,

and both before and after the boy was birched prayer was offered, and inspiration sought. Thus it is throughout the diary. The religious tone gives to the whole book its principal psychological and historic interest. The fact that the great tide of religious feeling which had swept over England had now begun to ebb, is in itself an advantage to the student of Puritan doctrines and spiritual thought. The fierce, proselyting, fanatic spirit which had raged like a tornado, and had laid government and churches prostrate, was no more. The sword had fallen from the hand of the Puritan, the aggressive qualities of his belief had passed away, and only the faith itself remained. War, conquest, the extirpation of the enemies of the Lord and the stern exercise of power went hand in hand with the religion of Cromwell and his soldiers. All these terrible and absorbing interests died with the great Protector. The Puritan of 1675 was occupied only by the religious faith of the Puritan of 1650. But divested of these outside and exciting influences, the religion of the Puritans can be much better understood and appreciated. This was particularly true of New England, where the reaction produced by the Restoration had not yet made itself felt. Religious Puritanism existed in Massachusetts in full force at the close of the seventeenth century, although the Puritanism of the soldier and the politician had departed. It is true the religious fervor also was beginning to decline, but as the fabric goes to pieces we are enabled to analyze the material with which it had been built up. Judge Sewall himself was, moreover, an admirable exponent of the Puritan character at this period. Fortunately for our purpose he was not a minister, but he was a more than commonly devout, earnest and conscientious layman in a deeply religious community. The workings of his mind are therefore most interesting, and as he notes with sorrow the gradual decay of religious observances, and clutches desperately at principles and practices which were fast falling into disuse, the minutest details of the Puritan system pass before our eyes, and the whole structure of their religion and their course of thought is exposed.

It is hardly necessary to say that such religious faith no longer exists. There is now plenty of honest and liberal christianity, of mild-eyed devotion, of enfeebling superstition, but the religion of Puritan Englishmen is utterly gone. We have nothing like it; we can find no present parallel; we can with difficulty form an accurate conception of what it was. To the Puritan, religion was a stern, terrible and ever-present reality, a great moving force. It was never absent from his thoughts. It inspired his loftiest actions, and sanctified the greatest events; yet at

the same time no incident of daily life was so mean or trivial as not to suggest holy thoughts and lead to communion with God. On the bleak and thinly settled shores of New England, religion was the source of every joy, and offered the only intellectual excitement which the people either knew or desired. Yet they were withal eminently practical men. They were not slothful in business, because they were fervent in spirit. Persistence, work, success, prosperity, material well being and social respectability their religion taught them to regard as among the highest duties and most valuable possessions. Thus they triumphed over natural difficulties, as they had prevailed over armies, while in every circumstance and relation of life, religion pervaded all thought and action. It was a harsh and gloomy, perhaps a repulsive faith, but vigorous, real and uncompromising to a degree which the world now can hardly imagine.

Sewall had a strong desire to be a minister, and such was for some years after leaving college his intention. He studied with that view, and even essayed to preach. "April 4, Sab. day. I help preach for my master (Mr. Parker) in the afternoon. Being afraid to look on the glass, ignorantly and unwillingly I stood two hours and a half." Want of matter certainly could not have been Sewall's failing, but for some unexplained reason he finally abandoned his purpose, though he always retained some of the habits contracted at this time. Many volumes of notes from the sermons which he heard still exist. He was very fond of theological discussions, of turning dreams into parables and of moralizing upon every conceivable topic, and he was also the author of a learned work, bearing the appalling title of "*Phænomena Apocalyptica*." During the period of indecision which preceded his choice of a profession, Sewall was in a state of deep religious distress and doubt. November 11, 1675, he writes: "Morning proper fair; the weather exceeding benign, but (to me) metaphoric, dismal, dark and portentous, some prod-egie appearing in every corner of the skies." This condition of mind endured for some years, for even as late as 1677 he wrote that he was under "great exercise of mind with regard to his spiritual estate." It finally wore off however, and he settled down into merely an unusually religious layman. There was a passing struggle on the question of his joining the Old South Church, but with that exception this phase of religious uncertainty never returned. The most curious and interesting feature of the book, and one which is perfectly unvarying, is the religious thought and expression called forth by every trifling event. Examples might be multiplied, but a few will suffice to show a habit of mind which is now as utterly extinct as the mastodon or the ichthyosaurus.

"Jan. 13, 1676-7. Giving my chickens meat, it came to my mind that I gave them nothing save Indian corn and water, and yet they eat it and thrived very well, and that that food was necessary for them, how mean soever, which much affected me and convinced what need I stood in of spiritual food, and that I should not neglect daily duties of Prayer, &c.

" \* \* \* \* Just before I went, Brother Longfellow came in, which was some exercise to me, he being so ill conditioned and so outwardly shabby. The Lord humble me. As I remember, he came so before; either upon the funeral of my Father or Johny."

The connection of ideas in the following passage, however, is as remarkable as any in the diary. A stranger text than baked pigeons could not readily be found. The "wisdom of the serpent" can only be referred to his own shift to get a dinner.

"July 25, 1699. When I came home Sam, Hanah and Joana being gone to Dorchester with Madam Usher to the Lecture, I found the House empty and Lock'd. Taking the key I came in and made a shift to find a solitary Diner of bak'd Pigeons and a piece of Cake. How happy I were, if I could once become wise as a Serpent and harmless as a Dove!"

This constant moralizing upon the most trivial events, and this unceasing flow of religious thought bore with peculiar severity upon the children of the community. The utter grimness of the thorough English Puritanism comes out with full force in such passages as the following:

"Sabbath, Jan. 12. Richard Dumer, a flourishing youth of 9 years, dies of the Small Pocks. I tell Sam. of it and what need he had to prepare for Death, and therefore to endeavour really to pray when he said over the Lord's Prayer: He seem'd not much to mind, eating an Apple: but when he came to say, Our father, he burst out into a bitter Cry, and when I askt what was the matter, and he could speak, he burst into a bitter Cry, and said he was afraid he should die. I pray'd with him, and read Scriptures comforting against death, as O death where is thy sting, &c. All things yours. Life and Immortality brought to light by Christ, &c. 'Twas at noon."

Having frightened his boy most terribly, by convincing him of the near prospect of death, Sewall's only idea of comforting and restoring the child was to read a selection of very grand and very solemn texts. How great must the natural vigor of body and mind have been which withstood such things as this in the tender years of childhood. The parent, too, despite great affection, seems to have regarded his offspring as conspicuous and instructive examples of original sin, as we may see by this entry:

"Nov. 6. Joseph threw a knop of Brass and hit his Sister Betty on the forehead so as to make it bleed and swell; upon which, and for his playing at Prayer-time, and eating when Return Thanks, I whipt him pretty smartly. When I first went in (call'd by his Grandmother) he sought to shadow and hide himself from me behind the head of the Cradle; which gave me the sorrowfull remembrance of Adam's carriage."

As in the petty incidents of domestic affairs, so it was in the graver events of both public and private life. In all alike there is the same ever present thought of communion with God and of learning to serve him, and draw instruction from everything that befell either the individual or the state. In cases of sickness or death a private fast was held, and the intimate friends gathered in the afflicted house to pray. When doubts and darkness enveloped the course of public affairs the whole community met together to fast and pray, and listen to the exhortations of the ministers. When the hand of power began to weigh upon New England, Sewall prayed not merely that oppression might be lightened but that this trial might be sanctified to them, and that they might gather from it the teaching of the Almighty. Another peculiar feature of the Puritan character and belief is their love of publicity in matters of religion and morality. Charles I., when in the hands of the saints at Hampton Court, dreaded the knife or poison of the assassin. Nothing shows more clearly his helpless ignorance of the men with whom he had to deal. When they had once determined that their king was a criminal, they esteemed it their duty that he should expiate his crime in open day, before God and the people. In the same spirit the condemned malefactors in Boston were brought into church and made the subject of discourse from the pulpit. "Thursday, March 11," Sewall says, "Persons crowd much into the old Meeting-House by reason of James Morgan," a condemned murderer who was "turned" off about half an hour past five the same day. "Mr. Cotton Mather accompanied James Morgan to the place of execution and prayed with him there," after having used him as a text in the morning. Thus the condemned criminals pointed the moral in person, and brought before the eyes of the people a visible token of the punishment of evil lives. In a similar manner the Puritan was accustomed to demand the prayers of the congregation not only in times of affliction but when convinced of sin. The best known act in Judge Sewall's life is his confession of repentance for the part he had taken in the witchcraft persecution. The handbill which he posted in the old South church admitting his sin and desiring the prayers of the congregation is given in the diary. It was not

enough that the change of heart which domestic sorrow had wrought in him should be known to himself and his God. The world must know it too. Whether they brought a king to execution, led out a murderer to the gallows, or admitted their own past errors, there was no concealment about it. They were not merely ready to justify their conclusions, but they were determined that they should be known and seen of men. In this way truth alone would prevail, and the kingdom of righteousness be established on earth. Whatever the faults of Puritan politics and religion, and they were many, the dagger of the assassin, the secrets of the confessional, or the casuistry of the Jesuits, found no place among them.

This strong tendency to draw moral lessons from every occurrence, and to attribute every unusual manifestation to divine influence or to the working of the holy spirit, was far from blinding them to the existence of more worldly motives. The religious explanation was the natural one, but the strong sense and native shrewdness of the English Puritan was rarely so blunted that it failed to understand mundane influences. The following incident which occurred while Sewall was still a very young man, illustrates this power of discrimination in an amusing way :

"Saturday Even., Aug. 12, 1676, just as prayer ended Tim. Dwight sank down in a swoon, and for a good space was as if he perceived not what was done to him. After kicked and sprawled, knocking his hands and feet upon the floor like a distracted man, was carried pick-pack to bed by John Alcock, there his cloaths pulled off. In the night it seems he talked of ships, his master, father, and unckle Eliot. The Sabbath following Father went to him, spake to him to know what ailed him, asked if he would be prayed for, and for what he would desire his friends to pray. He answered, for more sight of sin, and God's healing grace. I asked him, being alone with him, whether his troubles were from some outward cause or spiritual. He answered, spiritual. I asked him why then he could not tell it his master, as well as any other, since it is the honour of any man to see sin and be sorry for it. He gave no answer, as I remember. Asked him if he would goe to meeting. He said, 'twas in vain for him ; his day was out. I asked, what day : he answered, of Grace. I told him 'twas sin for any one to conclude themselves Reprobate, that this was all one. He said he would speak more, but could not, &c. Notwithstanding all this semblance (and much more than is written) of compunction for sin, 'tis to be feared that his trouble arose from a maid whom he passionately loved : for that when Mr. Dwight and his master had agreed to let him goe to her, he eftsoons grew well."



"Friday, Aug. 25. I spake to Tim. of this, asked him whether his convictions were off. He answered, no. I told him how dangerous it was to make the convictions wrought by God's spirit a stalking horse to any other thing. Broke off, he being called away by Sam."


The discovery of the unlucky Tim is far less striking than the immediate assumption by all concerned that his difficulties must be of a religious nature, and the half belief of even the culprit himself that his mental agitation was due to religious fervor and not to the ardor of earthly love.

If the utter absorption in religion which these various examples indicate were the whole of the Puritan faith it would offer no object for study, no cause for interest. If this were all, the Puritan would not have crushed mitre and crown together and placed England in the foremost rank of European nations, or laid the foundation of another English empire on the rocky shores of Massachusetts. They would have been only one more example of the fanaticism which sent the early ascetics to the desert and the later ones to the cloister. But the all absorbing and ever present religion of the Puritans did not require the renunciation of the world. It made the affairs of this life secondary, but it did not efface them. In the old forms of belief, in the mediæval church, man passed from the material to the spiritual, until he wholly lost sight of the former. With the Puritan the case was exactly reversed. The spiritual struggle and the succeeding calm came first and left the man at liberty to deal with the material world about him. The Puritan found his consecration to God in doing what he believed was God's service among the men and things of this life. He was not to leave the world and its temptations, but to go out into it to do what seemed right in his own eyes and establish the kingdom of God upon earth. In this way the religion of the Puritan became a great and active force socially and politically, instead of a stifling atmosphere of idle superstition. Thus it was that the Puritan founded states and ruled commonwealths. Thus it was that they produced great statesmen and soldiers and politicians, instead of followers of La Trappe.

The common usage in speaking of the religion of the New England Puritan is to refer to it as "gloomy and repulsive fanaticism," or "narrow and harsh bigotry." Like most popular statements this is superficial and insufficient, but contains, nevertheless, some elements of truth. The religious belief of New England was awful in its sternness. There is in all history no greater exhibition of the dogged persistence and stubborn courage of the English race than the settlement of Massachu-

setts. It is true that the colonists believed they were doing God's work, but their doctrines were so terrible that it is a matter of profound astonishment how they had the courage to face their own religious convictions and the terror of the wilderness at the same time. The true explanation, of course, is that to men with such beliefs, mere earthly dangers and trials sank into utter insignificance. Yet it is not easy to conceive how the human heart and mind could have been steeled to bear such a strain. The stories of the early days and of the first landings have become household words. The struggles with famine and cold and savages in the days of Endicott and Winthrop are familiar to us. Yet it may be doubted whether those first fierce conflicts required more strength than the continuous hardship and grinding discomfort which went on year after year when the colony was first settled. It is true that in those days men were accustomed to less bodily comfort, even in Europe, than at the present time, yet we cannot but wonder at the sturdy endurance which bore, without a murmur, the physical hardships of a New England winter, as we find them detailed by Sewall. Food was often scarce in severe winters, and there was but little variety; communication with the outer world almost ceased; travel was well-nigh impossible, and the means of keeping warm were trifling. One winter Sunday Sewall notes in his diary that the Sacramental bread was frozen, and rattled as it fell upon the plate. What a picture of utter discomfort such an incident as this conveys. This continual suffering from the winter climate fell upon all with about equal severity. One house was about as warm as another, and wood, the only fuel, was both cheap and plenty. One convincing proof and practical result of this hard existence is shown by the great infant mortality, of which this diary offers abundant evidence. The State, too, called upon all alike to take their share of exposure and suffering in her service. Sewall was soldier as well as lawyer and judge, and although a man of wealth and position, a deputy and a magistrate, he had to take his turn at watch duty in Boston, and go the rounds of the little town through many a long cold night.

The bright, and at times almost tropical, summers of New England must have been the salvation of the colonists. Nothing else broke the gloom. There were absolutely no amusements of any kind, and although establishing great political and religious principles and founding states are the noblest tasks to which men can set their hands, yet poor humanity requires some relaxation. Nature's winter was severe, but it lasted only for a season, while the social winter was never



broken until the whole system began to give way in the next century. One or two unlucky individuals made efforts to furnish entertainment, but they were rigidly suppressed. We learn that :

"Mr. Francis Stepney, the Dancing Master, desired a Jury, so He and Mr. Shrimpton Bound in 50*l* to Jan<sup>r</sup> Court. Said Stepney is ordered not to keep a Dancing School; if he does will be taken in contempt and be proceeded with accordingly."

Another or worse attempt of a similar nature was checked without the intervention of the law :

"In the Even Capt. Eliot, Frary, Williams and Self, Treat with Brother Wing about his Setting a Room in his House for a man to shew Tricks in. He saith, seeing 'tis offensive, he will remedy it. It seems the Room is fitted with Seats. I read what Dr. Ames saith of Callings, and Spake as I could, from this Principle, That the Man's Practice was unlawfull, and therefore Capt. Wing could not lawfully give him an accomodation for it. Sung the 90th Ps. from the 12th v. to the end. Broke up."


Amusements and sports of all sorts were regarded with unfeigned dislike and were abolished, while at the same time there were but few social events to break the monotony. Anything in the nature of a party of pleasure was almost unknown. There were occasionally dinners, and now and then friends met in the afternoon for social enjoyment. The time was then passed in conversation, and the table seems to have been a generous one. But even then mild festivities were most unusual, and appear to have generally begun and ended with prayer. Once and again some wealthy man would make a feast on the marriage of his daughter, but as a rule weddings were solemnized with the utmost privacy and the least possible ceremony. The great and really the only diversion was found in going to funerals. They were the only important incidents which broke the dead monotonous level of existence. A large number of entries in the diary relate to the obsequies of various persons. Owing to his character and position Sewall was constantly called upon to act as a pall-bearer, so that to him, perhaps, more than to most others, these events were a peculiar excitement. The religious feeling was first gratified by the prayers and exhortations at the bed of death, and by those afterwards addressed to the bereaved family. When the body was brought from the house religion ceased its functions. The old hatred of ceremonial manifested itself in the custom of the founders, which still lasted, of the friends bearing out the body and silently laying it in the tomb. Curiously enough, although these last rites had

been stripped of all spiritual ceremonies, a great deal of temporal pomp had grown up around them. The "bearers" of the early days had become pall-bearers, chosen from the magistrates and leading men of the state, to whom scarfs, rings and gloves were distributed. If the deceased had been a soldier or magistrate the military companies marched to the grave, and in all cases there was a regular procession. Verses appropriate to the occasion were generally written by friends, and were sometimes pinned upon the hearse according to the fashion of the day in London. Sewall has a long list of the funerals in which he took part, and has jotted down the scarfs and rings which he received, and to which he was evidently not averse. His liking for funerals and their accompaniments is oddly shown in the following passage:

"This day John Ive, fishing in great Spie-pond, is arrested with mortal sickness which renders him in a maner speechless and senseless; dies next day; buried at Charlestown on the Wednesday. Was a very debauched, atheistical man. I was not at his Funeral. Had Gloves sent me, but the knowledge of his notoriously wicked life made me sick of going; and Mr. Mather, the president, came in just as I was ready to step out, and so I staid at home, and by that means lost a Ring: but hope had no loss. Follow thou Me, was I suppose more complied with, than if I had left Mr. Mather's company to go to such a Funeral."

Nothing, however, is stranger than the manner in which death was regarded by the Puritans. Although they cultivated the greatest stoicism they nevertheless sorrowed like other men, and felt acutely the loss of those whom they loved, but their religion did not apparently console them as much by its promises as by its teaching. Death was the great event which brought them nearer to God than any other, and they forced themselves to rejoice at it as a high privilege and peculiar grace from which they could gather the lessons of their Lord and Master. On the day when Sewall buried his sixth child he visited the family tomb, upon which he says:

"Note. Twas wholly dry, and I went at noon to see in what order things were set; and there I was entertain'd with a view of, and converse with, the Coffins of my dear Father Hull, Mother Hull, Cousin Quinsey, and my Six Children: for the little posthumous was now took up and set in upon that that stands on John's: so are three, one upon another twice, on the bench at the end. My Mother ly's on a lower bench, at the end, with head to her Husband's head: and I order'd little Sarah to be set on her Grandmother's feet. 'Twas an awfull yet pleasing Treat; Having said, The Lord knows who shall be brought hether next, I came way."



That he was not peculiar in his views, is shown by the following extract, which goes even further in the same direction: "Mr. Joseph Eliot here, says the two days wherein he buried his Wife and Son, were the best that ever he had in the world."

But the Puritan system which excluded all amusements from daily life was in the last years of its complete existence when Sewall was writing the earlier portion of his diary. In this careful record we can easily follow the political changes which rapidly succeeded the loss of the charter. We can watch the sullen resistance to Andros, which gradually gathered strength until it led James' governor to a prison. We can perceive that despite this opposition the political changes were not without effect. Slowly but surely they undermined the principles on which the government had been founded, and when the revolution came it only showed that the days of the old system were over, that the Puritan theory of Government had failed, and could not exist under the new conditions of established success and material well being. But we can also see in the diary much more gradual but none the less certain changes in the religious as well as the political system. Society and the church, as conceived and established by the earlier generation, struggled hard for existence, but they had ceased to be in sympathy with the age and its forces and they too began to give way. One by one the old habits were invaded, and the old practices were broken down. The least important and the weakest went first, the most essential endured for many long years, only to fall at last, until the great Puritan and English principles of religious and political freedom, which can only perish with the race to which they belong, alone are left. In Sewall's diary every incident is noted. The Judge clung to every observance and every opinion of the past, and with deep regret noted the signs of their failing strength. We can number them and see the whole fabric of society pass before us in the entries where the hated innovations are recorded.

Soberness of dress had become, in process of time, a strong tenet with the Puritans, and it was in their outward symbols that Sewall first detected the signs of a perilous change. The periwig was the first new fashion which excited the dread and anger of the conservative portion of the community. Sewall hated it with a peculiar and enduring hatred. Even when his own hair fell off in late life he could not be persuaded to adopt the prevailing fashion, but contented himself with a black silk cap. He notes the first appearance of the periwig in Boston with fear and sorrow, and as the habit of wearing them became more common, he felt

obliged to speak against them, for his opposition was grounded on religious scruple, which would not permit him to be silent. In 1685 he writes:

"Having occasion this day to go to Mr. Hayward the Publick Notary's House, I speak to him about his cutting off his Hair, and wearing a Perriwig of contrary Colour: mention the words of our Saviour, Can ye not make one Hair white or black: and Mr. Alsop's Sermon. He alledges, The Doctor advised him to it."

A year later he records the death of a man who made wigs, and we cannot help feeling that Sewall deemed the fate of this wretched creature a fit punishment for one who followed so nefarious a trade.

"This day Wm. Clendon the Barber and Perriwig-maker dies miserably, being almost eat up with Lice and stupified with Drink and cold. Sat in the watch-house and was there gaz'd on a good part of the day, having been taken up the night before."

All, however, were not as zealous or as firm as Sewall in this matter, for in 1691 we find the following melancholy entry:

"March 19, 1690-1. Mr. C. Mather preaches the Lecture from Mat. 24, and appoint his portion with the Hypocrites: In his proem said, *Totus mundus agit histrionem*. Said one sign of a hypocrit was for a man to strain at a Gnat and swallow a Camel. Sign in 's Throat discovered him; To be zealous against an inocent fashion, taken up and used by the best of men; and yet make no Conscience of being guilty of great Immoralities. Tis supposed means wearing of Perriwigs: said would deny themselves in any thing but parting with an oportunity to do God service: that so might not offend good Christians. Meaning, I suppose was fain to wear a Perriwig for his health. I expected not to hear a vindication of Perriwigs in Boston Pulpit by Mr. Mather; however not from that Text. The Lord give me a good Heart and help me to know, and not only to know but also to doe his Will; that my Heart and Head may be his."

Others, however, were faithful and steadfast, for as late as 1697 Sewall mentions that he strove to induce Mr. Higginson to print a treatise against the obnoxious and sinful periwigs.

Another threatened change, and one far more vital in a religious point of view, was the matter of observing Christmas Day. Year after year Sewall watched sedulously, and noted carefully, every sign which seemed to indicate that this papistical custom was not coming into vogue in Boston. He rejoiced on each succeeding Christmas that the people did not observe it, and were not compelled to do so by authority. The

change in this matter was very slow, and is, in fact, still going on in New England, but yet there was enough two hundred years ago to cause Sewall the greatest anxiety. The new government distinctly and strongly favored the observance of Christmas, and there were, of course, many who found it profitable and congenial to comply. The people in general seem to have been of Sewall's mind, and brought their wood to town and transacted their business on the 25th of December as on any other day. So earnest was Sewall on this point that he incurred the ill-will of the Governor by his well known opinions, of which he refused to abate one jot. In 1697 he makes the following characteristic entry:

"Decembr 25. 97. Snowy day: Shops are open, and Carts and sleds come to Town with Wood and Fagots as formerly, save what abatement may be allowed on account of the wether. This morning we read in course the 14, 15, and 16th Psalms. From the 4th v. of the 16th Ps ('their sorrows shall be multiplied that hasten after another god; their drink offerings of blood will I not offer nor take up their names into my lips.') I took occasion to dehort mine from Christmas-keeping, and charged them to forbear. Hanah reads Daniel, 6. and Betty, Luke, 12. Joseph tells me that though most of the Boys went to the Church yet he went not."

The old system is slipping away. Men begin to violate, with impunity, the commands of the Bible as to dress, and to run after the customs of Rome in the matter of holy days, and there is no longer the strong hand of the law to stop them in such courses. Public opinion, too, has weakened, and breaches of Puritan doctrine are no longer regarded with abhorrence. Sewall did well to dread the progress of these innovations, for they were sure signs that the end of that great movement which once swayed the English world was at hand.

Other indications were not wanting. One of deep import taught the Puritan community its first hard lesson of an enforced toleration. After a stubborn resistance the English service was heard in Boston, and by authority of Andros was read within the walls of the Old South. To the inhabitants this seemed little else than desecration, for in their eyes the book of common prayer was only a poor variety of the Popish mass. The gradual appearance of the rites of the English church is sadly recorded by Sewall. In 1686 he writes: "Augt. 5. Wm. Harrison, the Bodies-maker, is buried, which is the first that I know of buried with the Common-Prayer Book in Boston." In a similar way he gloomily notes the first marriage in the Episcopal form. We can hardly realize now the importance attached by these people to outward signs.

They looked upon them as the outer bulwarks and defenses of the great doctrines for which they had suffered so many things. A few days after the entry just quoted Sewall says: "I was and am in great exercise about the Cross to be put into the Colours, and afraid if I should have a hand in 't whether it may not hinder my Entrance into the Holy Land." The old spirit which had moved John Endicott to tear the cross from the colors because it savored of idolatry was not yet wholly dead in New England. It is not easy to conceive now the frame of mind in which a man doubted his salvation because the device in the national flag was not to his taste.

The change of government and the introduction of the church service opened the way for many of the habits and customs of that period in England. There were many persons, galled by the rigid Puritan restraint, who took advantage of the recent relaxation to indulge themselves with enjoyments, which greatly shocked the sober inhabitants of Boston.

"Friday, Sept. 3, Mr. Shrimpton, Capt. Lidget and others, come in a Coach from Roxbury about 9. a'clock or past, singing as they come, being inflamed with Drink: At Justice Morgan's they stop and drink Healths, curse, swear, talk profanely and bauldily to the great disturbance of the Town and grief of good people. Such high-handed wickedness has hardly been heard of before in Boston."

The revival of English sports gave almost as deep offence as open revel. Shrove Tuesday offered the first opportunity.

"Feb. 15, 1686-7. Jos. Maylem carries a Cock at his back, with a Bell in 's hand, in the Main Street; several follow him blindfold, and under pretence of striking him or 's cock, with great cart-whips strike passengers, and make great disturbance."

These sports were checked after the fall of Andros, when the reaction was strong in favor of the old system, but before that time, they went on increasing, and added no doubt considerably to the unpopularity of the government. No heed was given to the popular prejudices in these matters, and it seemed as if the court party even tried to insult the inhabitants, when we learn that on parade the officers pinned red paper crosses upon their breasts. The English soldiers, now seen in Boston for the first time, of course took a leading part in all these sports. They had matches with the quarter staff and stage fights, and two officers even fought a duel on the Common in Boston for which they were promptly arrested. The general disgust excited by this stupid indifference to public sentiment, so characteristic of James II. and his servants, is well shown by the following passage written in 1687:



"It seems the May-pole at Charlestown was cut down last week, and now a bigger is set up, and a Garland upon it. A Souldier was buried last Wednesday and disturbance grew by reason of Joseph Phips standing with 's hat on as the Parson was reading Service. 'Tis said Mr. Saml. Phips bid or encouraged the Watch to cut down the May-pole, being a Select-Man. And what about his brother and that, the Captain of the Fisher and he came to blows, and Phips is bound to answer next December, the Governour having sent for him before Him yesterday, May 26. 1687."

Such affronts, even in trivial matters, probably had as much to do with the revolt against Andros as the graver attacks upon the liberties of the colonists. The diary throws but little new light upon the purely political history of the time, and none at all upon the very obscure point of the actual outbreak. We are left as much in the dark as ever in regard to the conduct of that successful rebellion, and are compelled to fall back on the old theory that the movement was wholly popular in its origin, and that the leading men of the community had nothing to do with it until success was assured. One point, however, is illustrated in the strongest manner in the diary, and that is the exact nature of the Andros government. Sewall recounts, of course, all the various high handed measures of the governor as they are to be found in all histories of New England, but he shows very clearly that the rule of Andros was by no means that of a bloody-minded tyrant, as it was the fashion to consider him for many years after his fall. The government of Andros in Massachusetts was an exact reproduction in little of the government of his master in England. Both honestly thought their objects were good, and both were indifferent to the means by which those objects were attained. Both were perfectly blind to the actual conditions under which they had to act, and were convinced that a system could be set up and maintained which was utterly distasteful to the great body of the people. Both succeeded in offending the moderate leaders, the men who were ready to bear much rather than resist, and both sealed their fate by so doing. What, for example, could have been more unwise than to drive such a man as Sewall to the wall by enforcing against him the unjust policy of requiring new patents for all land in New England. The policy in itself was bad enough, but to carry it out inexorably against a prominent, respected and moderate man like Sewall was the height of folly. The case, unfortunately, was typical of the reign of James. For blind stupidity, the administration of the last Stuart attained an eminence in all parts of the English Empire which can hardly be surpassed in history.

On one point the diary of Sewall is very disappointing. There is next to nothing about the witchcraft delusion. Sewall was one of the Judges of the Special Court which tried and condemned the unhappy victims of that excitement. He was, therefore, a chief actor in the whole business, and when seized with remorse, made the manly confession already alluded to. We expected full details from such a man on a subject whose psychological is greater, even, than its historic interest. A few brief and passing allusions are, however, all that Sewall permits himself on this topic. From one of them his profound belief in the reality of witchcraft is apparent. Another entry brings forcibly to mind the wretched victim of the *peine forte et dure* who, refusing to plead, was pressed to death. But that is all. It is difficult to explain the writer's silence on a matter which absorbed the attention of the whole community and in which he himself took such a leading part. Perhaps even then he had begun to suspect his own convictions, or as was more probable, perhaps his whole heart and soul were so infected by the superstitious epidemic then raging in the State, that he was in no mood to record, in the cold pages of a diary, the stirring events and terrible thoughts that must have beset him. However this may be, we learn nothing from a man who, above all others, was in a position to give to posterity the best account of the trials and executions for witchcraft.

With the establishment of the provincial government under Phips, and the arrival of his successor, Lord Bellomont, the first volume concludes. The tone of the diary as it reflects passing events changes greatly in the twenty-five years which it covers. Already one or two new questions, which were destined to trouble the colony for several years, had made their appearance. These questions relate chiefly to the struggle of the clergy to maintain their position in the State after the old political system, which alone made such arrangement possible, had been swept away. The conflict centered about the college, and the battle was fought stoutly by the Mathers, who led with great determination the old church party. In the last pages of the diary we catch sight of this contest, then rapidly advancing to its culmination, and we see plainly that the old clericalism was fast losing ground. The tide of public opinion had begun to set strongly against the vigorous but narrow theories of the early Puritans. The general drift is also shown by the manner in which mooted theological questions are discussed at length in the diary. Great differences of opinion and broader views on many points of doctrine were evidently beginning to creep in. The old system was at an end, more liberal modes of thought were coming in fash-

ion, and as the century closes, we stand at the threshold of a new period. In the succeeding volumes we shall learn much of that of which so little is known in the provincial history of New England. The dark days of early settlement, the rigid system of untrammelled Puritanism, the great objects, the high and independent policy of the company of Massachusetts bay were at end. The period of repose had come. The English world needed rest after the fierce struggles of the seventeenth century. But it is during that time of inactivity that the people of New England gathered fresh strength and the new forces came into existence which made the revolution of 1776 a possibility and a success.

HENRY CABOT LODGE


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## BEAUMARCHAIS' PLAN TO AID THE COLONIES

Centennial remembrances now bring back to us the circumstance of the aid given by France to our patriots in the trying time of the Revolutionary War.

A recent American writer, Dr. Thompson, says of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, that "they were no fiery revolutionists, intent upon a work of destruction, or dreaming to build up a new political order for the race on the ruins and ashes of society. They loved England with a filial affection. To some of them it was the land of their birth, to most of them the land of their fathers, to all of them the foremost land of freedom and culture, whose empire they would gladly share if it would preserve liberty to the subject with loyalty to the Crown." A writer in the Magazine of American History also says that Regiments of loyalists were raised without difficulty in the southern part of this State, and that a writer named Sabine boldly asserts that the Tories were in an actual majority in the colony of New York at the outbreak of hostilities, and that as a matter of historical fact, there was hardly a man in the little band of militia who went with General Herkimer to Fort Stanwix, before the battle of Oriskany, who did not suspect that he was marching between two traitors. Two of our bravest Generals, he says, had brothers who were actual and avowed Tories. In an historical sketch of the village of Lansingburgh, published a few years since, the author says that the people there were so loyal to the British Crown that the American soldiers, who were marching to aid in the battle of Saratoga, were not permitted by the proprietors of any of the taverns in that village to enter his house, and were forced to sleep in the open air. Finally, Irving says, in his Life of Washington, that while our army was suffering untold misery at Harper's Ferry in the winter of 1778, the inhabitants of Philadelphia, which comprised nearly the whole population, were fraternizing and jubilating with the British army.

Admitting this strong evidence to be but partly true, it is still evident that the contest between our revolutionary heroes and patriots, who did not exceed one half of the population, and one of the greatest powers in the world, was too unequal, however bravely conducted, to prove




eventually successful without foreign aid. This was well understood by those brave men who led the revolt, for one of the first acts of the Continental Congress, after the Declaration of Independence, was to send commissioners to seek the aid of France, the great rival of England; and for the benefit of those who see but a petty motive of spite and jealousy in the aid that was given, it may be well to attempt to show that it was done in furtherance of the best interests of both France and America, and perhaps of the whole world.

History shows that the attention of the British Government to the advantage of wealth and power to be derived from trade and commerce was first seriously awakened in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The success of Colbert, Minister to Louis XIV., in this direction awoke the jealousy and aroused the emulation of the British. Sully had turned his principal attention to the development of agriculture. Colbert directed his efforts to manufacture and commerce, and succeeded so well that he was able to maintain war against the most powerful confederacy ever formed in Europe before that time, and to dispute the dominion of the seas against the united powers of England and Holland, although the expense was three times greater than it was supposed that France could bear. The vicissitudes in the condition of France at these periods was very great. At some periods she was vastly rich from trade and commerce, at others so much constrained by the expenses and vicissitudes of the war, that agriculture was neglected and the land almost reduced to sterility by excessive taxation.

By means of an ingeniously contrived treaty with Holland, the British afterwards acquired the rich carrying trade formerly monopolized by Holland and became the great rival of France. To strengthen and perpetuate this newly acquired monopoly, the British insisted on rules in respect to the rights of neutral commerce, while she was herself engaged in war, which increased the number of enemies whom it was necessary for her to guard against, and thus greatly increased her expenditures. A portion of this heavy burden attempted to be thrown on her colonies, whose people were already impoverished by ingeniously contrived commercial regulations imposed on them by the mother country, and were indisposed to be oppressed, was the cause of the revolt. Our Declaration of Independence is an eloquent exposition of these wrongs; the oppression of neutral commerce by the same great power in its hot career for an empire of the seas, would also have been a fruitful theme for some eloquent expressions.

Franklin, Lee and Deane, the American Commissioners, were directed to appear at the French Capital only in the character of commercial men occupied with private business. If France had, at that time, openly espoused our cause, or had even made a secret treaty with us, the revolution would have been destroyed rather than aided. She would thereby have assumed the whole burden of the war, have released our people from the necessity of any very strenuous exertions in their own behalf, and invited a reconciliation with Great Britain, which the patriots would have found themselves unable to resist. Before France could make a treaty, therefore, it was necessary that American sentiment in favor of absolute independence should have matured and become hardened, that European sentiment in favor of the revolutionists should have been secured, and that the alliances on the continent should be such as to isolate Great Britain in the contest. This was all eventually accomplished. There is no more brilliant page in the history of French Diplomacy than that which is embraced in the period from 1776 to the acknowledgment of our independence by Great Britain.

While some regard the aid given us by France to our revolution as a mistaken fallacy originating in vain folly and ending in consequence disastrous to that country, it must be evident to those not blinded by ignorance and conceit that our independence as a nation has more than returned to France all that it cost her to aid in securing it, even assuming that it was not thoroughly and definitely secured until England was weakened and reduced to a second rate power by the exhausting contest which began with our revolution, was continued through the terrific contests of the French Republic and Napoleon, and ended in our war of 1812. For it was absolutely necessary to the existence and prosperity of France that the great commercial power and assumed preponderance of Great Britain, and her attempted monopoly of the seas, should be broken. The revolt of the American colonies was the opportunity, the guarantee of her own West India possessions, and a right to participate freely in the growing commerce of the Americans was the consideration; the destruction of the British Empire of the seas and the building up of another great central commercial nation has been the result. There has been a partial failure of the consideration; we have failed to prove ourselves a great commercial people, but the claims of Great Britain to a monopoly of the seas has been broken and abandoned. The world has improved generally; it is of a more liberal and higher nature than it



would otherwise have been. Those writers who find nothing in the aid given by France but the narrow motive of injuring a rival, yet omit the great motives that induced it, demean their country.

The subjoined letter, which has never before been published, seems to be of great interest at the present centennial of its composition. It is without date, but must have been written after the arrival of the American commissioners at Paris.

TO THE KING ALONE:

SIRE:

While State reasons engage you to extend a helping hand to the Americans, Policy requires that your Majesty shall take abundant precaution to avoid the secret succor sent to America from becoming a fire-brand between France and England in Europe; on the other hand, prudence wills that you acquire a certainty that your funds may never fall into other hands than those for whom you destine them. Finally, the present condition of your finances does not permit you to make so great a sacrifice at the moment as passing events seem to require.

It becomes my duty, Sire, to present you, and it is for your wisdom to examine, the following plan whose chief object is to avoid, by a turn which is absolutely commercial, the suspicion that your Majesty or his Council has any hand in that affair.

The second advantage of this plan is that your Majesty's Council can follow your *Majesty's funds* with its own eyes, and without fatigue, through the exchanges and the different metamorphoses which commerce will force them through from the moment of their leaving the generous hands that dispense until they reach the grateful hands which will receive them, without fear that they ever miscarry or become lost in faithless hands.

But the principal merit of this plan is to augment both the appearance and the substance of your succors to such a point that by multiplying these funds by their product a single million, brought up to a second circulation, will produce the same results for the Americans as if your Majesty had really disbursed nine millions in their favor, which it is necessary to explain.

Finally, the execution of this plan reunites, with so many advantages, the important faculty of restraining or extending a continuity of benefits agreeably to your prudence as the situation of the Americans may be more or less pressing, so that the succor wisely administered will serve

less to bring the war between America and England to an end than to continue it and feed it to the great damage of the English, our natural and decided enemies.

And when, to fulfill this important object, your Majesty will be forced to increase the sum of the succor that you send, it is well proved that every million that you expend, Sire, to place the Americans in a condition to defend their soil, will cost the English a hundred millions to continue to go there to attack them at a distance of two thousand leagues. For to sacrifice a million to put England to the expense of a hundred millions, is exactly the same as if you advance a million to gain ninety-nine; and in a calculation of all the events in the longest reign it is impossible, Sire, that you will ever find another opportunity to make so real and immense profit at so small a cost.

Let us pass to the details of the enterprise.

The constant view of the affair in which the mass of Congress ought to be kept is the certainty that your Majesty is not willing to enter in any way into the affair, but that a company is very generously about to turn over a certain sum to the prudent management of a faithful agent to give successive aid to the Americans by the shortest route and the surest means of return in tobacco. Secrecy will be the soul of all the rest. But the two principles of the operation, which are truly those which will bring the reward, are, on the one hand, the facility which your Majesty has to procure all the cannon powder you may desire at a very moderate price, and on the other, the impossibility of the Farmers-general being able to procure tobacco at any price whatever.

These two points agreed to, this is the way in which I intend to proceed in the affair.

Your Majesty will begin by placing a million at the disposition of your agent, who will be named Rodrique Hortalez & Company; this is their commercial name and signature, under which I find it convenient that the whole operation shall be carried out.

One half of this million, exchanged into moyadores or Portuguese pieces, the only money current in America, will be promptly sent there, for there is an immediate necessity for the Americans to have a little gold at once to give life to their paper money which, without the means of making it circulate, is already become useless and stagnant in their hands. It is a little leaven that it is necessary to put into the paste to raise it and make it ferment usefully.

Upon that part of the million no benefit can be obtained except the



return of it in Virginia tobacco, which Congress must furnish to the house of Hortalez, who will have made a sale in advance to the Farmers-general of France, by which they will take the tobacco from them at a good price; but that is of no great consequence.

Roderique Hortalez counts on employing the second half of the million which is confided to it in the purchase of cannon powder, which he will forward at once to the Americans. But instead of buying that powder in Holland, or even in France, at the market price of twenty or thirty sols tournois the pound, the price at which the Hollanders have always held it, and even above it in providing the Americans, the whole point of our operations consists in the hope of Roderique Hortalez to buy very secretly, through the good will of your Majesty, from the Registers of your powder and saltpetre, all the cannon powder they require at the price of four to six cents per pound.

If the house of Hortalez, having contracted to send powder to the Americans on the basis of twenty sols per pound, should pay the same price to ordinary venders, it would only be able to send to Philadelphia, for the five hundred thousand livres which remain in his hands, five hundred millions of powder; and this second operation, as dry of gold pieces as the first, producing no benefit other than returns in tobacco, would reduce the speculation to the simple safe return of the first investment, and, as we have said, it would be a very small affair in itself.

But if Roderique Hortalez should obtain from the Registers of your Majesty powder at five sols tournois the pound, with the five hundred thousand livres that remain, he could obtain two thousand millions, or twenty thousand quintals of powder, which sent to America at the price of twenty sols the pound, would bring Congress in debt to Hortalez to the amount of two millions tournois, the returns of which being converted as well as that of the piasters into tobacco, sold in advance to the farmers general, will soon put the house of Hortalez in a position to account with the real owner of the funds who is your Majesty for a sum of 2,500,000 livres. Besides this it will account for the benefit obtained from the sale of tobacco which will amount, in round numbers, to 500,000 livres.

The return of all these sums will then make Hortalez agent and possessor of an effective sum of three millions, with which it can renew the operation and throw at once 1,500,000 livres in gold over the American paper money, and six thousand millions and fifty thousand quintals of powder into the cannons and mortars. But these sixty thousand quintals,

which will have cost Hortalez fifteen hundred thousand livres, will not the less make the Americans his debtor in a sum of nine millions, as well for the cannon powder as for the Portuguese gold which they will have received.

This suffices to show your Majesty how the product of that affair, treated on great commercial principles, must increase by circulation not in the double progression of 1, 2, 4, 8, &c., but in the triple progression of 1, 3, 9, 27, &c., for if the first million gives three, then three millions put back into the affair on the same basis must give nine, and these nine twenty-seven, &c., as, I believe, I have sufficiently proved.

Your Majesty need not be frightened at the complicated air that this operation assumes under my pen, when you remember that no commercial speculation is carried on or succeeds by any more simple or more natural means than this.

I have treated this affair in so far, Sire, in the spirit of a great trader who wishes to make a successful speculation, and I have developed to you the unique secret by which commerce in bulk, drawing all its benefits from without by the advantageous exchange of commodities, augments the prosperity of all States that have the good sense to protect it; much superior to the art of finance, which never establishing its benefits except on interior speculations against the subjects of the State, can never augment the fiscal product except at the expense of the universal existence of the subjects. Instead of the real fat given by commerce that destructive art only produces a monstrous inflation in the body, a swelling in the head of State, occasioned by the poverty, the constraint and general strangulation of all the other parts of that suffering body.

But to return to the subject, my aim being less to make a lucrative commercial operation for your Majesty than to give to the first mission of your succor the appearance and effect of a much larger sum, there will always result to the Americans, from my first operation above detailed, which they will have received from your Majesty, by the hands of Hortalez, a real succor of two million five hundred thousand, of which five hundred thousand livres will be in gold and two millions in cannon powder, although your Majesty will really have disbursed but one million livres. And if the return in tobacco and the sale of that product take place as I have pointed out, your Majesty will soon find himself in a position to send back, by the hands of Hortalez, the three millions provided for from the price and profits of these returns, to recommence the operation on a larger scale. But then following the geometrical pro-

gression of the product above demonstrated, the Americans will have actually received in two turns, from your Majesty, a sum of nine millions, thus: two millions in gold, seven millions in powder, although your Majesty, who will only have replaced the second time in the transaction the product of his first venture, will only have really disbursed a million altogether.

This well explained, now it is the same thing to the house of Hortalez to employ a French vessel or a Holland vessel; each presents some advantages which are counterbalanced by the inconveniences which I will explain.

The choice of a Holland vessel has the advantage that the hand furnishing the succor will be more surely disguised, but it will expose the munitions or the returns to being intercepted in the long voyage from Europe to America by English privateers. They can then deprive us in a moment of the fruit of our whole operation.

The choice of a French vessel insures absolutely the transportation of the munitions to Cape François, chosen by Hortalez in America to be the first deposit of its commerce.

That way, however, gives room to a suspicion that the French Government is disposed to favor the enterprise; but considering that there will be no proof of that fact in existence, we will pass much more easily over that fear than that France should aid the Americans whether or no. They are more than persuaded in England that for a long time we have lavished our succors to the brave Americans.

Holding then to the choice of a French vessel, charged for account of Rodrique Hortalez & Co., Congress, or rather Mr. Adams, Secretary of Congress, will be alone forewarned by the agent in England that a vessel is carrying to him, at Cape François, both gold and munitions, which are to be returned in Virginia tobacco, so that he may send to the Cape upon a vessel loaded with tobacco an agent who will bear his power to receive both, and to send back by the Captain of Hortalez the entire return in tobacco, or at all events a recognition that he owes Hortalez & Co. the balance of the amount for which he may not have been able to furnish return.

Thereupon the French Captain will deliver to them the balance of the Cargo, and will take back on board his vessel to Europe all that the American Captain delivers to him, arranging it so that if in the short passage from St. Domingo to the continent the American ship is taken there will not be found a vestige of anything on her that will not belong

to a pure and simple commercial transaction between Rodrique Hortalez and an American armed vessel. The Cargo of tobacco carried safely to France by the French vessel will replace a part of the losses, and the operation will begin again in the hope of being more fortunate, while no one will be compromised.

Before finishing this work I wish to hazard an idea that suggests itself to me, which is that it would be very pleasant to succor the Americans with the money of the English, which is very easy. It would suffice for that, that your Majesty, modeling yourself after the English, who exact a duty at Dover of three-fourths of the value of all French carriages which are taken to England, should ordain that in future all foreign horses and carriages which arrive in any of your seaports shall be subject to the payment of the same duty that ours pay to the English upon the enormous quantity of horses, carriages, etc., that curiosity, folly or commerce brings to us from that country. I assure your Majesty that if you will allow me to register that little item for your account you will soon have no further need to trouble yourself as to what you will do to furnish funds to the house of Hortalez & Co.; your Majesty will soon have the means to place the business of that house, which belongs to your Majesty, in a most flourishing condition; and this financial turn, much superior to all other speculations of that murderous service, in this that the products of it will not be torn from your subjects but from the English alone, would be brought within the principles adopted by the economical and political mercantile house of Hortalez de Beaumarchais, that the merchandize and products of foreigners should not be admitted into any country if they do not bring to it a benefit equal to their consumption.

The adoption of this idea in procuring to your Majesty the sweet pleasure of not employing any other money to aid the Americans than what this duty will draw from England herself, has something spicy in it, and which seems to me to be proper to sow as flowers upon the dry soil of examining the going out, the return and profit of the commercial funds of Hortalez, of which your Majesty will be sole proprietor.

After all that I have said it will not be necessary for me to prove that your Majesty can contract or expand your succor at will. This business of Hortalez alone, slackened or pressed according to the exigency of the case, will produce this effect without any one perceiving the true motions of these variations.

Such is the plan that I offer to your Majesty for this affair, after

having reflected on it maturely, after having submitted the project to calculation, the decision to your orders, the execution to my prudence, and the success to fortune, it appears to me to be the most advantageous of all others.

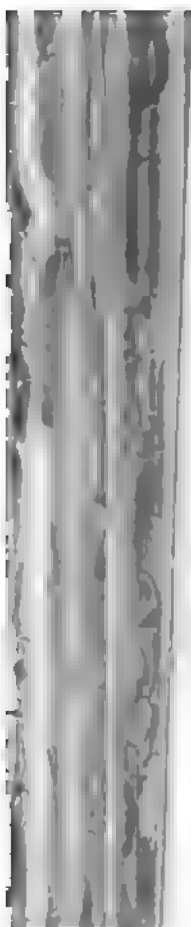
If your Majesty does not adopt it, I will at least have the advantage of having yet once more shown, if not very extended enlightenment, at least an active and pure, as well as an unalterable zeal.

CARON DE BEAUMARCHAIS.

Beaumarchais was a self-constituted champion of American interests at Paris, and through this letter actually became the medium through which the aid of the French Government was at first secretly afforded to the Americans, and was speedily crowned with success in the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga.

GEORGE CLINTON GENET





## THE FIRST AMERICAN BARONET

SIR WILLIAM PEPPERRELL

Nearly a quarter of a century has gone by since the excellent biography of the renowned Hero of Louisburg was first given to the world by Dr. Usher Parsons from the papers of the Pepperrell family which, preserved from destruction by Colonel George Sparhawk, and after long exposure and much injured, fell into his hands. His work is the chief authority for this sketch. In his title page Mr. Parsons claimed that Sir William Pepperrell was the only native of New England who was created a Baronet during our connection with the mother country. This statement being received with doubt he defended its literal correctness in the preface to a second edition, in which he added that he had found no instance of the creation of a baronet, of American birth, for distinguished services, prior to the Revolution. Many persons, he explains, have been knighted and allowed the prefix to their names of *Sir*, but no one entitled to the affix of *baronet*.

William Pepperrell, the father of the subject of this sketch, was born in Tavistock Parish, near Plymouth County, Devon, England. The natural tendency of youth in maritime towns, and particularly of countries where the profession of the sailor was held in highest esteem as necessary to the increase and honor of the State, was to seafaring life. The mariners of England, whose fame has filled the pages of story and song, were recruited from the hardy inhabitants of the dangerous coast of the tight little island. Intercourse with the American coast and the profits of its fisheries, for which Spaniards, Frenchmen and Englishmen had contended from the discovery of the continent, gave constant employment to the most adventurous population of the coast of Europe from Tweedmouth to the Bay of Biscay. The Newfoundland fisheries were the cradle of the sailors who struggled for that ocean supremacy which England almost uninterruptedly maintained, until, met by the sons of Cape Cod, men of their own race, they were compelled, after many a hard fought action, to admit the American republic to an equal freedom. It is not a little curious that the whole of the shore which has led to a contention brought down to recent days was in the earlier maps laid down as Baccalao, or the codfish land.



It was to the captain of one of the little schooners employed in this hazardous pursuit that William Pepperrell of Tavistock was apprenticed. His term of service finished, with his small earnings he embarked for the Isle of Shoals, which lies about nine miles to the southward from Kittery point on the Maine coast, a favorite fishing station because of its safe harbor and of the abundance of the dun-fish, the most valued of the many varieties of the cod. Arrived at these Islands, which in their extent do not exceed six hundred acres, the young adventurer formed a partnership with a Mr. Gibbons, of Topsham, England. After the fashion usual in ventures of this character, in which luck plays so large a part, they sent out their smacks on shares, in which all hands participated. Remaining on shore themselves they set up an establishment on Star Island for the cure and sale of the fish. On a visit to Kittery Point Pepperrell made the acquaintance of a shipwright, John Bray, also a native of Plymouth, whose daughter Margery he soon after married. Receiving with her as a marriage portion a piece of land at Kittery Point he changed his residence, and there erected a part of the house which, later extended and improved, is still known as the Pepperrell Mansion. Here Sir William was born, and here father and son continued to reside until the decease of the former in 1734.

The character of a race is formed by its manner of life, its habits and occupations. Little idea do we have in these easy days of the hardships the colonists endured, and the constant danger to which they were exposed in the pursuit of their occupations. Their daily toil brought their daily bread. The storm might lower, but on the appointed day the weather must be breasted; the lurking savage might threaten the field laborer by day, but when the seed time and the harvest came no thought of danger could be allowed to interfere with the necessary task.

No literature is more fascinating than that which recites, in bold, clear outline, the stories of heroes; a word hardly applicable in its true, poetic sense to others than those whose forms are discovered through the dim mist of uncertain history. The epic stories of the Houses of Priam and Agamemnon, the Song of the Nibelungs, the romance cycles of Arthur and Charlemagne, hold our interest because of their partially historic truth. We may see these heroes dimly, but we see them surely and know them to be heroes; as we recognize in the mutilated fragments of an heroic torso the presence of an immortal. Such is the advantage of the unknown over the known. Imagination takes the place of reason, and we ascribe to the human superhuman qualities. Descending from

this mystic realm, of which poets are said to know the royal highways, but in which the historic vision discerns no certain landmarks, we come to the land of earth, this matter-of-fact planet we all inhabit for a season. Here we find varieties of human heroes whose forms time has left so unshattered that we can still measure their physical, moral and mental dimensions. Of these, marked by strength of individual character, calmness of judgment and untiring energy, the mind to order and the will to execute, was the conqueror of Louisburg, whose fame, had he lived in the misty days of romance, would have been already a household word along the whole northern coast, the theme of song, as the New England Jarl, the western Viking who ruled sea and land, and struck his enemy with the same vigor that he protected his family and his friends. In this he showed the traits of the original Welsh race from which he sprung. Nothing is more interesting in the study of anthropology than to trace the perpetuation of strong race traits in what are termed aboriginal races. Railroads and steamboats are levelling race characteristics, but still, in the general fusion, traits break out that will not be effaced, and show that with all the leaven of southern blood there remains a base of enduring tenacity in the northern stock.

William Pepperrell was born June 27, 1696. He received the practical education of the day, learned to know how to survey the land he purchased, to navigate a vessel beyond the usual log throwing, and to cast an account with mercantile exactness. His first practical knowledge of the ways of life was gained from an Indian raid and the indiscriminate scalping of his neighbors by untutored savages, who thus showed their aversion to the civilizing influences of the European element and modern improvements; treating the defenceless settlers very much as the Western hoodlums are now treating the defenceless Chinese. His father held the Pepperrell Fort, or castle, built for defence at Kittery Point, and the youth smelled powder before he reached his teens. At this period of the history of New England, personal danger was the rule, not the exception of life. Even to church every man carried a firelock, and guards watched while the congregation prayed; need one wonder that the manly songs of the old Hebrews, expressive of trust in the Lord and the Sword of Gideon, are ever met with in the history of Colonial worship. No one has lived in New England without feeling the influence of this trust in the Scriptural text.

The Pepperrells became the greatest merchants of New England. They exchanged the products of Maine with every clime. Their lumber floated in rafts to the sea, their cargoes were wafted to the West

Indies, and every port of the European coast, even beyond the pillars of Hercules into the Mediterranean; every seaport saw the ships and knew the name of Pepperrell, and there was no banker in England who would not take their bills of exchange. By constant and judicious investments of their profits they acquired an enormous landed estate, thus unconsciously preparing for the baronial honors later acquired.

From his youth William was trained in the military methods of the day; at the age of thirty he was appointed Colonel, an office which gave him command of all the militia of Maine. At about the same period, 1726, he was chosen representative for Kittery, the next year was summoned to the Council Board, and in 1730 was appointed Chief Justice by Governor Belcher; an appointment he continued to hold until his death. But no amount of individual wealth, whether real or moveable, or yet any Colonial importance, sufficed in the last century to secure for their possessor an English title. Such distinctions were only to be gained, if at all, by signal service to the parent State.

In the spring of March, 1744, news was received that France had joined her arms with those of Spain, and formally declared war against England. The formal declaration, and information of expeditions from the French stronghold, Louisburg, against the Nova Scotia posts of Canso and Port Royal, or Annapolis, reached the eastern coast simultaneously, and at the same time came the alarming word that the Nova Scotia Indians had joined the French. The Penobscot tribes were bound to the Colonies by an offensive and defensive treaty, but when now summoned for their quota in the war declared by the Colonies against the northern tribes, they declined to fight against their brethren. The expedition against Fort Canso succeeded, and the English garrison were marched prisoners to Louisburg. That against Port Royal failed, the post having been reinforced by Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, on the first news of impending war.

Louisburg was the most important point held by France on the northern coast, and offered a safe harbor for French merchantmen homeward bound from the Indies, and a 'coign of vantage' for attack of English vessels on similar voyages, as well as a protection to their own and a menace to the fisheries of their enemies. Formidable fortifications had been erected, and a walled town built on the south-east extremity of Cape Breton, which received the proud name of the King. This town was two miles and a half in circumference, strongly fortified by heavy stone ramparts and a broad ditch, and the narrow entrance to the harbor, about four hundred yards wide, was protected by a heavy

battery, on an island called the Island Battery, which fronted a similar work on the main land, known as the Royal Battery. The town was laid out in squares, many of the buildings upon which were of stone adorned with architectural ornament. The works had been continued for twenty-five years and had cost France six millions of dollars, an enormous sum at that period. For the New England Colonies this powerful station was a perpetual menace, and desperate as the venture seemed, a determination sprung up to capture it at any cost.

The prisoners taken at Canso were exchanged in the summer, and returned to Boston in the fall. From their account of the strength of Louisburg, Governor Shirley conceived the idea of capturing the city by surprise. The Governor was careful not to unfold his plan to the ministry, but asked that Commodore Warren might be ordered up from the West India islands to protect the fisheries. A small armed naval force was gathered from the New England provinces: fourteen armed vessels, carrying two hundred and four guns. The land force, four thousand three hundred men, thus assigned: to Massachusetts, three thousand two hundred and fifty; Rhode Island, three hundred; New Hampshire, three hundred, Connecticut, five hundred.

The choice for a commander by common accord fell upon Colonel William Pepperrell. Though without military experience in the open field, his bearing and character were of one born to command. He threw himself heart and soul into the enterprise. His personal popularity ensured a rapid enlistment, his generous advance of money hastened the outfit; the occasion was one in which time was a most important consideration. In addition to these elements of success Colonel Pepperrell brought one still more important to the cause; that of religious fervor. Himself a devout professing member of the church and thoroughly imbued with the peculiar tenets of the day, he was the very man to attract to his standard the stern enthusiasts, who held the faith, and had much of the temper of Cromwell's Ironsides.

The war of Protestant England against Roman Catholic France took the character of a holy war. The motto for the flag, "Nil desperandum Christo duce," supplied by his friend George Whitfield, gave to the expedition the air of a crusade, and Puritan clergymen shouldered their axes to destroy the images in the French churches with the same confidence in the aid of Providence and their own righteousness as the Iconoclasts of Antwerp or Ghent. Deacon Gray of Biddeford expressed his longing that he might be with Pepperrell and "dear Parson Moody in the church [Louisburg] to destroy the images there set up." Such

was the magnetism of Pepperrell that the towns near Kittery, his residence, turned out almost to a man, and throughout Maine the spirit ran so high that one third of the forces of the expedition were enlisted from her population alone; a statement made and reiterated on many occasions by Pepperrell himself in his correspondence.

To prevent information reaching the enemy an embargo was laid on all vessels sailing to the northward, and secrecy was enjoined on the trainbands. The forces, four thousand three hundred men, were raised in eight weeks wholly from New England. The Massachusetts troops left Boston on the 6th March, Pepperrell in command with the rank of Lieutenant-General. On the point of sailing letters were received from Commodore Warren declining to take part in the expedition, but his decision had no weight with the colonial leaders. Pepperrell was ready to move alone. He had not entered hastily into the contest, but once engaged he would take no step backward.

The quotas from the different provinces rendezvoused at Canso early in April. They were still engaged in preliminary operations when Admiral Warren appeared. He had received peremptory orders to cover the fisheries, and, learning from a vessel of the sailing of the expedition, with the true instinct of a sailor had steered directly for the scene of war. The ice breaking up, the expedition re-embarked at Canso on the 29th April. The arrival off the harbor of the large well appointed fleet and armament was the first notice the French at Louisburg had of their danger. A landing was effected on the main land with little opposition, encampment made almost within cannon range of the city walls, and the siege duly begun the 1st May. The same day, by a happy accident, the grand or royal battery fell into the hands of the Americans without a blow, and its guns were turned upon the city; approaches were at once established. On the 2d a surrender was demanded by Pepperrell and Warren, and peremptorily declined by the French. An immediate storming was agreed on by the leaders, but the project abandoned, the officers and soldiers showing dissatisfaction with the project. Reinforcements were written for by Commodore Warren to the governments of the southern colonies; meanwhile Pepperrell pushed his batteries and begun to breach the wall. On the 24th May Warren proposed a general attack by the fleet, and asked that sixteen hundred men be sent on board his vessels to aid in the undertaking, a plan which by no means suited either the provincials or their commanders. The arrival of a French fleet was daily expected, with two thousand men, and no time was to be lost.


Early in June, hearing from deserters that the ammunition of the port

was falling short and the courage of the garrison waning, the bombardment was hotly pressed. On the 16th, preparations were made for an assault; the ships stood in and anchored; six hundred of Pepperrell's command were drawn up on their decks, while the troops on shore were paraded and addressed by the commanders. Alarmed by these tokens of an immediate assault, the fatal result of which the disproportion between his own numbers, reduced and wasted by the long uninterrupted siege, and the largely superior force of the Americans and English, rendered apparent, Governor Duchambon, in the afternoon, sent a flag of truce to the allied commanders, and asked for conditions. The most generous terms were consented to, and the garrison marched out with the honors of war, drums beating and colors flying. They had made a gallant defence, and deserved this consideration.

In the correspondence between the two commanders and Governor Duchambon, it appears that Commodore Warren intended himself to receive the keys, and take possession of the city. This a letter from him to the French commander plainly intimates, but his purpose was not pressed, and that it would have been submitted to by Pepperrell is not probable. Pepperrell led his troops in person into the city on the 17th, and it was he who presented the keys to Governor Shirley in the presence of Warren, some time later, when a perfectly kindly feeling was apparent between the two commanders.

By the capitulation six hundred and fifty veterans of France, thirteen hundred and ten militiamen of the province, with seventy-six cannons and mortars fell into the hands of the victors, and the famous port passed under the English flag. On the occasion Pepperrell gave a grand banquet to the officers. The news of this splendid success was received with the utmost joy; all the large cities of the colonies were illuminated. London itself blazed with bonfires, and the cities of the kingdom sent up addresses to the king.

Commodore Warren was promoted Admiral and appointed Governor of Louisburg and Cape Breton. To General Pepperrell a patent was sent, creating him a Baronet of the Realm, an honor never before conferred on a native of America. The title of Knight, or Sir, is a personal distinction, not an hereditary honor as that of Baronet. The arms of Pepperrell are described in the Herald office, London, as argent, a chevron gules between three pine-apples or cones-vert, with the augmentation of a canton of the second, charged with a fleur-de-lys of the first. He also received authority to raise a regiment in the British line



with the command of Colonel and the exceptional privilege of appointing his subordinate officers. And indeed, these honors were well deserved; historians agree that the capture of Louisburg "was the most important achievement of the war of 1744," and an equivalent for the successes of the French on the Continent. But there were resulting consequences more important than the peace of Europe; the colonists then measured their prowess with that of foreign powers, and this siege was the first of a series of military exploits in which, side by side with veteran English troops, they learned military discipline, and with it their own power.

After the capture of Louisburg Sir William Pepperrell and Admiral Warren continued in the exercise of a joint command. In his difficult relations with Warren, Pepperrell seems to have maintained a faultless dignity.

Nothing is finer than the temper of his correspondence; what more admirable than his letter to Wolcott, of Connecticut, where he says, in reply to jealous slanders upon him, that he had acted according to the best of his ability as a *father to the army*, ordering every regiment its proportion of duty in camp, and that he had reported to the government alike in favor of the whole, making no difference between those of Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Hampshire. If we would but eye the hand of Providence more (he wrote), and ascribe to Him, as His due, all the honor and glory, we should not be jealous one of another. And indeed, when the difficulties of the enterprise are considered, this feeling of entire gratitude to Providence is easily understood. Not less remarkable in the eyes of the godly New Englanders was the dispersion and destruction, in the fall of 1746 by tempest and disease, of the French fleet, sent to harry the New England coast, under the Duke d' Auville; and again, the ruin by Admirals Anson and Warren the next year of a large transport fleet, convoyed by a strong naval force under M. de la Jonquière; an exploit for which Warren in his turn was made a baronet.

Pepperrell and Warren left Louisburg for Boston where they arrived on the 1st June and were received with unusual honors. The House of Representatives waited upon them in the council chamber in a body, and the city was enthusiastic in demonstrations of joy. On the 4th July Sir William set out for his seat at Kittery. His progress was almost royal. At every town from Lynn to Portsmouth he was met by cavalcades of gentlemen, entertained in state, and escorted on his way.

Sir William Pepperrell's British regiment was stationed at Louisburg. He recruited and occasionally visited it. In 1748 he retired from commercial pursuits in favor of his son Andrew. His own health was broken by severe attacks of rheumatism, the common result of exposure on the northern sea coast. His son Andrew had been graduated at Harvard College in 1743.

The treaty of peace of 1749 returning Louisburg and Cape Breton to the French, the regiment of Sir William was disbanded, and he expressed his desire to "turn farmer." In a letter to his merchant in England conveying this information he says: "I am sure I spent a good part of my estate in the reduction of Louisburg;" yet nowhere is there a complaint of this use of his hard-earned fortune.

In 1751 Sir William met the greatest trial of his life in the death of his son Andrew. He seems to have been a young man of fair promise, but by no means of the commanding character his father displayed in every relation of life. In the heat of his sickness his trustful father, together with his wife, addressed a circular letter to all the clergy of the neighboring parishes—Drs. Sewall, Prince, Foxcroft, Chancy, to those of Boston even—urging them "to pray! pray! pray!" and "cry mightily to God." The postscript leaves no doubt of his entire faith in the efficacy of united prayer. "Let," he writes to his cousin, "our case be known to Christian friends along the road, and carry this letter, as soon as you get to town, to each one of the ministers to whom it is addressed."

In the spring of 1750 he applied to the King for permission to visit Europe; a formality his command rendered necessary. On his arrival he was invited to make his home at the estate of his friend, Sir Peter Warren, at Westbury. He was presented to the King, George II., and received with high distinction; was the object of numerous attentions from Lord Halifax and other noblemen of consequence, and a service of plate was raised and presented to him by the Lord Mayor of London. In Great Britain, to use his own words, he met with a very handsome reception. "I think," he adds, "they have, *at home* [England], a great value for this country [America], and I hope we shall always behave in a way to deserve it." In this same letter, addressed to Colonel John Gorham, one of his Colonels at the siege of Louisburg, he expresses his regret that the two American [Massachusetts] regiments were not continued, as "Americans who are used to the woods are the best to pursue the Indians." He returned home in the fall in one of his son's schooners, making the voyage in fifty-seven days.



Hostilities with France opened in 1755 with the defeat of Washington at Fort du Quesne, and Sir William at once called together the first Maine regiment. In October he received an appointment from Lord Halifax of Colonel of one of the two regular regiments which it was proposed to raise in America. His regiment was ordered to rendezvous at New York and Philadelphia. Shirley was placed in command of the other regiment. Braddock's general plan of hostilities comprised three expeditions; one under himself to Fort du Quesne, a second by provincials against Crown Point, and a third against Niagara by the regiments of Shirley and Pepperrell, both of whom had received the grade of Major-General.

This last expedition was under command of Shirley in person. Want of transportation and other causes delayed its arrival at Oswego until August, and no other operations were undertaken. Pepperrell did not accompany the expedition, his new rank placing him beyond the command of a single regiment, but was assigned to the eastern frontier with the state of which he was entirely familiar. In his letters to Lord Halifax at this period he declares his opinion that an "army of North Americans are the only fit men to meet a mixed army of French and Indians in the woods."

In the spring of 1756 he expected to have been sent in command of an expedition against Crown Point, but the jealousy of Shirley, first displayed after Louisburg, appears to have again revived, and as he was Commander-in-Chief after Braddock's death, his commission as Major-General preceding that of Pepperrell, he seized the opportunity to appoint Winslow to command in his stead.

Pepperrell retained the equanimity for which he was so remarkable, but in 1756, alluding to his disappointments, he says, "now I think I am too old."

The disasters of the next year, the fall of Fort William Henry, alarmed the eastern colonies, and Sir William Pepperrell was at once summoned to the field. In a few days his military sagacity satisfied him that there was no cause for the great panic. On his return he retired from active service. While he participated in the general mortification at the contemptible situation to which the incapacity of British commanders had reduced the American colonies, he had the satisfaction of feeling that no detriment had come to them from any consent of his; indeed, while his enemies or rivals were ordered home in disgrace, he retained the confidence of the colonies and of the ministry.

In 1758 Lord Amherst redeemed the credit of the British army, and

Louisburg, the conquest of Pepperrell, was his first trophy. This incident brought joy to the patriotic heart of the veteran, and his last days were cheered by the recognition of his eminent services by the youthful minister about whose brow the aureole of glory was gathering fast. In February, 1759, Sir William was honored by Pitt with a commission of Lieutenant-General of the royal army, a rank for the first time born by a native American. He never took the field. His health continued to fail. He died on the 6th July, 1759.

Much has been said and written of self-made men, but the page of history may be sought in vain for a more perfect example of the best traits of American character than those which were manifest in the career of this remarkable man. He left no son to perpetuate his name; his vast estate he devised to his grand-children, the children of his daughter Mary, the wife of Hon. Nathaniel Sparhawk, his grandson William being named residuary legatee on condition of his assuming the name of Pepperrell. When the revolutionary struggle broke out all of them took sides with the mother country.

William Pepperrell Sparhawk, who after the death of Andrew was adopted by Sir William as heir to his estate and title, and by act of legislature dropped the name of Sparhawk after his grandfather's death, was graduated at Harvard in 1766. He was chosen member of the Governor's Council, and succeeded to the title of Baronet in 1774. Continuing in office under the mandamus of the King, he was declared by his neighbors to have forfeited the confidence of all true friends of American liberty, and tenants were warned not to take leases of his land. Thus placed under the ban, he withdrew to Boston, and sailed for England in 1775. In 1778 he was proscribed and banished, and the next year his vast landed estate was confiscated to the State under the Conspiracy Act. He died in London in 1816. The only Sir William who would have perpetuated the adopted name of Pepperrell died unmarried in 1809.

Lady Pepperrell, the widow of the General, the first Baronet, was allowed a small part of the property, specially devised to her, upon a composition of her life-estate. She died in 1789.

The plate of Sir William was allowed, by the Act of Confiscation, to his grandson, and taken to England. Other mementos, among them the sword the Colonel wore at Louisburg, remain in this country.

The old mansion at Kittery, a view of which accompanies this sketch, is plain in architecture, though of extensive proportions; before cut down, its broad lawn extended to the sea. The rooms are

spacious, the ceilings and banisters ornamented and richly carved. The large hall is said to have been lined with fifty portraits of the family of Sir William and of his companions in arms. Many of them have been preserved. In this mansion, now the abode of humble fishermen, Sir William lived in a state suited to his high employments and rank. Objects of art adorned its walls, his park was stocked with deer, and his barge was manned by a crew of negroes dressed in uniform. On the bleak Maine coast, the first American baronet maintained his estate in a style to which it had been before and has been since a stranger.

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS



## DIARY OF EPHRAIM SQUIER

SERGEANT IN THE CONNECTICUT LINE  
OF THE CONTINENTAL ARMY

*From the Original M.S. in the Pension Office at  
Washington*

Communicated by Frank Squier

PRELIMINARY NOTE.—Sundry declarations and documents filed in the Pension Office at Washington in the year 1832, in compliance with the Act of Congress regulating pensions, passed June 7th of that year, give the following particulars of the revolutionary services of the author of this diary :

Ephraim Squier, son of Philip Squier and Elizabeth his wife, was born at Ashford, in the county of Windham, Connecticut, on the 9th February, 1847-8. On the 20th or 21st of April, 1775, he volunteered in Ashford in the alarm of Lexington, in the company under the command of Captain Thomas Knowlton. This marched to Charlestown, where in May Captain Knowlton had a Captain's commission from the Connecticut Assembly sent him ; he enlisted under him and served until some time in June, when he enlisted into one artillery company, commanded by Captain Collander, and was in the battle of Bunker Hill. Sometime after the battle he returned to the Ashford company again, and served until July, when, by agreement, he went into a company at Roxbury, under Captain Pomeroy, in Colonel Fellows' regiment, in which he served until the 7th of September, when he signed to go under Lieut. James Sprague, of Capt. Scott's company, to Quebec in the expedition of Colonel Benedict Arnold, up the Kennebec river.

The rear detachment, under Col. Eno, was obliged to return back to Cambridge, where it arrived the 25th of November. He then returned to Capt. Pomeroy's company, at Preston's Point, where he served until the 25th of March, 1776, a period of eleven months.

The 1st of April, 1776, he volunteered in the Militia, and went to New London and Groton in Capt. Hendee's company, and served three months. On the 15th of August the militia was ordered thence to New York, where he served, at White Plains, Northcastle and the vicinity, in Capt. Hindee's company, three months. About the last of November Capt. Hindee's company was ordered to march to Providence, Rhode Island, where he served three months, into the year 1777.

The 4th December, 1777, he marched for Albany with Capt. Isaac Stone, of Col. Jonathan Latimore's regiment, and joined the Northern army at Stillwater, where he served in Gen. Poor's brigade, of Gen. Arnold's division, at the capture of Gen. Burgoyne ; at this time he served two months.

In his declaration, from which the preceding is almost textually copied, he says that the journal of the two campaigns from which the diary is extracted was kept at the time.

He was invited to be present at the ceremony of laying the corner stone of the Bunker Hill monument in 1825. He died August 19th, 1841.

EDITOR

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I

## THE QUEBEC EXPEDITION

*September the 7th, Anno Domini 1775*  
This instant set out for Cambridge.

Went and signed to go under Lieut. James Sprague, for Quebec, and returned to Dorchester, the same day.

8th.—Went to Cambridge, to join our Company, stayed all this day and over night.

9th.—To-day we paraded in order to draw clothing, and returned again to Dorchester.

10th.—Sunday. This morning early set out for Cambridge, in order to march for Quebec, paraded on Cambridge Common. Being not ready to-day, tarried at Cambridge.

11th.—This morning paraded on the old spot, in order to march for Quebec, but refused to march till we had a month's pay, so we stayed still in Cambridge, to-day.

12th.—Early this morning, paraded again in order to march, but still not ready, we pitched our tents on Cambridge Commons.

13th.—To-day, the sun about two hours high, in the afternoon, set out for Quebec. Marched to Mystick, lodged in the Meeting House, three miles from Cambridge.

14th.—This morning set out for Mistick. Went through Malden, Lynn, into Danvers, sixteen miles from Mistick.

15th.—This morning early set out from Danvers, went to Beverly, there eat breakfast, then marched through Wenham, Ipswich, into Rowley, there staid.

16th.—Marched this morning to Newburyport, there we pitched our tents.

17th.—Sunday. Our Regiment marched to Meeting.

18th.—To-day, towards night, went on board the Schooner "Swallow."

19th.—This morning about 8 o'clock, hoisted Anchor, made sail, run aground in the harbor. We then got into Boats, went aboard the Schooner "Hannah," then set out for Kennebec, the wind fair, soon blew up a storm, which made the most of us very sea sick. Run 'till 10 o'clock, at night. Hove too against the mouth of the ———

20th.—Early this morning, went into the mouth of the river, cast anchor, lay 'till just night, then hoisted anchor, went up the river 3 miles, cast anchor.

21st.—Hoisted Anchor, went up the river to Swan Island, run aground, lay 'till nine o'clock at night, got off, went up about a mile, cast anchor.

22d.—Weighed Anchor, went up to Capt. Cabens, nine miles below Fort Western, then took Battooes along up to Fort Western. Went two miles, staid at one Nan Crosses, a private house.

23d.—Set out this morning, went up to Fort Western, there made us a Board Camp, wood cut very handy.

24th.—Sunday. Last night a man was shot at a Public house, about half a mile above here. One Rydre is taken on suspicion, confined 'till night, then set at liberty, then taken a man belonging to Capt. Gutteridge's Company and confined.

25th.—To-day the General Court Marshall set, Examined the man and evidence. He confessed he shot the gun; saith he was in liquor. The man that was buried to-day, died yesterday, he belonged to Norwich, in Connecticut, his name was Bishop. Lieut. Gray arrived here to-day with an express from Cambridge, for us to push forward with all speed.

26th.—To-day the Criminal was took to the gallows, Conducted by a strong Guard, with a Halter about his neck, placed on the stage, under the gallows, was reprieved 'till General Washington could see him, put him in irons and ordered to be sent to Cambridge.

27th.—This day was whipped and drummed out for stealing, One Love belonging to Capt. Scott's Company. Three more was whipped; all fresh men. One more stripped for letting a prisoner go, that was sentenced to be whipped, 33 for stealing, an Irishman.

28th.—To-day paraded in order to march. Being not ready taried. To-day was severely whipped for theft, 33 lashes, an Irishman, that run from the Century the night before last.

29th.—This day set out with our Battooes, up the river. I went alone in one. We went seven miles and camped.

30th.—Went up the river six miles. I went by land, and camped by the bank of the river. So this month we ended.

October 1st, or now Sunday, the first day we marched five miles to Fort Halifax. I went by land cross Sebesticook river to Fort Halifax, went  $\frac{1}{2}$  a mile up the river to the carrying place, carried by; this was the first carrying place. We carried about 50 rods.

2d.—Went up the river five miles above the five miles Rips. Camped on the Bank of the river. Our Battooes not up. I went over to Sebesticook, stayed over night.

3d.—This morning early, set out went back to our Camp, went up six miles and camped. I went by land to-day.

4th.—This morning early, set out went up the river, six miles to Scowheganfalls,

carried by, camped. I went by land to-day.

5th.—This morning set out early, went up the river six miles. Camped just above Bumbezee Rips. I went by land to-day.

6th.—This Morning early, set out, went up to Noridgewalk, 7 miles, the last mile rapid. I went by water, to-day took out, carried some of our loading by this carrying place. Was a mile and a half.

7th.—To-day we finished carrying by the falls. Moved to the upper end and camped.

8th.—Sunday. A very rainy day and we no shelter. We are now beyond all inhabitants. To-night it ceases raining.

9th.—This Morning early, embarked aboard our Battooes, set out from Noridgewalk falls, went nine miles, the land appeared to be very good. Water very rapid. I went by water to-day. Camped on the Bank of the river.

10th.—Early this morning embarked aboard our Battooes. Went nine miles up to the Divell's Falls, carried by and camped. This carrying place is about 40 Rods. I went by water.

11th.—This morning set out. I went by land. Marched 18 or 19 miles and camped, two miles below the great carrying place. Our Battooes, behind, some miles behind. We drewed provisions out of Capt. McCobb's Battooes, for to-night.

12th.—This morning went up to the great carrying place, drawed provisions, two of our Battooes came up to-day.

13th.—This morning a large Cow Moose came within two rods of our camp. Cold squalls of snow to-day, one of our Battooes came up to-day. Carried

over to the Pond, three of our Battooes, to-day 3 miles and  $\frac{1}{4}$ .

14th.—Last night a man was wounded by the fall of a tree they had made a fire against, one Buck, belonging to Capt. McCobb's company.

14th.—To-day the man that was wounded, by the fall of tree last night, died of the wounds he received. Something rainy, and we in the woods and no shelter.

15th.—Sunday. Ceases raining. Our company are called together to carry over our provisions and Battooes. Carried over the greater part to-night. It is very rainy and we no shelter but the Heavens. We carried seven Battooes to the Pond.

16th.—To-day we finished carrying over to the first Pond, and carried across to the other side half a mile and carried to the 2d Pond  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile. Dark and cold, when we came there and short on it for wood, so we camped and but little fire.

17th.—This morning we finished carrying across and crossed the 2d Pond half a mile. Carried across to the 3d Pond, three miles and very bad way as ever I see, camped by the side of the Pond.

18th.—Crossed the 3d Pond this morning, which is a mile and a half across. Carried part of our loading over to the creek that leads into Dead River five miles; 3 and a half very bad way and a mile and a half a hundred times worse, this last mile and a half a sunken mire hole.

19th.—This morning early it begins to rain and we no shelter, and are obliged to go to carry over our Battooes, and

Barrells, the way muddy and slippery, hard for poor soldiers, that have to work hard in the rains and cold, and to wade a mile and a half knee deep in water and mud, cold enough and after night, to camp in the rain without any shelter.

20th.—Last night it was very rainy and continues raining hard all day, however we got all our loading over to the brook that leads into Dead River, and put into the brook half a mile from Dead River, and went up Dead River 3 miles and camped on the bank of the river. Continues raining hard all this day. I went by land to-day, the river very dead as far as we went to-day.

21st.—Last night likewise was very rainy and continues raining exceedingly hard all day. I went by water to-day. Went 18 miles, we had one carrying place of 5 rods, the first in Dead River. The river not so rapid as Kennebec, and the wind in our favor, and a windier nor a rainier day I never see. We went 'till almost night, then went ashore to camp, and at length with utmost difficulty kindled us a fire, but could not take much comfort, the wind blowed so high and rained so hard 'till bout 10 or 11 o'clock at night, when the river raises so high that it obliged us to retreat from our fire, the water next morning 4 feet deep where we made our fire, the river raised, we judge, 12 feet, so windy that it was dangerous being in the woods.

22d.—Sunday. Continued raining 'till 12 o'clock last night, then some stars appeared. We very glad to see them as we had not seen sun, moon or stars for some days. Early this morn-

ing embarked on board our Battooes. Set out up the river, the sun appears this morning. Looks warm, I went by water to-day, went 10 miles and camped, the river high and rapid, the water so high we went over one carrying place; we staid behind the rest of our company, except Lieut. Sprague, with his Battooe and hands.

23<sup>d</sup>.—This morning early, embarked a board our Battooes, went up to the carrying place, 3 miles carried by 60 rods. Went half a mile and camped. The water very rapid, so that we were obliged to hawl up by the Brush along shore, as we did yesterday. The water still appears to be rapid, the land poor, timber green Balsome, fare plenty here.

24<sup>th</sup>.—This morning I set out by land, went up to the carrying place, one mile carried by 50 rods, then I went on Board, went up to the falls, 2 miles carried by half a mile, put into the river. Went forty rods by water to the next carrying place, carried by  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile, put into the river again. Went up two miles. Camped with Lieut. Sprague, and 8 more, 2 Battooes. Capt. Scott and the rest of our company encamped  $4\frac{1}{2}$  forward. To night something snowy and cold.

25<sup>th</sup>.—This morning by a little after Break of day, went up to the rest of our company, there stopped till Capt. Scott, and Lieut. Sprague, went up to the Lieut.-Colonel Enos, a mile forward and we marched on, I went by land, we marched 'till 2 o'clock in the afternoon, then was ordered to march back to our camp, where we camped last night and so make the best of our way back after those that was sent off this morning.

The Colonel gave orders this morning, that as many as had a mind to return, might return, and seven out of a company must return.

26<sup>th</sup>.—This morning early embarked a board, set out down ye river, ordered to go down as far as where we encamped, the night of the 21st of this month. Not able to get so far, good part of our company staid by the way. I came by water, we had 4 or 5 carrying places to day. We run our battooes with the loading, except our pack and guns, two of us run it over all but about a rod and a half. We drew over the rest of the fall. We carried by. One Battooe, attempting to run the first falls was stove, the men happily saved, part of a barrel of flour lost, and a box of lead. The loss of the flour much lamented, we being short of provisions. Capt Scott went with part of the Battooes to the place. Lieut. Sprague, with his battooes stopped two miles back and we stopped with ours, it being in the night we run our Battooe against a rock and stove her so that we were obliged to put ashore and onload and there camped on the bank of the river. Very cold and frosty.

27<sup>th</sup>.—This morning early embarked on board our Battooes, went down to Capt. Scott, Lieut. Sprague stopped with two of us and a Battooe. Capt. Scott with ye rest of the company went on, we waited until about a 11 o'clock, then the two that was behind, Simeon Tyler and Asa Davisson, came up to us, we then pushed forward after the rest of our company, who were ordered to go as far as the Brook, where we put into Dead River. We had one carrying place to



day of about 5 rods, while we were carrying by. Lieut. Sprague pushed off a Battooe that was lying on the falls, he then spied two guns that was lying on the bottom of the river and we got them both out, and went on until about sun down, we came up with our foot party camp at dusk, a mile and a half behind Capt. Scott.

28th.—This morning early embarked on board our Battooes. Went to Capt. Scott, at the Brook, there went on shore and took two days provisions for each man, those that went by water took the same provisions with them.

28th.—Lieut. Sprague set out to go round with our Battooes, and about 10 or 12 more with him, said to be 45 miles round and rapid water, and about 18 or 20 across by land. I went by land, we had not marched but about 60 rods before we had to wade about a mile and a half, the water about waist high and very cold, we were obliged to break the ice the whole of the way, and had to wade a mile more where the water was over shoes, however I made out to get over to Kennebec River, to day by about dusk and Camped.

29th.—Sunday. This morning early our company was called together to go back to the creek after flour, that they intended to run round, but finding the river so rapid, was obliged to send it back. 20 of our company went back, the rest of us was ordered by the Colonel to make the best of the way to where we could get provisions, some to go by land as many could not go by water. I came by water on a Battooe, with some sick and lame to steer them down, we came down to the Divil's falls, 20 miles, carried by and camped.

30th.—This morning early embarked on board our battooes, and made the best of our way down to Noridgewalk falls, 20 miles; got there about 12 o'clock in the after Noon; carried by falls, put into the river, run the Rips to the inhabitants; one hour with me; run them very rocky and hard. We got to the inhabitants about 3 o'clock in ye afternoon, went up Sandy river a mile and a half to one James Waugh's, where there was some bread and flour sent after us and lay there. Stayed all night.

31st.—This morning I went back to the river to flings and carried some bread to those of our company that came down with us. So they set out for Fort Halifax, and I returned to Waugh's. Staid all night.

November 1st.—To day we went and carried the bread and flour to flings, returned to Waugh. Staid all night.

2d.—This morning early set out for Fort Halifax, went down the river by water six miles, good going till we come Bumblezee Rips, here we took out and carried by, 2 men last night, attempting to run them, run on a rock and stove their Battooe, and left them both in the middle of the river, one of them made shift to get ashore, the other was drowned. One Seabrid Fitch, of Connecticut in our company. We went to Scowhegan Falls, carried by, then 2 of us run the Rips 4 miles, then the rest of our men got in and went down to one Blackden's. Staid over night.

3d.—This morning set out, went down to the Five Mile Rips. Went over to Sebesticook, staid here over night, to day it was very snowy and rainey.

4th.—This morning set out, went down to Fort Halifax, 5 miles, drewed

provisions for 4 days to go down to Brunswick, 50 miles, went 6 miles to day. Staid at a private House.

5<sup>th</sup>.—To day went down to Fort Western, by land, here went a board with some of our company, went 3 miles. Staid at a private house. To day was Sunday.

6<sup>th</sup>.—Set out this morning early, went down to Swan Island, went by water to day, it looks very much like a storm.

7<sup>th</sup>.—This morning early embarked a Board and set out down the river, storm very hard, snow and rain, cold plenty. Went in about six miles of Brunswick, went ashore and went by land to Brunswick to Stones. Stormed hard all day, went to Capt. Dulap's about 40 rods from Stones, there staid.

8<sup>th</sup>.—To day drew provisions here, staid at the old spot at Capt. Dulap's. None might go forward.

9<sup>th</sup>.—Staid still at Brunswick, begins to rain a little before night, looks like a storm.

10<sup>th</sup>.—This morning early, it begins to snow, and snows very hard, the snow by night about mid leg.

11<sup>th</sup>.—Cleared off to day, very cold, we are called together to draw provision to carry us to Cambridge, and drew for five days bread and two days meat and ordered to march to morrow for Cambridge.

12<sup>th</sup>.—Sunday. This morning marched, went through North Yarmouth woods, 9 miles to any house, and very bad way, snow almost garter deep, besides very muddy, went almost to North Yarmouth meeting house, 16 miles.

13<sup>th</sup>.—Very cold to day, went as far as old Casco Bay, 16 miles, staid here

over night in houses that were forsaken by the inhabitants, here drew provision for one day.

14<sup>th</sup>.—Marched to Stout Water Bridge, there had a team to carry our packs, went to Scarborough, 17 miles, staid at Capt. Roisse's.

15<sup>th</sup>.—Set out to day, went to Saco, 7 or 8 miles, very stormy all this day and wet walking, and snowy. Before night a tedious storm for its time.

16<sup>th</sup>.—Set out this morning, very bad walking, snow almost knee deep here, went to day to Wells, 17 miles, here we got cider and apples plenty.

17<sup>th</sup>.—Cold and dry walking to day. I went through Cape Natic, old York into Kittere, 21 miles.

18<sup>th</sup>.—Very cold to day, I went to Piscataway, 5 M. Ordered to wait 'till the rear came up so crossed not the river to day, part went across.

19<sup>th</sup>.—Sunday, this morning crossed the river into Portsmouth, marched to Merrimack river, across into New Buryport, 24 miles.

20<sup>th</sup>.—To day drew provisions for to carry us to Cambridge. Marched a little before night, went to Rowley, 8 miles.

21<sup>st</sup>.—This morning set out went to Lynn.

22<sup>d</sup>.—This morning early marched to Mystic, there tarried for our Officers.

23<sup>d</sup>.—This morning early marched to Cambridge province. Thanksgiving to day. We were dismissed. Ordered to return to our camp.

24<sup>th</sup>.—Staid at Cambridge to-day.

25<sup>th</sup>.—To day went to company at Dorchester, having taken a long and wearisome journey, returned abundantly satisfied.

## II

## THE NORTHERN CAMPAIGN

*September the 4th, Anno Domini 1777.*

—Then marched for Albany, went to Coventry to Capt. Russts.

5th.—To day marched to Hartford. Lodged in the Court House.

6th.—To day after draughting provisions, marched to Limesbury.

7th.—Sunday, marched to New Hartford, near Green Woods.

8th.—To-day marched to Cold Brook.

9th.—This day marched to Sheffield.

10th.—To day marched to Nobletown.

11th.—To day marched to Kender Hook mills.

12th.—To day marched to Greenbush to the Ferry.

13th.—To day crossed into Albany, drew ammunition, marched to the Flates.

14th.—Sunday. To day marched to Stillwater.

15th.—To day marched and joined the army at Stillwater.

16th.—We are now in about 7 or 8 miles of the enemy and expect an engagement.

17th.—We are still kept ready for a march.

18th.—To day ordered to strike our tents at 3 o'clock P. M., and leave them and our packs and ordered to march this morning before sunrise, towards the enemy's encampment through the woods, said that the enemy are advancing upon us, however, this was not the case. We were marched in order to force the enemy's lines, but we alarmed them by some of our Riflemen firing on some of the enemy at a small distance

from their camp, took two of the enemy and wounded one.

19th.—To day ordered to strike our tents, ready for a march and kept on our arms, 'till about one o'clock in the afternoon, then a smart fire began between the enemy and our men, in about a mile and a half of our encampment. Our men overpowered them and took 250 of the enemy and they retreated, the firing ceased for about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an hour, then the enemy had a reinforcement sent them and the fire began again smarter than ever, our reinforcing our party as well as they, both kept reinforcing 'till night. Our Regiment went out, the sun about an hour high. Marched 'till the sun half an hour high, when the enemy fired on us, we lost out of our Regiment 8 or nine killed and 30 wounded.

20th.—To day ordered to strike our tents at 3 o'clock P.M. hourly expecting the enemy to force our lines.

21st.—Sunday. Much expecting the enemy, struck tents ready to march.

22d.—We still expect the enemy.

23d.—To day about 12 P. M. we are alarmed by the enemy's firing.

24th.—To day ordered to strike our tents.

25th.—This morning early, a fire of small arms began alarm, but soon ceased.

26th.—Nothing remarkable happened to-day.

27th.—Ditto.

28th.—Sunday. This morning alarm, then calm, the Regt. of the day.

29th.—Nothing remarkable to day.

30th.—This morning alarm, then calm.

October 1st.—Nothing remarkable to day happened.

2d.—Nothing special to day.

3d.—Nothing remarkable to day.

4th.—Alarm to day. Nobody hurt.

5th. Sunday, this afternoon marched to meeting, heard a sermon preached from the words, viz: "Return to the stronghold ye prisoners of hope."

6th.—This morning ordered to march for a covering party, before breakfast, marched to Salatoga, about a 1000 men to [ ] No provisions with us, got lost, staid out all night. Rain and cold. No sleep to day and night. Obligated to be still, being just by the enemy.

7th.—This morning early marched to our camp, got in about 10 o'clock, about 2 o'clock in the afternoon alarm, about 3 a fire began within a mile of our loins, the enemy soon retreated, our men pursuing, drove them from their out side loins, took from them 8 pieces of Brass Cannon and field pieces, 2 of 12 pounders, 6 of 6 pounders with ammunition, so left them after dark.

8th.—This morning early our men marched out in order to cut off the retreat of enemy, but they lay still in their camp to day, and our men returned to camp.

9th.—To day I went on the Picket. Rained to day, last night the enemy left their camp, sick and wounded.

10th.—To day our people marched after the enemy.

11th.—To day struck our tents to march up to our army. Marched to Salatoga.

12th.—Staid by our Baggage, near the Meeting House. Sunday.

13th.—To day went over to the left wing of our army, about 3 miles.

14th.—Orders to-day that there shall

be no firing, 'till after sundown. Our people and the enemy's covers together, flaggs pass to and from the enemy, the contents unknown to us at present.

15th.—Orders this morning again not to fire on the enemy, 'till farther orders, at 12 o'clock orders to parade under arms and to rest on their arms 'till farther orders. At about 4 o'clock, the agreeable news came so that it was credited, that the enemy had resigned themselves into our hands, and that our people was bringing out their baggage, 'tis now said they are not more than 3500, rank and file.

16th.—Very calm this morning 'till about nine or ten o'clock, then all ordered under arms immediately, said that Burgoyne, refused to sign articles according to agreement, and ground his arms at 8 o'clock. Genl. Gates, therefore saith, if he did not comply in one hour, he would wait on him no longer, but force him to terms, thinking, I believe, that Genl. Burgoyne meant to baffle him. News came before night, that articles was signed and sealed and that the enemy are to lay down their arms tomorrow at 10 o'clock. The Genl. saith, that he fears there is treachery among them, orders to-night to lay on our arms and parade at 3 o'clock in the morning.

17th.—This morning at 4 o'clock paraded, then about 8 o'clock paraded again, ground our arms at about a 11 o'clock, orders to strike our tents and load them and march to head quarters immediately, which we did as soon as possible and paraded by the road just north of the Meeting House, so as to see the prisoners march by towards

Head Quarters, a very agreeable sight, I thought for some time, but was weary before they had all passed by though they marched brisk, yet they had hardly all passed us by the sun half an hour high. They was more than three hours in passing.

18th.—This morning early ordered to parade on the same ground we marched of on last night, and then marched towards Albany, and marched in great haste, the whole Brigade ordered to march to Albany before they halted, which was near 40 miles. No time allowed us to cook any provisions. At about 10 o'clock at night, we got down to the Sprouts, and obliged to wade them. As it was we found the enemy had burned Esopus, and it was thought they intended to come to Albany, and we intended to get there before them, if possible.

19th. Sunday. This morning ordered to be ready to march at 8 o'clock. I was draughted for a guard to guard our Cannon on the march, but hearing that the enemy had retreated, we were marched only on to the hill, just above the city and ordered to pitch our tents, I was kept on guard.

20th.—This morning relieved from guard.

21st.—Last night a cold storm of rain and snow and cold squalls of snow to-day.

22d.—Last night orders to be ready to march at an hours warning. To-day the Lt.-Col. went to the General to get a discharge, but could not.

23d.—This morning struck tents to march down the river. Crossed into Greenbush, went down three or four miles camped in the woods.

24th.—To day marched to Thunder Hook.

25th.—To day marched to Cloviric.

26th.—Sunday. To day marched to Livingston Manor.

27th.—Rained this morning and Continued all this day so that we don't march.

28th.—Rainey this morning continues hard all this day.

29th.—Marched to Rhinebeck to day, something rainey to day and we marched but 5 or 6 miles.

30th.—This morning our regiment was discharged. I marched to Oblong.

31st.—This morning set out early, went to Herrington.

November 1st.—To day marched to Hartford, staid at Olmstead's.

2d.—Sunday. To day marched home.

#### NOTES

RHODE ISLAND COAST GUARD.—Head-quarters, June 1, 1778. *General Orders.* Watch Boats being ordered constantly to pattrole near the shore to prevent a surprize, the following Distinctions are to be attended to (viz.) The Boat from Tiverstown is to cruize between Frogland Point and Common Fence Point; That from Bristol, between Common Fence Point and Pappasquash Point; That from Warren to Pattrole between Pappasquash Point and the North Shore at the Entrance of Warren River; them from Providence down to Patuxet; that from Patuxet down to Warwick neck; that from Warwick down below Greenwich; those from Greenwich and the several points below, to receive their Destinations from Colo. Green, who will be very careful to see that the several boats

cover the whole shore from Point Judith to East Greenwich. If Genl. Cornell, when he views the Eastern Shore, and takes command there, should find that an alteration of these destinations will answer a good purpose, he is at Liberty to make it, and notify it in order to the several Posts, and to notify it to head Quarters.

Should the Boats meet in the Night, which they doubtless will, the boat that first hails must hail in the words of the sign, and if the other answers in the words of the Countersign, there can be no doubt of their being friends, but if they hail or answer differently, it will be rendered certain that they are enemies, and may be treated accordingly; if there appears to be such a number of boats as will render it necessary to give an alarm, the Watch boat will retire with expedition to the nearest post, firing small arms constantly to give the alarm, which is to be the signal of alarm to be given from the several Posts. The commanding officer of the several posts will be possessed of the sign and countersign every night during the Month of June; that of each night will be given out by them at sunset as well to the Guard on Shore as to the Guard Boats, which will Enable the Guards to Distinguish between our boats and them of the Enemy.

Should any of our Boat's Crew desert to the Enemy, the Commanding Officer of the Post will immediately alter the Sign and Countersign, and notify the Adjacent Posts of it, that they may alter theirs accordingly. The Soldiers at every Post to be constantly furnished with Twenty-four rounds each—

<i>June.</i>	<i>Signs.</i>	<i>Countersigns.</i>
1	30 Hallow	2 Distinct Strokes on the boat with an oar or Paddle
2	29 Hai the Boat	3 Do
3	28 Who is there	Answer) Friends all
4	27 Whence came you	Come and See
5	26 Who come there	Whats the Clock
6	25 Hai	Hallow
7	24 Whence your Boat	From the Cape
8	23 Hai the Watch Boat	What say ye
9	22 Hai the Pilot Boat	Are you there
10	21 From what Post	Here we are
11	20 Where are you Bound	To your Quarters
12	19 How goes it	How fare ye
13	18 Are you there	Presently
14	17 Who is a Board	Brave fellows
15	16 Bring to	Not yet
16	15 Where do you Land	At the Fort
17	14 Hai the Bristol	This is the Warren
18	13 Where is your Captain	On Shore
19	12 Come on Board	By and By
20	11 Hai the Washington	She is in the Bay
21	10 Hai the Lewis	How stands your glass
22	9 Hai the America	Look at your Watch
23	8 Hai the Providence	Turn about
24	7 Hai the Lyon	She is out
25	6 Hai the Franklin	In France
26	5 Hai the Batteau	Where is your skipper
27	4 Hai the Galley	She is at her moorings
28	3 How came you here	By Land
29	2 Are you charged	Not yet
30	1 Hai the Row Boat	Let us alone

The above Signals to be kept secret by the Commanding Officer, who is to Deliver them out from Day to Day to the Crews of the Watch Boats. If any Boat hails differently, or if any answers Differently, they must be from the enemy, and may be treated accordingly. Great attention is to be paid to these orders, as they will effectually guard against a surprise, and at once Enable our Boats to Distinguish between the Boats of the Enemy and our own.—*From manuscript Order Book.*

A PRESIDENTIAL SALUTE.—*Philadelphia, August 2, 1798.* By the Trenton paper we are informed that the citizens intended to have made a parade to receive the President on his way to Brainerd—tree—he, however, having passed thro' that town before they were apprized, the corps of artillery assembled and *fired after him.* PETERSFIELD.

VOLTAIRE AND LAFAYETTE.—M. de Voltaire shortly before his death was invited to a large entertainment by the Duc de Choiseul, and was received with applause whichever way he turned. Perceiving the Marquise de Lafayette among the ladies, he hastened to lay at her feet in his person the most flattering homage to her husband, then in America, an homage which she received with the most touching embarrassment, in which modesty and joy were mingled. Thus the venerable old man at the close of his career had the honor and the pleasure to announce to his countryman Monsieur de Lafayette. [As Voltaire died in May, 1778, the allusion must have been to his distinction at the battle of Monmouth.] *Lettres d'un Cultivateur Américain, by St. John de Crève-Cœur.* J. A. S.

PROPAGATION OF AMERICAN TREES IN ENGLAND.—Just imported from Massachusetts Bay, in New-England, a Parcel of the true Scarlet Oak Acorns: This Plant is very swift in Growth, riseth two hundred and fifty Foot in Height, has Leaves eight inches or more in Length; and five over the Timber, equally valuable with our Oak; and as it comes from so cold a Country, is esteemed and allowed the greatest Improvement of

those Kinds ever yet imported. The Acorns are as sound and good as if gathered but one Day; will grow, if sown any time this five Weeks, and stand in all Weathers. Directions for planting will, if required, be given with them. Sold at Mr. Spalton's, at the Punch Bowl, near Grays-Inn Gate, Holborn.—*London Newspaper, 1727.*

My Dear Sir. My friend George Woodward, who is the bearer of this, is engaged in collecting some seeds for me, and he has my request to apply to you for information relative to certain trees and shrubs, which information I know you can, and I know you will give him.

I have sold about three hundred thousand trees, raised from seed my friend has sent me; and this year I have in my nursery not short of a million of trees, coming from the same source.

He is instructed to apply to my very good and kind neighbour, Singleton Mitchell, for the seeds of his Magnolia Grandiflora for this year.—*Extract of a Letter from William Cobbett, dated Kensington, near London, July 11, 1825, to Dr. Samuel L. Mitchell of New York City.* W. K.

A NEW YORK CELEBRATION.—*Philadelphia, July 2, 1755.* Admiral Boscawen is arrived before Louisburgh, where he has blocked up the French Fleet, who were but one Day's Sail before him. The French are said to have seven Line of Battle Ships, and Transports with 4000 Men, in that Harbour, and had they got to Canada, &c., they might have proved too strong for us. *The People of New York all got drunk on this good News.* PETERSFIELD.

BURGOYNE IN FRANCE.—General Burgoyne was in Paris in the fall of 1772, and a visitor at Chanteloup, the magnificent chateau of the Duchesse de Choiseul, who then expressed her opinion of him in a letter to Madame du Deffand (22 September), which may be found in the volumes of the correspondence of the latter, recently edited by the Marquis de Sainte-Aulaire.

"I am very glad that you are pleased with my general Burgoyne; he is the best and truest of men, not the most brilliant perhaps in society talents, but he should please you, because he is one of the most reasonable. Talk to him much of me, and tell him how touched we were at his taking such a journey to visit us here, and how much you have heard me speak of my affection for his wife."

He seems to have been interested in farming, as she again writes on the 8th October: "So long as you keep our General Burgoyne with you, talk to him of me and my friendship for him, and assure him that we shall receive with great pleasure and great gratitude such advice as he may be kind enough to give us about our farming." STUDENT.

INDIAN TRIBES OF THE MALIGNÉ RIVER. "Those of the Northern end of the Maligné are the Spichehat, Kabayé, Teheaman, Tehauremet, Kiabaha, Chaumené, Quoan, Arhau, Exepiahohé, Ahonergomahé, Kemahopihein, Koienkahe, Komkomé, Oménaossé, Keremen, Korimen, Ahehouen, Meghey, Telamena, Ointemarhen, Kouyam, Meraquaman. Those towards the West and North-west are in the following order: the Kannehouan, Peissaquo, Pernequo,

Kuassé, Coyabegux, Orcan, Peimhoum, Piechar, Tohaha, Petaro, Petao, Tserabochoerete, Onapiene, Piohum, Chancré, Tohau, Pechir, Petsaré, Serecoutcha, Tsepcoen. Besides these there were named to me the Cenis, and some others whose names I did not take down.—*Joutel's Relation*, 1682, *Margry's French Discoveries*. EDITOR.

### QUERIES

MORGAN'S RIFLEMEN.—I am in pursuit of information concerning the riflemen under Colonel Morgan during the Burgoyne Campaign.

In the latter part of 1775 and first of 1776, Samuel Jordan Cabell raised a company of "expert riflemen" in this county, old Amherst (now Amherst and Nelson). The officers of this company of "expert riflemen" were, I am quite sure, Samuel J. Cabell, Captain; Alexander Rose, 1st Lieutenant; Ben. Taliaferro, 2d Lieutenant; James Barnett, Ensign; and John Jordan, Cadet; James Dillard was one of the Sergeants. In March, 1776, at Williamsburg, Virginia, this company was attached to the 6th Virginia regiment, Mordecai Buckner, Colonel; Thomas Elliot, Lieut.-Colonel; and James Hendricks, Major. This regiment was in the battle of Germantown, where a portion of it was taken by the enemy; but *not* Capt. Cabell's company. From a letter in the Philadelphia Press, I see it asserted that this rifle company was detached to serve under Colonel Morgan, and was engaged in the battle of Saratoga.

I have not been able to trace this company (as a company) any later than



March, 1776. Capt. Samuel J. Cabell had risen to the rank of Major, sometime prior to February, 1778, and to the rank of Lieut.-Colonel prior to March, 1780. He represented this district in Congress from 1795 to 1803. Ben. Taliaferro moved to Georgia after the Revolution, where he became a distinguished Judge. I do not know what become of the other officers. Ensign James Barnett had risen to the rank of Captain before the end of the war. Alexander Rose was the grandson of the celebrated Parson Robert Rose, who died in Richmond, Virginia, in 1751.

A. B.

*Norwood, Va.*

FRANKLIN SQUARE, NEW YORK CITY.—In the January (1878) number of the Magazine it is asserted that the name of the triangle of ground on which the old Walton house still stands and Harper's building is situated, was changed from St. George's Square to Franklin Square, in honor of Benjamin Franklin. An article in the World of the 6th of May, 1878, under the heading "Old New York," contradicts this version of the origin of the name, and asserts that it was "originally called Franklin Square in honor of Walter Franklin, who resided on the square corner of Pearl and Cherry streets for many years."

Under which king Bezonian?

SUBSCRIBER.

LORD BELLOMONT'S COFFIN.—Dunlap in his history of New York (1839), vol. I., p. 244, says: "There are the remnants of a coffin and a coffin-plate in the rooms of the Historical Society, supposed to be those of Lord Bellomont,

taken from the old Dutch Church." He queries whether Lord Bellomont was buried in that place, Trinity Church having then been built. The Liesler papers in the N. Y. Hist. Soc'y Coll., vol. 1868, show that Leisler's body was taken up and buried with great ceremony in the Dutch Church. Now, if this coffin was not Bellomont's, and *was* a Governor's, it may have been Leisler's. Smith says that the Dutch Governor's vault was next to Stuyvesant's, which was on his farm. If, then, Bellomont was buried in Trinity as Dunlap suggests, Leisler was the only Governor buried in the old Dutch Fort.

Are the remains of the coffin and the plate still in existence? It would be an interesting fact if there should be any indication on the plate of its having been Leisler's, the only American Governor that was ever hanged or beheaded.

S. H. G.

*West Brighton, S. I.*

GEORGIA SALTZBURGER MEMORIAL.—A London newspaper of September, 1733, contains the following item: "We hear that the Trustees for Georgia have lately received from Holland, a curious medal or device incased in Silver, representing the emigration of the poor Saltzburghers from their Native Country. As it opens like a Box, it contains in the inside a Map of their Country divided into seventeen districts; and seventeen little Historical Paintings, representing the seventeen Persecutions carried on by the Heathens against the Christians. The whole is folded up in a very small Compass, and look'd on as a great Curiosity."

Can any particulars be obtained as to

the existence or history of this interesting memorial?

W. K.

A CURIOUS ENGLISH COIN.—During the last year, a memento of the British possession of this post was dug up on the site of the Twightwee village on the east side of the St. Joseph river, mentioned in the journal of George Croghan, under date of August 1, 1765, and is now in my cabinet.

It is a gold coin of George III, coined in 1765, and from the fact that it shows very little signs of wear, has probably lain where found during nearly the whole period of its existence.

The obverse has the profile of the King, with the legend "Georgius III. Dei Gratia." The reverse has the coat of arms and date, 1765, with the legend "M·B·F·E·T·H·R·E·X·F·D·B·E·T·L·D·S·R·I·A·T·E·T·E." Can some numismatist give me the meaning of the legend?

R. S. ROBERTSON.

*Fort Wayne, Ind.*

FIRST PRINTED LAW REPORTS IN AMERICA.—The statement that Kirby's Law Reports, 1785 to 1788, was the earliest work of the kind in this country, has been called in question.

Can any of your readers give me light on this subject?

D. B. KIRBY.

#### REPLIES.

THE MOUNDBUILDERS (II, 532).—Mr. Stone, in his interesting article on "Moundbuilders," says, "that they originally came from the South or Central America several thousand years ago, and spread into the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi, and after building

mounds and cities were finally driven back by another race to the country whence they had emigrated, is not now seriously questioned."

I desire in a friendly way to take issue with this statement, as the origin of the "Moundbuilder" is an open question, and as evidence that the hypothesis stated is seriously questioned would cite the fact that in an article presented by the writer to the "Congress Internationale des Americanistes," at its last session, held at Luxembourg, September 10th, 1877, the same idea was advanced as to the origin of the Moundbuilders, and was questioned by two of the savants who were in attendance—Lucien Adam and Baron de Hellwald. The first says: "If there is an historic law well established, it is that migrations proceeded from north to south"; and the latter stated "that the hypothesis put forward by M. Robertson has not been proposed to this day, except by a single Americaniste, M. Squier. All the others from Humboldt to our day have believed in migration from north to south; and this view is confirmed by the well-known fact that copper is not found in a native State in America except in the Lake Superior region." *Compte Rendu 2ème Session, Tome II, pp. 50, 51.*

Thus it will be seen that while I am in accord with Mr. Stone upon that hypothesis, it can hardly be stated as a fact, nor that it "is not now seriously questioned."

R. S. ROBERTSON.

*Fort Wayne, Ind.*

GENERAL BONNEVILLE (II, 567).—There seems to be a mistake in the notice relating to the late General Benja-

min L. E. Bonneville, which was published in the September number of this magazine (p. 567). According to this notice, Bonneville was born in France, where his father perished by the guillotine during the Reign of Terror. The latter statement is totally at variance with what Mr. Washington Irving says in the introduction to his *Adventures of Captain Bonneville*. As we learn from that amiable author, Bonneville senior emigrated to the United States, and took up his abode in New York. "He is represented," says Irving, "as a man not much calculated for the sordid struggle of a money-making world, but possessed of a happy temperament, a festivity of imagination, and a simplicity of heart that made him proof against its risks and trials. He was an excellent scholar, well acquainted with Latin and Greek, and fond of the modern classics. His book was his elysium; once immersed in the pages of Voltaire, Corneille or Roane, or of his favorite English author, Shakspeare, he forgot the world and all its concerns. Often would he be seen in summer weather seated under one of the trees on the Battery, or the portico of St. Paul's church in Broadway, his bald head uncovered, his hat lying by his side, his eyes riveted to the pages of his book, and his whole soul so engaged as to lose all consciousness of the passing throng or the passing hour."

Hence it appears that the worthy gentleman escaped the dangers of the guillotine, and spent the evening of his life quietly in the city of New York.

C. RAU.

Washington, D. C.

WILLIAM LIVINGSTON (II, 488).—In the biographical sketch of Wm. Livingston there are some omissions. He left six daughters, not five; besides those named there was Judith, wife of John Watkins. Brockholst Livingston, his son, was transferred from the Supreme Court of the State of New York to the Supreme Court of the United States, and was on the bench when he died in March, 1823.

H. L.

Newport, R. I.

#### BOOKS WANTED.

We beg to inform our subscribers that hereafter we shall devote so much of this column as may be necessary to a department of BOOKS WANTED. Through this medium collectors will be enabled to communicate with each other, and thus perhaps acquire books for which they have sought elsewhere in vain, or dispose of books for which they may have no further use. Collectors desiring to avail themselves of this column will please give their addresses in full, so that those who wish to communicate with them can do so directly, and not through us.

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St. John Hector (Crève Coeur) Letters from an American Farmer. Philadelphia. Matthew Carey. 1794.

J. SABIN & SONS, 84 Nassau Street, N. Y. City.

Burke's Virginia, 4 vols., 8vo, uncut.

Beverly's Virginia, uncut.

(Peters, S.) History of Connecticut, London edition, uncut.

Brereton's Virginia, 4to.

Bullock's Virginia, 4to.

Hamor's Virginia, 4to, original edition.

Weymouth's Voyage to Virginia, 4to.

Hariot's Virginia, London, 1588, 4to.

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

**A POPULAR HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, FROM THE FIRST DISCOVERY OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE BY THE NORTHMEN, TO THE END OF THE FIRST CENTURY OF THE UNION OF THE STATES ; preceded by a sketch of the pre-Historic Period and the Age of the Mound Builders.** By WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT and SIDNEY HOWARD GAY. Fully illustrated. Vol. II. Royal 8vo, pp. 634. CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS. New York, 1878.

In our July number of last year we noticed the first volume of this attractive and valuable work. A note to the present—the second—volume informs us that the text was all in type before the death of Mr. Bryant ; that the third volume will shortly follow, and that no interruption will be caused in the progress of the work by the lamented death of the senior editor. It will be completed in four volumes.

That before us covers the earlier portion of the Colonial period, in which the provinces, growing in material wealth and strength, and experience in self-government, were gradually prepared to become a united and independent nation. In his preface Mr. Gay, upon whom the laborious duty of editor has fallen, entirely dissipates the idea that Mr. Bryant simply served as a figure head to this colossal literary enterprise, by the statement that both of these volumes had in every line the benefit of that careful scholar's "careful criticism, ripe judgment and candid discrimination." Those who are familiar with Mr. Gay's extreme diligence and accuracy of method, and clearness of treatment and style, will feel assured that, following the general rules under which the work has been laid out, there will be no falling off in the volumes to succeed. In the preparation of the chapters now given upon the early history of the extreme South and West, he has called to his aid the Rev. E. E. Hale, an authority on the history of French and Spanish colonization in the North American Continent.

The first five chapters treat of New England history, from the Pequot war to the charter granted in 1663 by Charles II to the Rhode Island colony, the most comprehensive and radical vouchsafed to any English colony, and which served as the constitution of the little commonwealth for one hundred and eighty years. The chapter on the Boston Puritans is worthy of special attention; the limitations assigned to freedom of thought and liberty of conscience are carefully noted and severely condemned, while the purity of purpose of the Puritans is unquestioned. Like

all commonwealths founded on a theoretic basis, from the time of Moses to that of Brigham Young, the Massachusetts colonists were jealous of encroachments, physical or moral, and builded a moral wall against the outer world ; the dense forest and the stormy Atlantic sufficiently guarded their physical domain. They had fled from persecution to found a moral kingdom, and they would admit none who did not comply with the fundamental laws their priests and elders had established. In judging them it must not be forgotten in what fire their souls were tempered and their weapons forged.

The sixth and seventh chapters are devoted to the New Netherlands, its people and rulers, opening with the popular rejoicings on the relief of Governor Kieft by Peter Stuyvesant. Here we are told of the encroachments of the English on the Dutch settlements, and the summary manner with which the choleric Stuyvesant met the invader ; and later of the diplomatic manner in which he availed of English influence on Long Island against the party of his own people, who opposed his autocratic rule. Then follows an account of the differences between the Dutch and the Swedes, who had established themselves on the South river, as the Delaware was termed in contradistinction to Hudson's or the North river, and the final discomfiture of the subjects of Christina. Quakerism in New England, and the melancholy story of the relentless persecution of this sect by the government and people of the Eastern Colony, has a chapter of its own ; but it is only just to say that they fared little better in the Southern Colonies. In New Amsterdam only they appear to have been safe from annoyance. The gradual rise and increase of English power, the surrender of the Dutch possessions, the history of the Carolina patents of 1663 and 1665, of Virginia with the intestine quarrels during the administration of the incompetent Berkeley, and the growth of the Carolina Colonies amid Indian wars and Spanish depredations, bring the reader to the close of the fifteenth chapter.

In the sixteenth the treatment is of another character. The political policy of the Puritans is examined, and the history told of the struggles over the charter, until the arrival of Sir William Phips with a new instrument, laying down the borders of the new and extensive province, which included Maine and Nova Scotia. The bloody episode of Philip's war, during which the outlying settlements scarcely knew an hour of calm tranquility, is graphically related, and an equally interesting account follows of the witchcraft delusion, which continued the high tension of the fervid New England mind. The Friend colo-

nization of the middle section, the prosperity of the Jerseys east and west under their rule, the settlement of the Penn Colony, and the foundation of Philadelphia complete the portion of the book devoted to the established colonies.

The last four chapters are, as was above observed, devoted to the South and West. The French explorations of the Mississippi, and the discovery of the Illinois country; the adventures and assassination of La Salle; the Mississippi bubble, and the birth of the city of New Orleans, named in honor of the Regent, Law's patron, are described in two chapters, and two are devoted to an equally interesting sketch of the Spanish settlements, from Florida to Texas.

There are a large number of page and text illustrations, of every variety of style and execution, and a number of maps and plans. It must be remembered that this is a popular history. It certainly conveys a vast amount of carefully digested material in a most readable manner, and the element of romance while not omitted, is subordinated to the truth of history. Indeed, the "over true tale" of American settlement needs none but a faithful pen to commend it to the warmest imagination.

**PENNSYLVANIA ARCHIVES. SECOND Series.** Published under the direction of MATTHEW S. QUAY, Secretary of the Commonwealth. Edited by JOHN B. LINN and WM. H. EGLE, M. D. Vol. VII. 8vo, pp. 832. LANE S. HART. Harrisburg, 1878.

This volume begins with Papers relating to provincial affairs in Pennsylvania, 1682-1750. These are followed by Papers relating to the boundary dispute between Pennsylvania and Maryland, 1734-1760. Of more general interest, though of less serious value, is the narrative of Marie Le Roy and Barbara Leiningen, who spent three and one-half years as prisoners among the Indians, a textual reprint of a tract issued from the German Printing Office of Philadelphia in 1759; a Journal of Col. James Burd of the provincial service, 1760. He belonged to the Augusta regiment which made the expedition to Presqu' Isle; a journal kept at Fort Augusta, 1763, where Col. Burd commanded. The volume closes with a large addition to the Papers relating to the Dutch and Swedish settlements on the Delaware River, the bone of contention when Peter Stuyvesant ruled New Amsterdam. As usual, there is an excellent index.

**OS ESTADOS UNIDOS ESBOÇO HISTÓRICO DESDE A DESCOBERTA DA AMÉRICA ATÉ A PRESIDÊNCIA DE JOHNSON (1492-1865).**

Por ANTONIO DA CUNHA PEREIRA DE SOTTO MAJOR. Volume I. 8vo, pp. 334. Imprensa Nacional. Lisbon, 1877.

This is the first part of a work, which the author announces as complete in manuscript, and to be followed at short intervals by two additional volumes, illustrated by a map of the United States. The author was well known here as Consul-General of Portugal in the United States, and later as Secretary of State of Foreign Affairs. His authorities for his sketch were chiefly the works of Bancroft and Lossing. He divides the text of the present volume into three parts. The first epoch that of the discovery, 1492-1606; the second, of colonization, 1607-1733; the third, the colonies, 1619-1760.

It is agreeable to notice how little by little a knowledge of the history of the United States is penetrating the European States even most divided from us by traditions, interest and language. The history of self-government, traced from its beginning on this continent, is full of useful lessons, warning as well as encouraging.

**A COMPLETE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.** By J. A. SPENCER, D.D. Continued by BENSON J. LOSSING, LL. D. Illustrated with one hundred highly finished steel engravings from original paintings. Four volumes in two. 4to. WILLIAM T. AMES. Philadelphia, 1878.

This is a new edition of this well-known popular work of Dr. Spencer. The addition by Dr. Lossing brings down the history from 1865 to the opening of the Centennial Exhibition in 1876. The work is arranged in books, subdivided into chapters, with an elaborate table of contents and an excellent index. It is profusely illustrated by steel plates, and its reasonable price brings it within the reach of a large demand.

**LEGENDS, CUSTOMS AND SOCIAL LIFE OF THE SENECA INDIANS OF WESTERN NEW YORK.** By JOHN WENTWORTH SANBORN. 8vo, pp. 76. HORTON & DEMING. Gowanda, New York, 1878.

This pamphlet account of an Iroquois tribe is from the pen of an adopted son, a chief. He took the Indian name of "O-yo-ga-weh," or Clear Sky. In a few months Mr. Sanborn is to succeed this old Indian in his rank and authority. The present sketch has been published to defray the expense of an edition of the Psalms of David, which the author is translating into the Seneca language.

The sale of the legends has been so large that a new edition is now in preparation.

**MIDDLESEX COUNTY MANUAL.**

12mo, pp. 144. PENHALLOW PRINTING COMPANY. Lowell, Mass., 1878.

In this manual are presented Judge Cowley's historical sketch of Middlesex County, with the addition of much new matter, and sundry chapters on the administration of the county. Collectors will be glad to find a critical review of publications relating to this ancient division of the Bay State.

**IMPRESSIONS OF AMERICA. BY R. W.**

DALE. Appleton's new handy-volume series. 16mo, pp. 163. D. APPLETON & CO. New York, 1878.

These impressions of an intelligent Englishman, during a short visit to the United States, are well worth the permanent form in which they are now printed. The author divides his subject into three branches—Society, Politics, Popular Education. Two months is not a long period, and hardly a bird's-eye glance can be expected, but in that short period he came to some sage conclusions. A notable one, that the Americans are a reserved people, not eager to talk about their own affairs. He might have added that they are not an inquisitive one either, as compared with any of the continental nations. Mr. Dale uses the word society in its large sense, and confines his remarks to general social characteristics. There is little of new in the chapter on politics, but we commend to all interested in the popular education of the United States his admirable analysis of our different school systems, which he rightly considers as far superior in methods of elementary instruction to those in use in the United Kingdom.

**VIEWS OF J. W. SCHUCKERS, Esq., OF PHILADELPHIA, DELIVERED TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, ON BANKING AND CURRENCY, JUNE 8, 1878. 8vo, pp. 22. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE. Washington, 1878.**

The financial student will here find some food for thought. We by no means concur in the views of Mr. Schuckers, but his account of the existing metallic reserves of the great commercial nations is correct, and worthy of every statesman's perusal. He makes some prophecies as to the workings of Mr. Sherman's plan of resumption, which will probably be realized. Our own idea of the proper mode of resumption has always been through redemption. Mr. Sherman has discovered a mode of resumption without redemption, which on its face seems more evasive than real.

**IN THE WILDERNESS. BY CHARLES**

DUDLEY WARNER. 32mo, pp. 176. [The Riverside Press.] HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & CO. Boston, 1878.

There is an out-door flavor about the sketches of this most popular of American writers peculiarly enjoyable in summer time. Mr. Warner is certainly the most breezy of our authors, and his pages are laden with summer scents, drifting on mountain airs. The Wilderness is the famous John Brown tract in the Adirondacks, where deer are much sought after, but rarely found, by citizens, and in these pages the personal adventures of a lover of sport are pleasantly told. Bear killing, trout fishing and deer hunting make up the contents of this camp companion. Read it.

**BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE**

LATE GEN. B. J. SWEET—HISTORY OF CAMP DOUGLAS. A Paper read before the Chicago Historical Society, Tuesday evening, June 18, 1878, by WILLIAM BROSS, A. M., Lieutenant-Governor of Illinois, 1865-9.

Camp Douglas was established at Chicago in 1861 by the Adjutant-General of the State of Illinois. It was then an open prairie, but is now covered with houses and cut through with streets. In 1861 General Sweet assumed the command of the post, and the camp was the home of five thousand prisoners of the Confederate army. The pamphlet is mainly taken up with a relation of General Sweet's services in this difficult position with an inadequate force.

**THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN. A**

Quarterly Journal, devoted to Early American History, Ethnology and Archæology. Edited by Rev. STEPHEN D. PEET, Ashtabula, Ohio. Vol. I, No. 1. April. BROOKS, SCHINKEL & CO. Cleveland, Ohio, 1878.

This new literary venture, to which we wish all possible success, is specially devoted to Archæology and Ethnology, a field of research which needs development. The opening number contains a variety of interesting articles, mainly relating to the Aborigines.

**NATIONAL REPOSITORY. DEVOTED**

to General and Religious Literature, Biographies and Travels, Criticisms and Art. August, 1878. HITCHCOCK & WALDEN, Cincinnati. NELSON & PHILLIPS, New York.

The leader in this number is an interesting sketch of Mount Desert, from the pen of our friend and well-known contributor, Rev. B. F. De Costa, who is an authority on the history and topography of the eastern coast. It is illustrated with a number of well executed engravings and views of this new popular resort. There is also a pleasing description of the Swiss lakes and a variety of other excellent matter.

**ABORIGINAL STRUCTURES IN GEORGIA.** By CHARLES C. JONES, Jr. Reprinted from the Smithsonian Report for 1877. 8vo, pp. 13. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE. Washington, 1878.

Here this accomplished antiquarian, whose "dead towns of Georgia" we recently noticed, describes the bird-shaped stone tumuli in Putnam county, Ga., attention to which was first called by Mr. Lapham in 1836. Two *animal* mounds had been observed in Ohio—one in the form of an alligator, the other of a serpent. One of those in Georgia represents an eagle with extended wings. A second chapter describes some ancient tumuli on the Savannah river, visited by William Bastram in 1776; a third, similar antiquities on the Oconee river. The paper is an admirable contribution to the aboriginal lore of the country.

**THE ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC—ITS SERVICES AND DESTINY.** An Oration delivered at the Reunion of the Army of the Potomac at Springfield, Mass., Wednesday, June 5th, by HENRY WARD BEECHER. Christian Union Extras No. 12. 4to, pp. 23. Christian Union Print. New York, 1878.

The occasion of this address was one of peculiar interest, throngs of people gathering to greet the "boys in blue." No man in the ranks of civil life did more practical service in the Union cause than the distinguished orator, then in the zenith of an unsullied fame. His services were those of an army corps to Lincoln. The address was an able defense of the principles which the war vindicated, and abounds in practical observations on the methods and uses of military force under our complex State systems.

**ADDRESS OF HORATIO SEYMOUR BEFORE THE ALUMNI OF MADISON UNIVERSITY,** JUNE 19, 1878. 8vo, pp. 16.

Anything from the pen of this cultivated scholar deserves notice and preservation. In this address will be found some critical observa-

tions on the American system of education, and a defense of college education. He utterly condemns the absurd prejudice that learning helps men of one condition more than another, and shows that the benefits of college training reach all classes indirectly.

**THE FORMER AND PRESENT NUMBER OF OUR INDIANS.** By Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel GARRICK MALLERY, Captain First Infantry, U. S. Army, detailed with the U. S. Geog. and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Indians. [From the proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, August, 1877.] 8vo.

**SOME COMMON ERRORS RESPECTING THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.** By GARRICK MALLERY. Extracted from the Bulletin of the Philosophical Society of Washington, December 8, 1877. 8vo. COLLINS, Printer. Philadelphia, 1878.

In these papers some generally accepted popular errors concerning the Indians are noticed and corrected. Catlin's description of the Indians as a copper colored race is questioned, and the general belief that the red man is disappearing refuted. Catlin estimated the Indians in 1839 at sixteen millions. The truth is the number of the Indians has always been overestimated. In 1764 Colonel Bouquet estimated the number of all the tribes the whites had then met at 282,500. Bancroft is not far from the truth in suggesting 180,000 as the maximum of the population east of the Mississippi early in the seventeenth century. Colonel Mallery places it at 271,151, exclusive of Alaska. To show the difficulty of ascertainment, the contradictions of official reports need only to be alluded to. The Superintendent of the Census estimated the Indians of Alaska at 70,000, while Captain Dall, of the Coast Survey, an excellent authority, sums them up in detail at 25,704. Other curious delusions are noticed.

**THE WHITE MOUNTAIN GUIDE-BOOK.** Fourteenth edition. 12mo, pp. 232. EDSON C. EASTMAN. Concord, 1878.

This convenient and valuable little volume, well known to summer tourists, reaches us too late to be of special service this season. We notice it under our general rule to call attention to all works of this practical character, in which interesting historical information is often pleasantly preserved.







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## DEVELOPMENT OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES

THE Constitution of the United States was drawn up in 1787 by a convention called together to revise the "Articles of Confederation," and was ratified by State conventions in the course of the next year or two. Considered as isolated facts, the framing and ratification of the Constitution cannot be understood. An effect of two long series of causes, and itself a living cause, to-day exerting ever increasing force, the Constitution must be regarded and understood, if understood at all, as a "link in the great chain of eternal order." The two trains of causes which rendered the framers of the Constitution able to conceive, and the American people fit to adopt it, are to be studied first, in the constitutional history of England, and secondly, in the history of the political ideas and institutions of the colonies. To sketch the origin and growth of the political ideas and institutions of the colonies is the object of this article.

In our colonial history, the two most potent influences on thought and life, as well as the two most antagonistic to each other, were exerted by Virginia and Massachusetts. Respectable Puritan Massachusetts was the personification of law; as good-natured, tobacco-raising Virginia was, at times, almost the personification of lawlessness. The absorbing desire of a Massachusetts Bay Puritan was to form a godly Church *and* State, and to preserve it free from all outside influence; while the chief objects in the life of a Virginian were to raise a good crop of tobacco, and enjoy the proceeds in jollification and horse-racing. The character of the first settlers of Virginia may be well illustrated by this anecdote from Stith, the best of her early historians. A certain governor, Sir Thomas Dale, on arriving at Jamestown in 1611, found all the people engaged in "bowling in the streets, their daily and usual occupation." Had Sir Thomas arrived some years later at Plymouth or

Boston, he would probably have found the people either praying listening to sermons, or at work. They never played in early Massachusetts.

The difference between Massachusetts and Virginia was due not more to the fact that Virginia was settled by adventurers, who left the old country either in the hope of gain or because they were not wanted at home, and that Massachusetts was settled by religious enthusiasts, than to the difference in soil and climate. In Virginia, slave-labor was immensely profitable: in Massachusetts, the labor of the slave would not pay for his food. So the Massachusetts people, having to do their own work, grew up industrious and enterprising, while the Virginians became lazy and easy-going. Little credit, perhaps, to either, if it be true that, given the climatic and other physical conditions, the race follows.

Throughout this article I shall have to confine myself closely to the political institutions of the colonies, space forbidding me to touch on the life of the people.

The colony of Virginia was settled under a charter dated April 10, 1606, from James I. to the "London Company," which was composed of noblemen, gentlemen and merchants of London, whose principal if not sole object in forming the company was pecuniary gain. The charter provided for a treasurer and council of thirteen, appointed by the crown and resident in England. This council was to choose seven persons, who were to constitute a governor and council to carry on the government in the colony: and these seven could make up their number to thirteen at their own choice and discretion. This charter secured no representation whatever, even to the members of the company.

In 1609, a second charter was granted, by which the members of the company received the right of electing the executive council in England; and in 1612, the "London Company," now changed in name to the "Virginia Company," received a third charter. The principal change made by this last charter, was the creation of four quarterly courts, composed of the members of the company, and in which was vested the power of electing the chief officers for the management of the company and government of the colony. As yet, however, the colonists had no voice in their government, though by these successive charters the king had granted to their immediate masters, the members of the company, the right to govern themselves and the colony.

Meanwhile the character of the company had changed. Starting as an association, the sole object of which was mercantile speculation, the

company had assumed a political nature, and had become the center of the liberal agitations of the time. The result of this change was of the greatest importance to the colony, as will be seen immediately.

In the spring of 1619, Sir George Yeardly arrived in Virginia as governor, and apparently of his own accord, for he had no orders that are known, summoned the first House of Burgesses, consisting of two members from each of the boroughs into which the colony was divided. This legislative assembly, which met at Jamestown June 30, 1619, composed of the House of Burgesses and an upper house of the governor and council, was the first representative assembly that met in America, and the starting point of American Constitutional history. Theoretically its enactments were to be ratified in England, though as a matter of fact, this ratification seldom if ever took place, as inconvenient delay would thereby have been involved.

For the next few years the affairs of the company prospered, and the names of more than a thousand members were enrolled on its lists. The colony also thrived under its partial self-government. James, however, becoming jealous of the power of the company, and urged on by a factious minority of the company's own members, caused a *quo warranto* to be issued against its charter, and in June, 1624, the charter was annulled and the company dissolved. But James did not interfere with the government in the colony, where the House of Burgesses continued to meet and affairs went on as usual. The House of Burgesses in 1631 was even bold enough to formulate its authority by passing a law that no tax should be levied without its consent.

After the execution of Charles I., Virginia submitted to the Commonwealth, and in return received very generous treatment from Cromwell. The House of Burgesses was probably allowed to elect the governor, for in 1658, on an attempt of the then governor, Matthews, to dissolve the House against its consent, the House formally deposed him, and by re-electing and forcing him to take the oath anew, vindicated its sovereign authority in the colony. However, the appointment of the governor was afterwards resumed by the crown. The leveling tendencies of the time may be seen in an act passed in 1656 allowing all freemen to vote; the suffrage having been previously restricted to freeholders.

The aristocratic reaction that set in in England immediately before and at the Restoration, very naturally extended to Virginia, as Virginia society was to a great extent modeled on the society of the mother country. The effects of this reaction were the re-election of Berkely, who had been governor before the time of the Commonwealth, but

deposed by order of Parliament; the continuance of the laws of primogeniture, and the re-enactment of laws limiting the suffrage to freeholders. During "Bacon's Rebellion," in 1676, the right of universal suffrage was restored, but was taken away again the next year. Yet, although the power of the governor was great and at times exercised arbitrarily, the government of Virginia continued to be representative and constitutional in its nature; and after the middle of the eighteenth century, the laws of primogeniture were abolished, aristocratic ideas to a great extent passed away, and Virginia was made Democratic through the efforts of Thomas Jefferson and others.

"In the name of God, Amen. We whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign lord, King James, &c., having undertaken, for the glory of God and advancement of the Christian faith, and honor of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do by these presents solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought meet and convenient for the general good of the colony: unto which we do promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names at Cape Cod, the 11th of November, Anno Domini 1620."

On board the "Mayflower," the Pilgrim Fathers drew up and signed this compact, which was to be the foundation of their subsequent government. The instrument faithfully portrays the solemn and devout character of its authors. It would have been hard to find another body of men who could have conceived such a compact, or who would have adhered to it when made, as did the Pilgrim Fathers. For our present purpose, however, it is not worth while to spend time in tracing the growth of the comparatively unimportant institutions of Plymouth, as they exerted but slight external influence. It is to the colony of Massachusetts Bay, into which Plymouth was finally absorbed, that we are to look for the development of political power and constitutional government.

On the 14th of March, 1629, a royal charter was granted to certain persons in England, who were thereby formed into a body corporate under the title of "Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay." In the charter quarterly courts of the freemen of the company were provided for, and power was given to the freemen assembled at these courts to elect a governor, deputy-governor and eighteen assistants; to admit other

members; to make laws and ordinances, not contrary to the law of the realm, for the management of the company and colony; and to expel obnoxious persons from their colony. Other details of government were provided for, but to these last little attention was paid by the company. During the spring of the same year six vessels were sent to Salem, where there was already a Puritan settlement.

Shortly after these vessels sailed, the general condition of affairs became such in England that not a few persons of character and condition resolved to emigrate to New England. These, however, would not emigrate unless they could carry with them the right of self-government, as they had no wish to be ruled by a corporation in England. Accordingly, July 28, 1629, at a general court of the company, it was proposed to transfer the charter and government of the company to Massachusetts; and this proposition was adopted August 29, when John Winthrop was chosen governor, with a deputy governor and eighteen assistants. Whether the grantor or grantees of the charter had in their minds, at the time the charter was granted, the possibility or probability of its transfer to the colony, has long been a moot point. This much seems certain, that the charter was so worded as not to contain any provision that would prevent it from being transferred to the colony, or from operating when so transferred.

Governor Winthrop, accompanied by a large number of colonists, sailed with ten vessels, April 7, 1630, carrying with him the charter. They landed at Salem, but soon becoming dissatisfied with that place, most of them moved to Boston in October. During the same year nearly a thousand people emigrated to Massachusetts.

The first quarterly court held in the New World, met at Boston, October 19, 1630. Here a measure was passed that seemed to point to an aristocratic government for the future of Massachusetts; which indeed might have been expected, as many of the leaders were of gentle birth. The measure I refer to was the transferring of the right to elect the governor, from the freemen of the company to the assistants. Its passage is to be accounted for by the fact that, at this time, the governor, deputy-governor, and assistants, composed the entire company. One hundred and eighteen persons applied at this court for admission to the freedom of the company, and were admitted after a year's probation. During this year and the next, the governor and his assistants, who sincerely desired the substantial and lasting good of the colony, were much troubled to decide whether they should admit new members and grant them political power. On their decision depended to a great extent the

settlement of the important question whether the government of Massachusetts was to be aristocratic or democratic. At first, as we have seen, the tendency seemed towards aristocracy, and this tendency showed itself further in the passage of a rule by which the office of assistant was rendered practically permanent. (May 1631.) But the final decision was reached in May, 1632, when the right of electing the governor was restored to the freemen. Here the principle that the chief magistrate of the colony should be elected by the freemen of the company, was firmly established. The crisis was passed, and a government, democratic in form and to a great extent in substance, was in store for Massachusetts. Nevertheless, great respect was always felt for the leading families and deference yielded to their opinions, as is always the case in staid and conservative communities.

It being settled that freemen should be admitted from time to time, and should be allowed political power, the question arose as to what should be the qualification for admission to the freedom of the company; and church-membership was made the only qualification. This, it was fondly hoped, would ensure a government, not of the rich or strong, but a government of the good, and consequently, of the wise.

This single qualification of the suffrage, church-membership, was not only the cornerstone, but, one might say, the whole foundation of the Massachusetts system of church *and* state, one and inseparable. The church was the state, and the state was the church. The same men that composed the church-congregation made up the town-meeting, which very often met in the church building itself. Here also an explanation can be found of the old Massachusetts intolerance, and a reasonable explanation too. No one could be a member of the church whose conduct and religious belief did not accord with the conduct and religious belief of the old church-members; then, the church being the state, no such person could be a citizen of the state: and finally, when the Puritan founders of Massachusetts had come to a barren wilderness, which they were conquering by their toil and blood, in order to found and carry on a church and state in accordance with what they believed from the bottom of their souls to be the command of God; when their rights and liberties were in constant peril from the machinations of Charles I. and his tool, Laud; when they were ready and prepared, Quixotic as the idea was, to defend those rights and liberties against the power of the king; were they not justified in expelling from among them those who did not sympathize with their hopes and plans, and of whom many were suspected, and often with justice, of being the emissaries of Laud? We

must judge the actions of men of the past from their own point of view, and acquit or condemn as they come up to or fall below their own standard.

At the General Court held in May, 1634, twenty-eight persons appeared to *represent* the freemen of the colony, the colony having become so extended that representation was necessary. It was now formally enacted that the freemen could choose representatives to represent them in all their rights, except that of voting for governor, a right which every freeman must exercise in person. It was also enacted that the General Court should be dissolved only at its own pleasure, and that no trial for life or limb should take place except before a jury summoned by the General Court. An oath was appointed for freemen to swear allegiance to their commonwealth, and local courts were established at Ipswich, Salem, Newtown (Cambridge) and Boston. These local courts had power to try civil cases when the matter at stake was not over ten pounds sterling in value; and criminal cases when the punishment would not extend to life or limb. In 1643 Massachusetts was divided into four counties, of which New Hampshire constituted one; and the same year the General Court separated into an upper and a lower house.

A cursory sketch must here be given of the town system of Massachusetts. As may be expected, a church, which usually served for town-hall as well, formed the nucleus about which the town was gathered. In 1631 the various settlements received municipal organization with power to elect officers, impose small fines and inflict other slight punishments. In 1636 representation was appointed according to the population of the towns; no town with less than ten freemen sending any representative, those having between ten and twenty freemen sending one, those between twenty and forty sending two, and those above forty sending not over three. The officers of the town, who were elective, consisted of a board of eight or nine civic officers and a tithe-man. Children were educated at public expense.

In 1636 the outlook in England was threatening for Massachusetts. The "Council for New England" which, shortly before the King granted the charter of the Massachusetts Company, had given a patent for the lands of Massachusetts Bay to John Endicott and others, surrendered its rights to the Crown; and had not Charles been too occupied at home, attempts would undoubtedly have been made by him on the liberties of New England. But as they piously and sincerely expressed it in Massachusetts, "The Lord frustrated his design."

The same year Massachusetts asserted her power to expel those who



would not obey her laws and customs by banishing Roger Williams, the founder of Rhode Island, on account of contumacious conduct in general, and in particular, for persistent disobedience to her Sabbath regulations. A much more serious trouble occurred during the next two years—the Antinomian Controversy, excited by Anne Hutchinson. This controversy, which threatened for a time to involve the Colony in a ruinous civil war, ended in the banishment of Mrs. Hutchinson, and the disfranchisement of many of her adherents.

During the period of Cromwell's ascendancy in England, Massachusetts acted as an independent and sovereign State, giving him voluntary aid in the Dutch wars; and October 23, 1652, the General Court proclaimed the chartered right of the people of Massachusetts "to live under the government of a governor and magistrates of their own choosing, and under laws of their own making." By the establishment of a mint, the General Court further asserted its sovereignty.

We now come to the very important relations between Massachusetts and the two last Stuarts. It was rumored in 1661 that Charles II. was about to take steps to abridge the liberties of Massachusetts. Whereupon a commission was sent to England with a protest, in which it was stated that, by her charter, Massachusetts was a "body politic," having the right of self-government and of making laws, which should not be appealed against to England, as long as they were not contrary to the law of the realm. The commissioners were decently received by the Crown, and an answer, containing in return certain demands, was made to the protest. These demands were never complied with in the colony.

In 1664 the coming of a royal commission, which was to investigate the affairs of Massachusetts, was announced. On news of this, the General Court issued orders to strengthen the militia, and everything was made snug to meet the coming storm. When the commissioners arrived in America, they busied themselves at first with the affairs of the other New England colonies; and it was not till May, 1665, that they reached Boston, and prepared to investigate and settle the government of Massachusetts. They first demanded that Massachusetts should acknowledge the authority of the commissioners to investigate her institutions, and asked for a copy of her laws. These demands having been evaded, the contention went on, the General Court acting with great boldness and crossing the commissioners at every step. Matters were finally brought to a crisis. A person appealed from the General Court to the commission, which thereupon undertook to sit as a Court of Jus-

tice and to try his case. Immediately the Governor proclaimed that the commission was usurping the liberties of Massachusetts, and forbade any person to attend its sittings or receive judgment from it. The commissioners were powerless; there was nothing left for them but to return to England. They had shown, however, that Massachusetts was acting as an independent State, and had succeeded in placing her in direct opposition to the Crown. But this time Massachusetts saved her charter.

"King Philip's war" ended in 1676. It had been a life and death struggle for the colony. Many villages had been burned, and a large proportion of fighting men slain. In England the enemies of Massachusetts now took advantage of her weakened condition to renew their attacks with redoubled energy. They argued that Massachusetts had forfeited her charter by exceeding her chartered rights. As Massachusetts had undoubtedly exercised powers which the charter did not grant, the argument was strong, and there was legal ground for annulling her charter. A long and severe struggle followed between Massachusetts and her enemies. Massachusetts, though clearly overmatched, fought stubbornly, contesting every step with true New England grit. But it was of no use. In 1683 a quo warranto was issued, and the charter formally annulled. The abrogation of the charter created great despondency throughout the colony, where the people, who deeply loved their rights and liberties, were naturally attached to the pledge of those rights and liberties—the charter. The leaders of the people, however, had not all of them proved faithful, and indeed, I think it a characteristic of Massachusetts down to the Revolution, and even further, that those men whose names have come down to us as leaders of the people, were urged and pushed along by the people themselves. In other words, the people of Massachusetts led their own leaders.

Sir Edmund Andros arrived at Boston, as Governor for the Crown, December 20th, 1686. He regarded the people of the colony, not as having the rights and privileges of Englishmen, but as directly subject to the Crown, and under its arbitrary rule. Andros was assisted in his government by a council, the first members of which were appointed by the King. With the concurrence of this council he could make laws, lay taxes, and in general, rule the colony. As may be imagined, the government of Andros was arbitrary and grievous in the extreme. There was a continual struggle between him and the colonists as to the constitutional privileges of the latter, which he maintained did not exist. This unhappy state of affairs continued till 1689, when news of the success of

William reached Boston. Immediately there was revolution. Andros was overthrown, imprisoned, and shortly after sent to England. Upon the overthrow of Andros, a provincial government was constructed, and in course of time the old government was practically re-established. But a bill in Parliament, to revive the charters annulled by James, failed to meet the approbation of William, who sanctioned however the provincial government of Massachusetts as such.

In 1692 a new charter for Massachusetts was sent over to the colony, her friends having found it impossible to obtain a renewal of the old. The new charter provided for a governor, lieutenant-governor and secretary, appointed by the crown; for a legislative or general court, consisting of two branches, a House of Representatives elected annually by the people and a council of twenty-eight, on the first instance appointed by the crown, and afterwards chosen by the General Court, subject to the veto of the governor. It was required that representatives should be free-holders. The governor had the power of veto, was commander-in-chief of the militia, and was authorized to appoint the judges, subject to the approval of the General Court. The General Court had power to levy taxes and enact laws and ordinances not contrary to the law of the realm. But the king could annul a law within three years after its enactment; and in litigated cases, when the matter at stake was over three hundred pounds in value, and not real estate, appeals could be made to the king in council. The rights of Englishmen were pledged to the colonists. With regard to citizenship and suffrage, the qualification of church membership was abolished and a property qualification substituted.

Here was the end of the theory and practice of church and state, one and the same; and perhaps the failure of the enthusiastic attempt to found a new kind of society. With the old charter, Pilgrims and Puritans passed away. The old church ideas, however, remained for a long time of great force in the country towns, where the ministers kept their positions as social kings. In Boston the mercantile class now grew up, and lawyers, the product of the courts created by the new charter, came into existence; while a great increase in the number of illegitimate births showed that the immoralities of the time had spread to what had been Puritan Massachusetts.

From this time on for many years the Constitutional history of Massachusetts is the history of various long and obstinate disputes between the governors and those who supported them and the people. The stubborn fight carried on by many successive governors with the

House of Representatives to determine whether the salary of the governor should be fixed, or dependent on the will of the House; and the long continued and finally successful demand of the House to choose its own speaker, are examples of these contentions. The first of these questions was of the greatest importance to Massachusetts, for if the governor's salary should not be dependent on the House, the only means of control that Massachusetts had over a chief magistrate, generally unsympathetic and often hostile in his feeling to the province, would be lost. This dispute terminated in favor of the House.

Turning for the present from Massachusetts, let us glance briefly at New York. It may seem strange that the influence of New York, to-day the most populous, wealthy and influential state in the Union, was so slightly felt by the other colonies in the earlier period of their history. Such, nevertheless, was the fact. This lack of influence was owing first to the difference of language, which in a measure isolated it from the English thought, which pervaded the Eastern and Southern Colonies. Besides this, the Dutch brought with them little of those heroic qualities which made Holland famous. Their history is that of an easy-going people, content with good living and profitable trade. The picture drawn by Irving in his "Knickerbocker," though comical, is not in the main unfaithful. New Amsterdam was settled as a trading post by the Dutch in 1613, and continued a mere trading post till 1621, when the "Dutch West India Company" was chartered with ample powers, under the government of which New Amsterdam became more populous and important. For a long time the colonists had no rights or privileges under the despotic and arbitrary government of the company. In the colony, the executive and legislative branches were composed of a director, sheriff and five councilors, all appointed by the council of the company in Holland, to the appellate jurisdiction of which the New Amsterdam government was subject.

In 1641 the director called together the first representative assembly; apparently, however, only to consult with it, as this assembly seems to have had no particular powers. Gradually the people began to dispute vigorously for the right to tax themselves; and representative assemblies, after having been abolished and reconstructed many times under the Dutch and English governments, were finally established with recognized powers in 1683. New York then became a royal province of England, with the governor appointed by the crown; and so continued to the Revolution.

Pennsylvania and Maryland were settled under Proprietary govern-

ments; that is, the territory in each case was granted to single individuals, Penn and Baltimore, to which were given very great powers over the people in their respective provinces; the right of the colonists, however, to be represented in the government, being recognized in each charter. When Penn came to America he established a popular government, and surrendered nearly all his rights into the hands of his colonists. Such powers as he retained he afterwards sold to Queen Anne in 1710; whereupon Pennsylvania became a royal province, and received a governor appointed by the crown; retaining the right to tax herself.

To treat separately the rest of the colonies is unnecessary, as the customs and institutions of the remaining colonies of New England closely resemble the customs and institutions of Massachusetts; while the Southern colonies seem to have taken Virginia for their model.

It may be seen from what has been said, first, that the New England colonies were founded for religious or politico-religious purposes, while the object sought in the foundation of the greater part of the other colonies was commercial gain: secondly, that the colonies of New England had from the beginning certain defined rights, and that these same rights in the case of most of the other colonies were obtained only after prolonged struggles: thirdly, that all the colonies eventually became royal provinces, having the right to tax themselves through their representatives, but with the executive appointed by the crown.

The individual development of constitutional government in the separate colonies having been sketched, it is time to consider the colonies in the light of their relations to each other, and to attempt to trace the origin and growth of the idea of Union.

To-day the states are a nation, and that they should be so seems not unnatural. Apparently it is not strange that thirteen colonies, sprung from the same stock, growing up side by side, and all suffering from the oppressions of one oppressor, should combine against that oppressor, throw off his yoke, and become a nation. But consider on the other hand that never were two communities more unfitted to sympathize with each other, each of which sympathized strongly with some party in England, than Massachusetts and Virginia, the two most influential of the colonies; consider that all the colonies were commercial rivals, with conflicting interests; that physically they were more closely connected with England than with each other, so that in early times if a Virginian wished to go to Massachusetts, he would probably find it more convenient to cross to England, and thence recross to Massachusetts, than to toil his way through hundreds of miles of wilderness, or undertake a

perilous coasting voyage; consider that lasting leagues have rarely occurred in history, and unions, such as ours, never; consider these things and the union of the colonies will not seem so much a matter of course. The truth seems to be, that the colonies leagued together under the Confederation, not from mutual love, but because they had to combine against England; and they united under the Constitution, not because they had learned to love each other during and after the Revolution, but because there was danger of their acting towards each other the parts of Kilkenny cats. Natural enough would it have been for the New England colonies to unite under the lead of Massachusetts; the southern colonies under the lead of Virginia; and for the central colonies, as New York and Pennsylvania, to form a third state; but Providence decreed it otherwise; that we should become a large, if not a great nation.

There did exist, however, centralizing tendencies: first, as the means of inter-communication improved, the colonists naturally saw more of each other, and a certain amount of inter-colonial trade grew up: secondly, as the people of the various colonies became gradually less intensely religious, they were less strongly antagonized by their different religious beliefs: thirdly, we have seen that the course of development of the different colonial governments was from the heterogeneous to the homogeneous. So I think it can be said safely that if we consider any given period in our colonial history, we shall find the forces of centralization stronger, or, to state it more accurately, the forces of decentralization weaker, at that time than they had been ten or twenty years previous.

As I have said, a union of the New England colonies might naturally have been expected, and such a union in fact took place at a very early date, 1643. The first proposition for a Confederacy came from Connecticut, the colony most annoyed by outsiders; that is, by the Dutch, whose frontier settlements were encroaching on the territory claimed by the English in the Connecticut valley. This confederation, being purely sectional, did not contemplate even the eventual union of the whole Atlantic sea-board; and in so far as it bound closely together its own members, it separated them from the rest of the American colonies. An urgent reason for a Confederation was the civil war breaking out in England between the King and Parliament; New England of course sympathizing with the latter, and wishing to strengthen herself, so as to be able to render aid to Parliament or repel interference from the King, as circumstances might require.

The purposes of the Confederation are set forth in the preamble to the articles. "Whereas, we all came into these parts of America with one and the same end and aim; namely, to advance the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to enjoy the liberties of the gospel in purity with peace; and, whereas, in our settling (by a wise providence of God) we are further dispersed upon the sea coast and rivers than was at first intended, so that we cannot, according to our desire, with convenience communicate in one government and jurisdiction; and, whereas, we live encompassed with people of several nations and strange languages, which hereafter may prove injurious to us, or our posterity; and forasmuch as the natives have formerly committed sundry insolences and outrages upon several plantations of the English, and have of late combined themselves against us; and seeing by reason of those sad distractions in England, which they have heard of, and by which they know we are hindered from that humble way of seeking advice, or reaping those comfortable fruits of protection, which at other times we might well expect; we therefore do conceive it to be our bounden duty, without delay, to enter into a present consociation among ourselves for mutual help and strength in all our future concerns; that, as in nation and religion, so in other respects, we be and continue, one."

This Confederation, which can be regarded only as an act of sovereignty on the part of the contracting parties, bound together the four colonies, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Haven and Plymouth, under the name of the "United Colonies of New England," into "a firm and perpetual league of friendship and amity for offense and defense, mutual advice and succour." . . . Its principal provisions were as follows: The colonies were to be independent in the administration of their internal affairs. No new member was to be admitted, nor were any two of the present members to be consolidated without the consent of the rest. In case of war, each colony was to contribute men, money, and supplies, according to its population; and the business of the Confederacy was to be managed by a board composed of two members from each of the colonies. This board had power to "determine all affairs of peace and war, leagues, aids, changes and numbers of men for war, divisions of spoils, and whatsoever was gotten by conquest, receiving of more confederates for plantation into combination with any of the confederates, and all things of like nature, which were the proper concomitants or consequents of such a confederation for amity, offense and defense." The concurrence of six of the commissioners was necessary for the passage of any measure, and if six did not concur in

its favor, the measure could be referred to the general courts of the separate colonies, in which case the approval of all the courts was required for its passage. Thus, says Mr. Palfrey, "a self-governing association of self-governing English Commonwealths had been founded in America."

The Confederation lasted twenty years, till 1664, when it was ended by the consolidation of Connecticut and New Haven under a royal charter. In 1667 an attempt was made to renew it, and this attempt succeeded in resuscitating the ghost of the former confederation, which lingered out a precarious existence till the time of Andros.

After the treaty of Westphalia in 1674, by which New Amsterdam was ceded to Great Britain, all the colonies, being subject to England, were English colonies, and parts of the same empire, though united only indirectly through England. From this time a great unifying cause comes into action; a cause which, in its efficacy for bringing about the union of the colonies, I should place second only to the exactions of England. I mean the spirit of hostility of colonists, as Englishmen, to France, and the necessity of unity with England and with each other against the French in Canada and elsewhere. This cause continued to act with varying force till its power culminated during the war of '56; and with that war its existence terminated.

It was at a Congress of the colonies, which met at Albany in 1754, that the idea of American Union first took a definite form. The necessity of Union seems to have been strongly and generally felt in this Congress, and the task of drawing up a plan was given to a committee of three, at the head of which was Franklin. Franklin had already formed a plan of colonial union in his own mind, and the plan presented by the committee was essentially his. "The general government was to be administered by a president general, appointed and supported by the Crown; and a general council was to be chosen by the representatives of the several colonies, met in their respective assemblies." Each colony was left free in its own domestic affairs, and no money was to be raised except by concurrence of the governor general and council. The general government was to regulate matters of peace and war with the Indians, and affairs of trade. The grand council was to meet once a year, choose its own speaker, and was to dissolve, or sit more than six weeks, only at its own pleasure.

The fate of this plan was singular, proposed, as it was, by perhaps the fairest-minded man in England or America, and approved by an assembly containing the best talent of the colonies. On the one hand



the colonial assemblies rejected it, thinking it savored too much of prerogative; on the other hand, in England, it was thought to savor too much of democracy. The same year, Lord Halifax, at the King's command, drew up a scheme for the union of the colonies, which naturally contained far too much prerogative, if not despotism, to be accepted in America.

Although neither of these plans was adopted, the colonies may be considered as united during the war of '56 under military rule, for military purposes. They cannot be regarded as united in matters of civil government. The theoretical power of the military commander in America was supreme in all military affairs with this one exception: money he could not raise without the consent of the assemblies. As a matter of fact, however, the powers of the commander varied with the circumstances and character of the man who filled the post.

The close of the war of '56, and the cession of Canada to England, removed the necessity, on the part of the colonies, of uniting against France. At the same time, when this cause of union was passing away, the increasing and uniform exactions of England furnished a new cause of greater strength. Roughly speaking, up to the middle of the eighteenth century, such oppressive exactions as England used had not tended to arouse against her a union of the colonies. For this there were many reasons, as for instance, the difficulty of getting from one colony to another; but the chief reason why such union had not been produced, was that the exactions of England had been local, and not uniform in their pressure on all the colonies. The tyrannies of Andros in Massachusetts might cause sympathy in Virginia, but no such active sympathy as would have been aroused had Andros' tyrannies extended to Virginia itself. After the middle of the eighteenth century, however, the oppressions of England weighed upon all her colonies, and consequently, in resisting these oppressions, it became the interest of all the colonies to unite.

As to set forth in detail the workings of this great cause of American Confederation, as they manifested themselves at the various congresses and elsewhere, would require more space than the limits of this article permit, I shall confine myself to a brief examination of the "Declaration of Independence" and the "Articles of Confederation."

The "Declaration of Independence" begins thus: "When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another;" . . . and toward the end of the document, the "Representatives of the United

States in General Congress assembled," declared the colonies to be "free and independent States." So the "Declaration" begins, using the phrase "*one people*," continues with "*Representatives of the United States*," and ends by declaring the colonies "*free and independent States*," without the slightest reference to union or even confederation. A strangely mixed document this, and one that shows well the conflicting influences and prejudices under which its framers were laboring.

Somewhat more than a year after the "Declaration of Independence" the "Articles of Confederation" were adopted by the Continental Congress. Even more clearly than the "Declaration," these "Articles" express the struggle between the jealousy towards any power exterior to the State, and the sense that some such power was necessary. The same struggle continues in the Constitution, though in the Constitution the sense of the necessity of a strong central government begins to prevail over the jealous distrust on the part of some the States. The following extracts from the "Articles" show the point which the struggle had reached in 1777:

I. "The style of this Confederacy shall be the United States of America."

II. "Each State retains it sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power, jurisdiction and right, which is not by this Confederation expressly delegated to the United States, in Congress assembled."

III. "The said States hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other for their common defense, the security of their liberties and their mutual and general welfare; binding themselves to assist each other against all force offered to, or attacks made upon them, or any one of them, on account of the religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretence whatever."

IV. "The better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship and intercourse among the people of the different States in this Union, the free inhabitants of each of the States—paupers, vagabonds and fugitives from justice excepted—shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several States. . . . Full faith and credit shall be given in each of these States to the records, acts and judicial proceedings of the Courts and Magistrates of every other State."

V. Delegates to Congress were to be annually appointed as the Legislatures of each State should direct; but no State was to "be represented in Congress by less than two or more than seven members." Each State was to maintain its own delegates. "In determining questions in the United States, in Congress assembled, each State shall have one vote."

VI. No State, without the consent of the United States, was allowed to enter into alliance with any "king, prince or State;" nor were any two or more States to unite into alliance with each other. No State was to lay any duties that would interfere with the treaties of the United States. "No vessel of war shall be kept in time of peace by any State, except such number as shall be deemed necessary by the United States." A similar provision was made with regard to the land forces; though every State was allowed to have a good militia. No State should engage in war without the consent of the United States, unless actually invaded.

VIII. "All charges of war and all other expenses that shall be incurred for the common defense or general welfare," were to be defrayed from the common treasury, to which each state was to contribute in proportion to the value of its surveyed land; and these "charges" and "expenses" were to be levied and collected by the state Legislatures.

IX. "The United States, in Congress assembled, shall have the sole and exclusive right of determining on peace and war." They were to be the last resort in disputes between states, to regulate money and the post, to have power to borrow money and audit bills of credit, to build and equip a navy and determine the quotas of land forces. In Congress the assent of nine states was necessary for the passage of important measures.

XIII. "Every state shall abide by the decision of the United States, in Congress assembled, on all questions which, by this Confederation, are submitted to them. And the articles of this Confederation shall be inviolably observed by every state, and the Union shall be perpetual; nor shall any alteration from time to time hereafter be made in any of them, unless such alteration be agreed to in a Congress of the United States, and be afterward confirmed by the Legislatures of every state."

As may be seen from these extracts, the Confederation was a league among sovereign states; each state sending delegates to a congress, and maintaining them there at its own expense. The primary duty of delegates was to the state which had sent them; their secondary duty to the United States; not, as now under the Constitution, when the primary duty of congressmen is not to their state, but to their country. The Congress of the Confederation had power to make laws, but no power to execute them; and no power to execute the laws could be implied, for the government of the Confederation was a government of express powers only; not a government of express and implied powers, like the government of the United States under the Constitution.

England, by her exactions, compelled the colonies to declare themselves independent, and to league together in a Confederation, in order to maintain their independence. Independence of England, but for these exactions, the colonies would not have desired, as they greatly admired their mother country and loved her truly. Indeed, it was this very admiration and love of England, or rather of those constitutional rights and liberties which made England what it was, that caused one body of Englishmen in America to sever themselves from another body of Englishmen in England, who were attempting to make the Englishmen in America not Englishmen, but subjects of Englishmen.

Still less than independence of England did the colonists desire confederation with each other. They submitted to independence and confederation, as in times past a man would bear the amputation of a limb, and then to stop the bleeding, suffer searing with a red hot iron; and afterwards, the bandage being removed, should the ill-seared limb bleed again, suffer a second and more painful searing. So with the states, the searing of the Confederation gave way when the close of the Revolution removed the great band of Union—the pressure of war—and a more painful re-searing was necessary—the Constitution.

Here, however, I am transcending the proper limits of this article, as well as entering upon ground often surveyed before. The story of the inadequacy of the Confederation to the exigencies of the states after the close of the Revolution, the unhappy condition of the country, the mutual cut-throat tariff regulations of the states, the harsh awakening of the people to a sense of their dangers by Shay's rebellion, and the final "extortion of the Constitution from the grinding necessities of a reluctant people," can be readily found.

We were forced into confederation by external, into union by internal necessities; and by the compelling power of internal necessities for the last century we have been growing, and for how long no one knows, shall continue to grow more strongly national.

HENRY OSBORN TAYLOR

## VISIT OF LAFAYETTE TO THE UNITED STATES 1784

Cornwallis surrendered to the allied armies of the United States and France on the 19th October, 1781. The next day Lafayette wrote from camp to M. de Maurepas: "The piece has been played, Monsieur le Comte, and the fifth act is just closed; was not at my ease during those which preceded it, but rejoiced at heart over the last." The epilogue was yet to be enacted, and the impetuous marquis, still eager for distinction, was assigned to the command of an expeditionary corps intended to reduce the British posts in the Carolinas. The refusal of the Comte de Grasse to co-operate in this movement by transport of the troops with the French fleet caused a change in plans of the Commander-in-Chief, and left Lafayette free to return to his native country, his charming wife, and his young family.

Parting from his companions in arms he travelled northward to Philadelphia, where Congress was in session, stopping long enough at Baltimore to receive the welcome and congratulations of his many friends in that city to whom he was greatly attached. To a warm address of the citizens, in which they express their gratification in seeing once more in their town the man who would always hold a first place in their hearts, the Marquis replied in the same spirit. Referring to the generosity of the citizens, who had advanced him money and clothing on his own personal responsibility in the spring, he says: "My campaign began with a personal obligation to the inhabitants of Baltimore, at the end of which I find myself bound to them by a tie of everlasting gratitude."

Arriving at Philadelphia he applied by letter for leave of absence to Congress, who granted permission by resolution, and at the same time directed the Secretary of Foreign Affairs to acquaint the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of their desire to confer with the Marquis, and avail of his information and services. They further entrusted him with despatches to the King, in which his own merits and services were commended to his Majesty's notice. Franklin was directed to present him at Court. On the 15th November Washington wrote him a letter of adieu, expressing his friendship and affectionate regard and high sense of his military conduct and important services in the campaign so conspicuously concluded. In this letter, with the open

confidence he always manifested for his young friend, Washington also gave his opinion concerning the operations of the next campaign, and the part the French should take with their fleet to secure the triumph of the cause, the honor and the glory of the allied armies. His closing lines are in the happiest and warmest vein of the great Chief, whose habit was rather to repress feelings than to give way to their exhibition or expression. "If I should be deprived of the pleasure of a personal interview with you before your departure," he wrote to him while awaiting the reply of Congress at Philadelphia, "permit me to adopt this method of making you a tender of my ardent vows for a propitious voyage, a gracious reception from your friends, an honorable reward for your services, a happy meeting with your lady and friends, and a safe return in the spring to, my dear Marquis, your affectionate friend."

Taking leave of Congress the 25th by a letter, in which he expressed his sense of his obligation to America for the new favors conferred upon him, and pledging himself that at every time, in every part of the world, his heart will be panting for opportunities to be employed in her service, Lafayette set out for the eastward. Travelling inland, he passed through Hartford on the 6th and reached Boston on the 10th, where he was received with demonstrations of affection and gratitude. He endeared himself to the citizens by a liberal subscription (twenty-five guineas) toward rebuilding the meeting house in Charlestown, which was consumed during the battle of Bunker Hill. An address was presented to him on behalf of a town meeting by a committee, of which Samue Adams was the chief, which expressed their appreciation of his sacrifice of domestic enjoyment to the cause of God and humanity, and of his generous exertions in a foreign country in support of that great cause. A few days later the officers of the Massachusetts Line also presented an address. To both he replied with his usual graceful cordiality.

But as he himself wrote to Washington in a letter taking leave, he was impatient rather on account of the great public concern committed to his charge than of his own private interests. Finally on the 23d December, 1781, the French frigate *l'Alliance*, which had been placed at his service, set sail for France, where he arrived in February, and was received by all ranks with all possible distinction. Franklin wrote of him that he daily gained in general esteem and affection, and promised to be a great man in France. In the same letter this wise old man bore testimony to his services at Court in behalf of the cause. The young Marquis, whose brows were already crowned with the garland of

victory, and whose name, in the language of Bancroft, was pronounced with veneration, had at this time just completed his twenty-fourth year.

The fruit of the return of Lafayette to France was an immediate impulse to the movements of the French Court. Encouraged by the success of the Virginia campaign, Vergennes hastened the preparations for the campaign in which the French and Spaniards were to co-operate. The Comte d'Estaing was to command the combined fleet and Lafayette to take the post of Chief of Staff of the land forces. The object of this vast plan was the seizure of the West India Islands, the capture of Gibraltar, and a joint attack by the United States and French troops on the whole American coast from Charleston to Newfoundland. Lafayette communicated the plan in a confidential letter to Washington written at Brest on the 4th December, 1782. An expression in it shows the filial affection of the young soldier for his great friend. "I have the honor to enclose a copy of a letter to the Congress. I hope you can say to it that you are satisfied with my conduct. In truth, my dear General, it is necessary to my happiness that you should feel so. When you are absent I endeavor to do what it seems to me you would advise me were you present. I am too much attached to you to rest content for one moment if I do not feel that you approve my conduct."

The joint preparations were complete and the fleet ready to set sail, when the departure was happily interfered with by the announcement of the signature of peace. Lafayette desired to bring the glorious news in person to America, but his presence in Spain was imperatively required at Madrid for the success of the negotiations of the United States with Spain. He therefore confined himself to asking a vessel from the Comte d'Estaing to carry the news across the sea, and, in fact, it was the *Triomphe*, graciously tendered by d'Estaing for this purpose, that first brought the grateful intelligence in letters to the President of Congress and Washington from Cadiz, on the 5th February, 1783. Washington, acknowledging to him this letter from Headquarters at West Point on the 5th April, says, that to these communications the United States were "indebted for the only account yet received of a general pacification." So impatient was Lafayette to communicate with and hear from Washington that he sent out his own servant by the man-of-war and obtained a promise of the Captain of the frigate to land him on the Maryland coast.

There being no immediate necessity of a return of the Marquis to

America, he preferred to serve his adopted country in France by using his own influence and that of his family connections in securing for the United States the most favorable conditions for commercial relations with the European powers, and particularly to aid in the establishment of a close alliance of interests with the French.

His correspondence with Washington, always confidential and intimate, was regularly maintained. No letter passed between them that does not show the warm, even tender relations which existed between them. As America was the adopted country of Lafayette, so was the fatherless young nobleman the adopted son of Washington. The interest of Washington was not confined to the generous hearted soldier-friend of America. It covered all that were near and dear to him. In his first letter, after the departure of l'Alliance, Washington begs, though unknown to Madame de Lafayette, to be presented to her as one of her greatest admirers. The noble qualities of this charming, high spirited woman were well known in America. The published correspondence between Lafayette and herself show how entirely she approved of his generous course, and sacrificed her own peace and comfort to his fame and glory. Married to him when he was but fourteen years of age, she was pregnant with her first child when he set sail on his first adventurous voyage across the sea. To the courteous message of Washington she replied, with her affectionate and respectful compliments to himself and Mrs. Washington, urging them warmly to pay her a visit at the close of the war. It was not until late in the year 1783 that Lafayette had so far terminated the business confided to him and his own personal affairs as to feel free to undertake his long promised voyage. In November, by letters to Washington and Congress, he announced his intention of paying a visit to America in the spring. Washington, replying to him in April, expressed his full reliance on this hope and his ardent longing for the moment when he might embrace him in America. "Nothing," he adds, "could add more to the pleasure of this interview than the happiness of seeing Madame de Lafayette with him, that he might have the honor of thanking her in person for the flattering letter she had been pleased to write him, and to assure her of the sincerity of his wishes and those of Mrs. Washington; that she could make Mount Vernon her home while she staid in America." The same day he wrote to the Marchioness, thanking her for her felicitations on the final evacuation of the British, and the renewed invitation to visit her in France. "Mrs. Washington," he writes, feels "herself too far advanced in life, and



too much immersed in the care of her little progeny (the four children of her son, John Parke Custis, who died in 1781) to cross the Atlantic.' Such, he reminds the Marchioness, was not the case with herself. He recalls to her her youth, the ease with which she could leave her children with all the advantages of education, and seeks to stimulate the curiosity she must have to see the country, young, rude and uncultivated as it is, for the liberties of which her husband had fought, bled and acquired much glory, whom everybody admires, everybody loves. "Come then," he adds, "let me entreat you, and call my cottage your home; for your own doors do not open to you with more readiness than mine would. You will see the plain manner in which we live, and meet with rustic civility; and you shall taste the simplicity of rural life. It will diversify the scene, and give you a relish for the gayeties of the court, when you return to Versailles."

These letters were both written from Mount Vernon, where Washington says that "freed from the clangor of arms and the bustle of camp, from the cares of public employment and the responsibility of office," he was enjoying domestic ease under the shadow of his own vine and his own fig tree; and in a small villa, with the implements of husbandry and lambkins around him, he expressed the wish to "glide gently down the stream of life till entombed in the mansion of his fathers." The young children to whom he alludes were George Washington Lafayette and Virginie de Lafayette, who later became Madame de Lasteyrie; the latter born since the return of the Marquis to France. But the Marquise was not to be persuaded. The temptation was strong, but the attraction of the soil of France is irresistible, unless when considerations of honor, pride or duty control. Even those who are but adopted children feel this powerful magnetism, and leave it with regret. Of this feeling, no more touching scene than the famous adieu of Marie Stuart, when she left the clear skies of Normandy for the fogs of her northern kingdom. Nor were the children of Lafayette of an age at which a mother would leave them.

On the 9th March Lafayette wrote that his intention had been to leave earlier, but that some commercial affairs had detained him. Chiefly by his intervention four of the ports of France had been opened to American commerce. Still he hoped that the vessel carrying him would sail up the Potomac before June was over, and that he should take a cup of tea with Mrs. Washington. Finally he wrote on the 14th May from Paris that he would certainly leave Paris on the 10th June, and embark immediately for America.

He took passage on the *Courrier de New York*, Captain Joubert, one of His Most Christian Majesty's Line of Packet Ships established by the French Government the previous fall, and then making monthly trips between Port l'Orient and New York, a communication no doubt included in the plan instigated by the Marquis to develop commercial intercourse between the friendly companies. These ships were all first-class, and their accommodations so superior to those of the British Government that one of them was availed of on her first return trip by the officers of the English army evacuating New York. Before the revolution the mail service was monopolized by the Government packets; but now the establishment of the French line opened a channel with all parts of the Continent through the General Postoffice at Paris, which maintained a daily intercourse with all the capitals of Europe. The *Courrier de New York* arrived on the evening of Wednesday, the 4th of August, after a passage of thirty-four days. The Marquis was accompanied by the Chevalier de Caraman, a French officer of distinction, and there also came passenger Colonel Harmar, who returned from England, whither he had carried the ratification of peace with, and independency of, the Crown of Great Britain.

The news rapidly spread, and was the occasion of universal rejoicing. The old companions in arms of the Marquis left their occupations and counting houses and hurried to greet him, and express their delight at his return to their midst. The next he was entertained at a great dinner of one hundred covers, at which the officers of the late army appeared in the uniform of the service. The occasion was one of great rejoicing. After two or three days spent in visiting the fortifications built in 1776 for the defense of the city, which the English had later augmented, he hastened southward to meet Washington.

On the 9th, the day of his departure for Philadelphia, he was accompanied by the officers of the army and the militia and a great body of citizens. His arrival being anticipated, he was met by a number of his old military companions ten miles from the city, who accompanied him to the residence of the President of Congress, and thence to the City Tavern, where an elegant supper was served. From the graphic newspaper account of the day we learn "that the bells rung from his entrance into the city till ten at night. The street doors and windows were crowded to see him, and joyful huzzas saluted him at the corners as he passed along." In the evening the houses were spontaneously illuminated by the citizens.

On the 11th, Generals Arthur St. Clair, Anthony Wayne, and

William Irvine presented him an address of welcome on behalf of the Line, to which the Marquis made suitable reply as a brother soldier and affectionate friend. The Pennsylvania Line had been under his immediate command in the southern expedition of 1781.

On the 12th, the House of Assembly presented an address. The Legislature, having erected a part of their western territory, had given to it the name of Lafayette County the spring preceding. The day of his arrival, Lafayette acknowledged the receipt of the letter conveying intelligence of this honor, which had reached him a few days previous to his departure.

On the 14th he left Philadelphia, and the next night slept at Baltimore. On the 12th he reached Mount Vernon. Here he remained twelve days the guest of Washington. Of his stay no particulars are preserved, but imagination may picture the scene. Mount Vernon was famous as a seat of elegant hospitality, and Washington was a prince of hosts.

Taking his leave on the 28th August, Lafayette arrived at Baltimore on the 1st September. In this city of his predilection he was received with an enthusiasm that knew no bounds. A great banquet of three hundred covers was given to him at Mr. Grant's tavern, where an address from the citizens was presented to him by a committee. All classes vied in their attentions, and even the recent Irish emigrants, joined in the general tribute of welcome and praise.

From this time his journey through the States was triumphal as a royal progress. Nothing at all like it had ever been witnessed in America. Returned to New York on the 12th September, the freedom of the City was presented to him in a golden box by the authorities, and an elegant entertainment given at Cape's tavern, the Old Province Arms, which stood on the corner of Broadway and Thames street, later the site of the City Hotel.

Invited by the Commissioners, appointed by Congress to conclude a treaty of peace with the Six Nations, to join them on their visit to Fort Schuyler, and accompanied by numerous gentlemen, he embarked on the 20th and ascended the Hudson, viewing with interest the immense chain of fortifications erected during the revolution for the defense of the Highlands.

At Fort Schuyler he addressed the savages. During the war he had been named Kayewla by these tribes. He recalled to them the necklaces he had sent them, with words of advice, and his prophecies of the success of the American arms, and in a happy vein exhorted them to

peace and amity with the whites as members of same great nation. To this Tocksicanetron, the chief of the Mohawks, replied with dignity, and the next day at an exchange of gifts, the Grasshopper, orator of the Friendly Nations, made official reply, and the chiefs of the Hurons and Senecas brief speeches.

The treaty accomplished he returned through the country to Albany, whence he visited the battle-field of Saratoga; then crossing into Connecticut, as he approached Hartford he was met by a great number of citizens, who escorted him to the city, where he was again addressed and feasted. At Worcester he met the same generous reception and hospitality. Meanwhile the citizens of Boston, the cradle of liberty, were counting his steps, impatient to take their part in the nation's greeting. Couriers were posted on the road to announce his approach. The officers of the army met and entertained him at Watertown, about nine miles distant. At Roxbury the incoming procession was met by companies of artillery and volunteers bearing the standards of France and America and saluted with thirteen guns; thousands of citizens flocked to greet the young chief and pressed to take his hand. When they reached the neck of land which separates Boston from the main land, military formation was made, and the vast body moved slowly through the thronged streets, amid universal applause and the peal of bells, to the stump of the ancient elm, the famous Liberty Tree which the British had cut down during their occupation. Escorted to the Whig Tavern, he addressed the people from the balcony with his customary urbanity. A curious evidence of the simplicity and economy of the time is found in the statement that the city lanterns, which had not been lighted since the peace, were so for the first time in the evening of that day. The next day General Knox addressed him in the name of the officers of the Massachusetts Line, and commended him to glory and to fame.

The 19th October, the anniversary of the capitulation of Yorktown, was selected by the State Government as the occasion to render him public honors. John Hancock was, at this time, the Governor of Massachusetts. The proceedings of the day were concluded with a great dinner at Faneuil Hall, where five hundred guests were assembled. The great room was decorated with thirteen arches, from the central one of which depended a huge fleur-de-lis, under which the Marquis took his seat. Thirteen patriotic toasts were drank, each accompanied by a salvo of thirteen guns from the market place. When the health of Washington was proposed, a curtain placed behind the Marquis fell and disclosed

the picture of the General, crowned with laurels and decorated with the colors of France and America. Lafayette rising to the toast answered it with the cry of "Vive Washington," which was taken up and re-echoed through the hall. In the evening a great ball was given by Mrs. Hayley, whose mansion was illuminated, and fire-works were displayed in the streets. A few days later, in company with the Chevalier de Caraman, who was his constant attendant, and M. le Comte de Grandchain, Captain of his Majesty's Frigate *la Nymphé*, Lafayette made a tour along the coast, visiting the towns of Salem, Cape Anne, Marblehead, Beverley, Newburyport, and Portsmouth; everywhere to the delight of the inhabitants and his own satisfaction.

He next visited Providence and Newport, where he counted many immediate personal friends. Returning again to Boston, he embarked on board *La Nymphé* (frigate of forty guns), which carried him to the mouth of York River on the Chesapeake Bay. Landing at Yorktown he ascended the peninsula to Williamsburg. Here he was received in the house of his personal friend, General Neilson, and the next day was publicly addressed and welcomed. Hastening to Richmond, where Washington awaited his arrival, the two friends again met on the 15th November. As usual the State Government paid him every possible honor. From Richmond "the two friends," as it was the habit to call them, returned to Mount Vernon, accompanied by the Chevalier de Caraman and the Comte de Grandchain. Alexandria and Annapolis vied in their attentions. It is not difficult to imagine the wild excitement in the city of Annapolis, the headquarters of Lafayette's first southern expedition, which his presence had saved from bombardment and destruction from the British fleet in the spring of 1781. The State of Maryland accorded to him and his heirs the rights of citizenship in perpetuity.

At Annapolis Lafayette parted from Washington, receiving his embrace and benediction. Passing through Baltimore and Philadelphia he reached Trenton the 8th December, and took leave of Congress, which was then assembled there. He was received by a committee composed of a member from each State, and taken leave of in the name of the nation; a ceremony described as touching and imposing.

On the 15th December he returned to New York, where the *La Nymphé* had already arrived to convey him across the ocean. After some days of constant social gaiety, on the morning of Thursday, the 21st, he embarked on board the frigate's barge at the Whitehall stairs; he was escorted by the Governor of the State and the Consul of France, by whom he was handed on board the barge. As he passed the Battery

he was saluted with thirteen guns. Arrived on the vessel the Captain saluted the American flag with a Continental salute, which was returned by the artillery at the fort with an equal number.

Thus closed the first social visit of Lafayette to the land of his adoption, the liberties of which he had done so much to secure. In the four months and twenty-one days of his stay he travelled over nineteen hundred and fourteen miles. As Washington wrote to the Marquise, he returned to France "crowned with wreaths of love and respect from every part of the Union."

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS

## THE ABORIGINES OF THE HOUSATONIC VALLEY

Comparatively few readers of general history are aware that there once inhabited the lower Housatonic valley, in southwestern Massachusetts, a tribe of Indians in many respects the most remarkable among the aborigines of our country. Yet such is the fact, and their own intrinsic merits, as well as their peculiar relations to their white brethren and their subsequent fortunes, certainly deserve more than a local remembrance.

When in 1722, on petition to the General Assembly of Massachusetts, two townships were granted in the southwestern portion of what is now Berkshire County, and settlers arrived to occupy the same, they came in contact with an indigenous people, scattered mostly along the Housatonic river, in the present towns of Stockbridge, Great Barrington and Sheffield, and more sparsely farther west, over the New York and Connecticut borders to the Hudson. They seem to have belonged to the same division of American aborigines as the Chippeways, and Dr. Dwight remarks that their language, with various dialectical variations, was in wider use than any other Indian tongue. That portion of them who lived within the present limits of Berkshire County, came to be designated as Housatonic Indians, though their soi-disant name was Muh-he-ka-neew, signifying "the people of the ever flowing waters." When found by the whites, their previous history had, after the usual custom, been transmitted orally from generation to generation; but toward the close of the last century, a well educated pupil of the tribe collected and committed to record the floating traditions of his people concerning their origin, migrations and ultimate settlement where they were found by the whites. This historian was Captain Hendrick Aupaumut, a man of great intelligence, wisdom and probity, a sachem during their first migration from Stockbridge to central New York, and prominent after their farther removal westward. Like Cornplanter and Red Jacket of the Six Nations—though more thoroughly imbued with the principles of christianity—he was, during his active life, the statesman and leader of his people. The history he wrote is, or was a few years since, extant. Dr. Dwight appears to have seen it in its perfect state in manuscript (for it has never been printed), though when it came into the writer's hands, twenty-five years ago, it lacked its first

and last leaves; and lest the valuable old document should be wholly lost, some antiquarian society should secure its possession and preservation. It may be a matter of interest to the advocates of the Asiatic origin of the American Indians to state that the early traditions of the Muh-he-ka-neew assert that their ancestors "crossed the great water at the place where this and the other country are nearly connected." (Behring's Straight?) The Shawanese are said to hold the same opinion. It is farther recorded that, after their arrival in the Northwest, want of sustenance compelled them to scatter widely over the land, and that in their continued migration eastward, they at length struck the Hudson, and finding the locality fertile and game abundant, they made it the home of which the whites found them in possession. According to the peculiar ethnological tenets of our aborigines, the Delawares were the grandfathers, the Shawanees and Oneidas the younger brothers, and the Mohawks, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas the uncles of the Muh-he-ka-neew, and they were respectively so addressed in all the oratory around their mutual council-fires.

The governmental grant of the two townships afore mentioned was, in 1724, confirmed to the whites by the Indian owners in consideration of £450, three barrels of cider and thirty quarts of rum, and the way was now opened for English settlers in the valley. Hitherto only a few Dutch families had taken up their abode within its limits, mainly for the exchange of whiskey and trinkets for the pelts of animals hunted by the natives. Nothing had been done by Christian philanthropy for the enlightenment of the heathenism that brooded over the region. Their condition attracted the notice of several clergymen of the Connecticut River towns, and in 1734 a commission was sent over to test the minds of the Indians with regard to the establishment of a mission among them. They found in the two headmen of the tribe—Konkapot and Umpachenee—remarkable specimens of inborn leadership and sagacity. The former had been honored by King George II. with a captain's, and the latter with a lieutenant's commission, in testimony of their past friendliness toward the English and with a view to a future security of the same in the ever recurring wrangles of that nation and the French over their American possessions. These dignitaries were invited to a council, and by means of a Dutch interpreter, the proposition to establish a Christian mission among them was submitted. It was candidly considered, and subsequently, after debate in tribal council, a cordial affirmative was returned. Means were obtained from the Scottish "Society for the Promotion of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," and it only remained



to find a suitable leader for the enterprise. Such a man was shortly found in Mr. John Sergeant, of Newark, N. J., a graduate of Yale, and, at the time of his appointment a tutor there, who professed a willingness to devote his life to the temporal and spiritual good of the red man, and assumed charge of his arduous work in 1734. To aid the project, by a wise union of civilization with Christianity, six families from the Eastward, selected with a reference to their exemplary combination of these requisites, were allotted farms and took up their residence in the present town of Stockbridge. Thither, for greater convenience, the Indian families scattered, along the lower valley of the Housatonic and farther westward, even over the New York border, were gathered; a church and a school-house were built, and several of the natives, in imitation of their white instructors, erected frame dwellings. Mr. Sergeant acquired their difficult language with surprising facility, and was soon enabled to forego the medium of an interpreter, combining the duties of pastor and schoolmaster until the growth of the settlement necessitated the placing of the latter in the hands of a separate functionary. Among the earlier converts to Christianity were Konkaput and Umpachenee and some of the counsellors of the tribe. The aggregate number of this flock of the wilderness before the death of Mr. Sergeant was several hundreds. On the incorporation of the town of Stockbridge, the natives shared with the whites the municipal and church offices, and the records of their official acts testify to their entire capacity for equal honors with their paler brethren. No similar mission has more happily justified the hopes of its projectors, or left a more encouraging example for Christian philanthropy.

Mr. Sergeant died in 1749, enshrined in the hearts of the children of the forest, whose highest desire was that their own dust might rest as closely as possible to his, who had been their guide to knowledge and to Heaven. His successor was Jonathan Edwards, the philosopher and divine, of world-wide renown, who in these opening wilds sought repose from the soul-vexing troubles that drove him from Northampton. He became pastor of the Anglo-Indian church in 1751, and during the multifarious cares of his double ministry wrote his famous treatises on "Original Sin" and "The Freedom of Will." He left for the presidency of Nassau Hall in January, 1758, and died March 22d of the same year.

During the ministry of his successor at Stockbridge, the Indian portion of his parish was placed under the care of a son of the Missionary Sergeant, who entered heartily into the labors of his devoted father.

From this time onward to their first emigration to Central New York, they continued to share with the whites the duties and responsibilities of citizenship, and to progress in the arts and knowledge of civilized life. Their schools were mainly supported by regular contributions from philanthropists, both Churchmen and Dissenters, in Great Britain, among whom was the chaplain to the Prince of Wales, and not a few of the nobility. The chaplain, Rev. Dr. Ayscough, presented their church with the Bible, in two splendidly bound volumes, which are still preserved by their descendants at the West with religious care.

The most friendly relations always prevailed between them and the whites, and during the wars with the French they invariably espoused the cause of England. At one time Governor Shirley had nearly every warrior among them in his army during his expedition against Niagara in 1755. Their services were valuable as scouts and rangers for the regular troops. At the outbreak of the war of the Revolution their sympathies were with the colonists, and the military services of the tribe were proffered to the Massachusetts Colonial Legislature by one of their chiefs in a speech, whose eloquent shrewdness caused it to be recorded as a lesson for declamation in the school-books of fifty years ago. Those services were gratefully received, and most faithfully performed. A company from the tribe fought through all the war, serving in Montgomery's expedition against Canada, in repelling the invasion of Burgoyne, and in the Jersey campaigns with Washington. In testimonial thereof, at the close of the contest, the Commander-in-Chief ordered an ox to be given them for a barbecue, with a half barrel of rum; after the enjoyment of which on their old council ground—now the meeting-place of the Laurel Hill Association—with unusual ceremonies, the hatchet was buried in token of peace achieved, and the braves who had survived the battle-field and the hospital, like our citizen soldiery after the late rebellion, resumed the duties of civilians.

In 1785 the Oneidas of Central New York, in remembrance of former aid afforded them by the Stockbridges against a depredatory tribe from the far west, invited them to come out and settle with them on their reservation. The inevitable disparagement of the redman, consequent upon close contact with the white race, undoubtedly operated strongly to prompt their acceptance of the invitation, and during the years 1786-87 a general removal was effected. Their number was then about four hundred. A few, too strongly attached to the home of their fathers on the beautiful Housatonic, remained to finish their pilgrimage, and be laid by their supplanting friends to mingle their own with the

dust of their ancestors. A movement is now on foot to erect a fitting memorial to the departed tribe on their still unviolated burial place in the charming village of Stockbridge. But while the Taconic range dominates the valley, and the Housatonic laves its base,

" Their names are on your [landscape],  
And ye cannot wash them out."

The name "New Stockbridge" was given to their locality among the Oneidas, where a building for a church was erected, capable of seating five hundred persons. Another edifice for a school was provided, and education for the physical and the moral man proceeded, as inaugurated on the Housatonic, under a son of the missionary of their fathers. In 1792, with their neighbors, the Six Nations, they were invited by General Washington to a council at Philadelphia, for the purpose of consulting on further measures for the improvement of their condition. They were treated with marked consideration, and an appropriation of \$1,500 annually was granted them in furtherance of the object. During their residence in New York they exercised their influence to counteract the movement by Tecumseh and the Prophet to unite the western tribes in the British interest in the war of 1812. Their efforts in this behalf were made through the historian of their people, Captain Hendrick Aupaumut, before mentioned, whose agency proved effectual to restrain its extent, though not entirely to subdue the conspiracy.

The toleration by encroaching whites of Indian neighbors invariably endures only so long as the covetous spirit is held in abeyance, which the history of our dealing with the aboriginal tribes hitherto has proved to be measured by perpetually shortening cycles. The sojourn of the Stockbridges in New York continued more than forty years, when, on the death of the second Mr. Sergeant in 1824, vexed by constant disputes concerning titles of occupancy on the part of individuals and land companies, and aware of the hopelessness of contention where might makes right, they once more turned their faces toward the setting sun. The regathering was on the Fox River, near Green Bay, Wisconsin; but it being found that they were in the way of governmental improvements on that stream, they received from the United States \$25,000 for the betterments made during their stay, and two townships on Lake Winnebago, in exchange for their wild lands. Here, in 1833, they once more halted on their western pilgrimage, and again drove the stakes of their wandering colony. In 1839, some seventy or eighty malcontents with civilization left the tribe and pushed southwest for a

wider liberty. It proved, however, an ill-starred enterprise, and in 1851, the remaining prodigals of them, twenty-five or thirty in number, were willing, though uninvited, to return.

As though a perpetual lessee of trouble, in 1843, another portion of this people, instigated by designing whites, procured the passage of an act by Congress citizenizing the tribe, which, though repeated three years later, had been in operation sufficiently long to engender strife and divisions to a lamentable extent. In order to remove these impediments to prosperity, and to secure the quiet enjoyment of their own laws, another, and it is to be hoped a last, exodus was arranged by a treaty with the United States, whereby, in consideration of \$33,000 for their wild lands, \$14,500 for their improvements, \$20,000 in ten annual instalments, and two townships of good wild land in Minnesota, they agreed to occupy the latter, the Government paying the expenses of their removal. And there, at present, still burns their dimmed, but not extinct, council-fire. Their census enrolls about two hundred and fifty remnants of a people who once roamed the now populous Housatonic Valley. The church and school-house still stand among them; their pastor is a half-blood, regularly educated at an eastern theological seminary, and their sachem is a lineal descendant of their Stockbridge chiefs of long ago. Pianos, modern fashions of dress, and the courtesies of civilized societies are prevalent among them; and though the ghostly finger of fate points to the land of shadows beyond them, the sun of hope breaks through the rifted clouds above and still bids courage.

Though three generations have passed since the tribe left the valley of their ancestry, it is still unforgotten, as is proved by the pilgrimages which, though less frequent from the lapse of years and their increasing western declination, have not yet entirely ceased. Within the writer's knowledge several such have been made, the most affecting several years since. It was that of a solitary Indian of perhaps fifty-five years, in blanket and mocassins, stern, solitary and silent. No one knew when or how he came. When first observed he was sitting on a rock upon the side of the hill that overlooks the valley from the north, his chin upon his hands and his elbows upon his knees, in profound meditation. Before and beneath him lay the beautiful landscape of field, meadow and mountain, through which wound the Housatonic, its willow-shaded waters playing hide and seek with the mellow beams of the autumnal sun. Almost at his feet rose the white memorials of the dead in the quiet cemetery, and just beyond lay the modest nook which holds the bones of his fathers, unmarked save by the verdant monuments of

natures planting. Here his ancestors, in their palmy days, had lived and roved and loved and died, and hither he, a remnant of their wasted and wasting race, had come to look his last upon haunts which should belong to his people no more. How must the memory of the past have entered like iron into his lonely soul! He accepted without thanks, but asked not, the hospitality of an aged man who had known some of his tribe; overtured no conversation, answered in monosyllables; pursued his solitary musings for a day or two, and then disappeared as mysteriously as he came.

E. W. B. CANNING

*Stockbridge, Mass.*

JOURNAL OF COLONEL ISRAEL  
SHREVE FROM JERSEY TO  
THE MONONGAHALA  
1788

Communicated by S. H. Shreve

PRELIMINARY NOTE—Colonel Israel Shreve was born December 24th, 1739, at the Shreve Homestead, Mt. Pleasant, Mansfield, Burlington County, N. J. He was the son of Benjamin Shreve and Rebecca daughter of Richard French, and grandson of Caleb Shreve (who came from near London, England, and settled in New Jersey in 1676) and Sarah daughter of Derick Areson. He was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the Second Battalion of N. J. Troops, November 8th, 1775, and upon the reorganization of the "Jersey Line" was made Colonel of Second Regiment, in which capacity he served until the end of the war. His regiment was part of Maxwell's Brigade, and was with Washington in many of the most important battles of the Revolutionary war. During the march of the British through New Jersey, they passed near his plantation about a mile from Mt. Pleasant, and because he was an American officer, they burned his residence and destroyed his crops. He was a member of the Friends' Society, but the principles of his religion did not deter him and his family from taking an active part in the stirring scenes of his time. His son John was a Lieutenant of one of the companies of his father's regiment. His brother William was Colonel of the First Regiment (Burlington Co.) of New Jersey Militia, his brother Samuel was Lieutenant-Colonel of the First Battalion, his nephews Benjamin

Shreve and Richard Shreve were Captains. The N. J. Militia performed efficient service in supporting the Continental line at Long Island, Trenton, Princeton, Monmouth and other important battles. Colonel Shreve's son Henry M. was distinguished for his improvements in steamboats and for the removal of the Red River raft. It was after him that Shreveport, La., was named. Colonel Shreve died in 1799.

S. H. SHREVE.

JOURNAL of travel from the Township of Mansfield, County of Burlington in the State of New Jersey to the Township of Rostrover in the County of Westmoreland, State of Pennsylvania.

The party consisting of the following Persons, Israel Shreve and Mary his wife with their children, viz, Kezia, Hesther, Israel, George Greene, Rebecca and Henry, with John Fox and James Starkey, three two horse waggons and three Cows.

William Shreve and Rhoda his Wife with their children viz, Anna and Richard.

Joseph Beck and Sarah his Wife with their children, Benjamin, Rebecca, Elizabeth, Henry, Joseph and Ann, with one three horse waggon, Daniel Hervey and Sarah his wife and their child Job with a Mulatto Boy named Thomas, and Joseph and Ann Wheatly, John Shelvill one three and one two horse Waggon and one cow (in all 29 Souls).

Monday the 7th of July, 1788—Set out and crossed the Delaware at Donkses Ferry where we parted with a Number of our Relations and friends who had accompanied us and continued on to the Sign of General Washington,

17½ miles to-day, here staid all night, Rainy in the Night.

Tuesday the 8th of July—Set out early, halted in the City of Philadelphia several hours getting necessities; Left the City and passed the Schuylkill over a Bridge at the Middle Ferry, halted on the Hill on the other Side.

Set out again and Halted at the Sign of the Buck 21 miles to day, Stayed all Night.

Wednesday the 9th July—Set out at Sun rise, Daniel Harvey and wife being unwell halted and breakfasted at the Sign of the Spread Eagle, here for the first time in our Journey boiled the Tea Kettle, Set out again hindered by having two horse shoes put on, hard showers of Rain to day, halted at Downington, 22 Miles to-day, Stayed all Night.

Thursday the 10th July—Set out again hindered some time getting forage at a Mill, went on over exceedingly muddy bad roads, halted and dined at Caleb Ways, here perceived the Black mare badly foundered, drenched her with salt and water and sent her to the light waggon, went on and halted at the Sign of the Marriner's Compass, kept by a Mr Taylor, in Pequa Valley, 13½ Miles to-day only, occasioned by bad Roads and crossing the South Mountain and one of my waggons drove by James Starkey oversetting bottom upwards, to day the women were much fatigued by walking, Sarah Hervey walked eight and a half miles over the Hill at one heat.

Friday the 11th July—Set out and passed over Roads full of bad Mud-holes, halted and breakfasted at the Sign of the Hat kept by Andrew Coldwell, hindered this morning by getting clasps

put round the felloe of a wheel, went on over muddy roads to George Prisly at the head of the Great Spring, Sign of the Bird in Hand and dined. Set out again and crossed the Canestoga Creek within two miles of Lancaster—17 miles to day, all cheery and in high spirits, stayed all night, it being the height of Harvest, took particular notice of the wheat which is bad in general so far, being killed by the severity of the weather, and much mildewed.

Saturday the 12th July—Set out Early and halted some time in Lancaster, had one new horse shoe put on. Drove out of town and breakfasted late—went on, halted at Scotts Mill and dined in the woods, went on again and were obliged to halt at a Private House, paraded our beds in a barn, this did not set well. Daniel went on to Elizabethtown in the Night, 16 miles to day.

Sunday 13th July—Set out and halted at Alexander Boggs; at the Sign of the Bear in Elizabethtown, 4 miles to day; Here John Gaston and Wife overtook us on their way home to the Monongahala River.

Monday the 14th July—Set out at Sunrise, halted and breakfasted at Middletown; we are now in sight of the Susquahanna River; went on to Chambers Ferry crossed over to Captain Simpsons,—Set out again and forded a rapid Creek called Yellow Breeches,—very mirey roads—halted at Pattersons Tavern, 8 miles to day, stayed all night—here is good level land; the wheat along the road from Lancaster to the Susquahanna, appears to have plenty of straw but is much mildewed and rusty.

Tuesday the 15th July—Set out again

passed over exceedingly good level land and halted at Carlisle and dined—here lost my Dog—Set out again and passed over level roads full of bad mud holes, halted at Robert Simples Tavern, 22 miles to day—Rainy night.

Wednesday 16th July—Set out and halted at Mr. Cracken's Tavern at the head of the Great Spring and breakfasted, Road something better than yesterday, went on to Shippensburg, there halted and dined at Capt Scotts Tavern,—(when we dined at Taverns we always made use of our own provisions.) Set out again in a hard rain, by advice took the right hand road that leads over the three hills, lately opened and made by a Mr. Skinner from Jersey, halted at Joseph Fenleys Tavern at the Sign of the Ball, 19 miles to-day, a rainy night, Roads level but muddy in places to day.

Thursday 17th July—Set out and halted at Coopers Tavern at the foot of the first hill called the Blue mountain and breakfasted, all in good health and high spirits. Crops from the Susquahanna to this place exceedingly good and plenty, free from mildew and rust, then ends the good land until over all the hills except in spots, and here began sorrow. Set out and ascended the first Mountain so steep that we were obliged to double the teams to get up and very stony going down the other side, in this valley crossed a Creek called Cannogoguinop, halted at said Mr Skinners who made the road, A hard rain coming on and our horses much worried we stopped the afternoon, 8 miles to day, stayed all night, Here Joseph Becks daughter Ann was taken sick.

Friday 18th July—Set out again and rose the second hill called the North Mountain, this as steep and stony as the first, at the west fort forded a Creek in Path Valley, went on and halted at a Tavern, the Landlord drunk, a man who calls himself Noble with the Landlady on the Bed nursing the Landlord who was fast asleep; — this place affords neither forage nor water and whiskey nearly out. Coming down the last Hill Daniel Hervey left his stallion to follow the waggon, the horse took an old path and caused several hours search before he was found stripped of all his gears but the collar, consisting of a new blind bridle, a pair of leather lines, harness, back and belly bands, and one iron trace the other having been taken to lock the waggon—about 2 o'clock in the afternoon set out and ascended the third hill called the Tuscarora Mountain which is much steeper than the other. At or near the top there are several Cabins, in one lives or stays an old woman who appears to be very sick and in distress. At the West fort of this third Hill is a good farm—Went on a mile farther to a Mr Gimmersons who keeps a Tavern and Store of Goods which he sells as *cheap* for hard cash as such Goods are sold in Jersey for paper money. Here had the misfortune to break one of my Waggon wheels, sent it on five miles this evening to be repaired, 8 Miles only to day: This is the place called the Burnt Cabins, where the old road that passes through Chambers Town comes into the old Road said to be twenty miles farther than the new one but much better and shuns two of the three Hills just mentioned. Our women complain heavily







THE SURVEY HOMESTEAD—MT. PLEASANT, HILLSBORO CO., N. J.

on account of being obliged to walk on foot over the Mountain.

Saturday 19th July—About eleven o'clock set out all but the disabled Waggon and passed over barren sidelings roads, halted at Capt Birds at fort Littleton, 5 miles to day, one or two pretty good farms in this valley, here stayed for the Waggon wheel which was not finished until evening.

Sunday 20th July—Sent the repaired wheel to the Waggon, About eleven o'clock had a further hindrance by having three horse shoes put on, Set out and passed over barren roads good but much gullied, halted in the woods at a Run of Good Water at the foot of Sideling Hill, 13 miles to day, stayed all night, heavy complaints among the Women.

Monday 21st July—Set out and ascended Sideling Hill up a good new Road made by said Skinner, halted on the top and breakfasted at Henry Livingstons Tavern, went on over exceedingly stony Roads to Rays Hill, here cut saplings and chained to our Waggon, this hill steep, gullied, and very stony, Skinners men at work making a new Road down, we continued on to the crossings of the Juncatto, forded the River, and halted on the Hill at a Colonel Martins Tavern, Land Lord nor Lady at home, no feed but 2 Rye sheaves cut up for which I paid 9d, the girls of the House very uncouth and surly; went on and halted at Cabin Tavern kept by a Jersey Dutchman; 12 miles to-day. Road from Martins barren and bad sidelings hill; one fellow of one of my Waggon gave way, Mr. Shreve put in a new one.

Tuesday 22nd July—Set out after

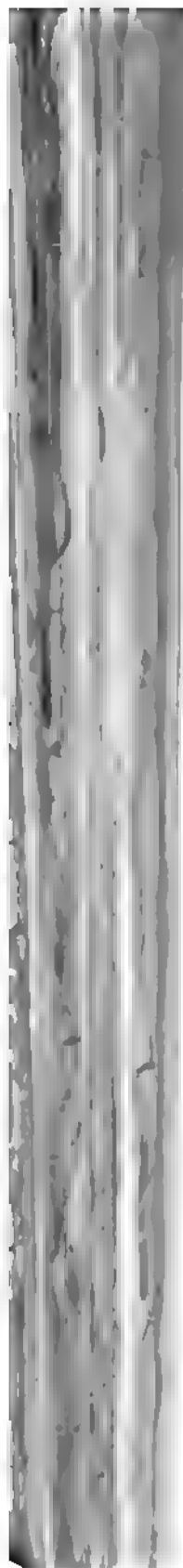
breakfast, went on and passed through Bedford, halted for a horse shoe, went on four miles further and halted at John Bonnets Tavern at the forks of the Old Pennsylvania and Glade Roads, 15 miles today, Here is an excellent farm with more than one hundred acres of the best Meadow land. Joseph Becks child very ill, stayed here all night.

Wednesday 23rd July—Set out late in the morning, went over a poor country and in the evening halted at a poor Dutch Hut where the Landlady was very angry with D. H. for pulling a radish. No feed at this Tavern nor anything else but whiskey, 13 miles to day. The gnats very bad here.

Thursday 24th July—Set out and passed on five miles to the fort of the Allagana Mountain, having now passed twelve miles along Dry Ridge and seen but two or three houses which are very poor,—went on and ascended the mountain which is nothing of a Hill to what we have passed, halted and dined a little off the road on the Hill, very rainy, we then proceeded on from the Allagana one mile into the Glades and halted at Christian Spikers where we stayed the remainder of the Day on account of the illness of the child, 13 miles to day;—About eleven o'clock this evening, Ann Beck daughter of Joseph Beck, departed this life to the great grief of her parents, more so on account of being far distant from their former home.

Friday 25th July—Sent to Berlin for a Coffin which arrived towards Evening when the child was decently interred in Mr. Spikers family Burying ground. Stayed here all night again. Still raining by spells.





. Saturday 26th July—Hired George Pancakee and two horses to, put before my heaviest Waggon for 8/4 per day and find him and horses. Set out, halted at a Blacksmiths, had two clasps put on my Waggon wheel and one horse shoe put on— Set out and halted at Mr. Blacks, here is a family waiting for Judsims, went on taking a right hand road at an empty Cabin on account of the other Road being cut so much by heavily loaded Waggons, halted and dined at one Jacob Louts, went on and halted at a Dunken called Perkeys, 15 miles to day. The land in the Glades on the Roads we have passed poor.

Sunday 27th July—Set out and after going a few hundred yards missed the most material part of Daniel Herveys property, it having gone before and taken a wrong road, a hue and cry was raised when to his great joy it was found unhurt. We passed on and began to rise Laurel Hill, halted and breakfasted at a run of Water. Set out again and ascended to the top of the Mountain over miry and stony Roads, then soon began to descend, first down a short steep hill, then a long gradual descent through chestnut Brush, the timber appearing to have been killed by fire sometime before, huckle berries here as well as in many places before very plainly on the low green bushes,—this Road down is over logs and stones enough to dash all to pieces : At length we arrived at a house in Legenear Valley, it being Sunday and rain coming on we stayed the afternoon and all night. Our women exceedingly fatigued by walking over the Mountain.

Monday 28th — Set out and after

passing three miles halted and breakfasted. Set out again and found the steepest hill we had met with, in going up Chestnut Hill were obliged to put six horses to some of the heaviest waggons. Raining hard— Descend the Ridge and came into the other road which is so miry as to sink the Waggons to the hubs in many places, stopped at a Blacksmiths and had one shoe put on one of my horses— Set out again and met Joseph Wood on his way to Jersey from Little Kenhaway, he informed me that a house was ready for me in the forks of Youghaina, went on and was overtaken by John Fox with the intelligence that one of Daniel Herveys Waggons had broken down. I halted at John Bennetts junior it being the first house over all the mountains. In the evening all the waggons arrived less Daniel Herveys two. 12 miles today— D. Harvey last evening in coming from his Waggon to Mr. Bennetts, got out of the Road ; it being very dark he could not find it again and was forced to take up his lodging in the Woods until day. Sarah Harvey and Sarah Beck walked six miles over very bad Roads this afternoon and arrived much wearied.

Tuesday 29th July—Sent for D. Herveys broken waggon and got a new axle-tree put in. We are now clear of the Mountains over which we have with much difficulty got so far safely except the misfortune of losing the child. The Allagania mountain, the Back Bone of America or the United States, is easy to ascend, being a long gradual ascent up Dry Ridge. Upon it, especially on the East side are very large white pines in great plenty ; the Glades is a high coun-

try or piece of land 18 miles wide:— Between this and the Laurel mountain the road for many miles is through chestnut Timber, such I never before saw for size and height— In many places as many rails could be cut on an acre as could be got out of the best Cedar Swamp in Jersey. The land is of little value but for timber.

Wednesday 30th July—Set out halted and breakfasted at Mr. Robesons, went on through a settlement on good level land for this Country, stopped and dined within four miles of Budds Ferry, here found a Mr. Brunt with a large family from Huntendon in Jersey bound for Kentucky, went two miles further and found Moses Juttle waiting for Judge Symmes, went on again and forded Youghagaina River, the water being so high as to come into some of the wagons that happened to drive a little amiss— Halted and stayed all night at Budd's Ferry—14 miles to day— We are now in the forks— Here I received Colonel Bayard's letter of instructions where to find the house prepared for me.

Thursday, 31st July.—Set out, and halted at Capt. Petersons, where Cawet formerly lived ; went on, and took the Elizabethtown Road for several miles, when all the waggons left me and turned off to the right hand near the meeting house to Asher Williams. I went on with my family, and turned to the left of Mr. Walter Walls. A hard rain coming on, and the road difficult to find, I stayed the afternoon and all night. Mr. Wall is a Jerseyman, and very kind.

Friday, 1st August.—Set out. Mr.

Wall sent his son James as a guide with me ; after going a mile or two, met Mr. Joseph Lemmon, the owner of the house I was going to, with Mr. Taylor. Walter Carr also accompanied us, with several others, to our new habitation, where we arrived about one o'clock in the afternoon— All well, after a very fatiguing journey of 25 days since leaving Jersey. The house provided for me is a new one, 30 feet by 26, two stories high, built of hewed white oak Logs, with a very good stone chimney. The house is not finished, no family having lived in it until we came. We set to, stopped it with lime and clay, laid the upper floor with *Chirety* boards, and it is now pretty comfortable for Summer.— There is a Spring of good water within about five rods of the door.

I have the privilege of pasture and fourteen acres of good land to sow this fall with wheat, and plenty of apples for house use, &c. &c.

I have ridden over some of the neighborhood, and must say that the land in general is exceedingly good, producing excellent crops of grain— Many parts are too rich for wheat, though the crops in general are good. Indian corn in some places is excellent, in other fields it has been hurt by the wet season— All that truth can say against the place is that the land in general is hilly, though even the sides of the hills are very rich, producing Walnut, Sugar Trees, Ash, with a variety of other woods, &c.— As to the inhabitants, they are mostly from Jersey, very kind to new comers, as well as to one another ; they live in a plain way, not spending much in Dress and

foppery, but are well provided with the real necessities of life.

ISRAEL SHREVE

Rostrover Township, Westmoreland  
County, Pennsylvania, August  
10th, 1788.

By Jacob Keelor, who faithfully discharged his duty in carefully driving a waggon.

Forks of Yough, Decr. 26th, 1789  
Dear Brother:

Having an opportunity to Philada., I embrace it, and mention my situation or intended one. Since I have been here have wished to get Washington's Bottoms, and have at last obtained the whole tract on rent for five years. I wrote to the General by his Agent in this County, Colonel Canon, who a few weeks ago returned from New York; the General was pleased to order Colonel Canon to let me have the whole of the Bottoms so called at my own offer.— The old farm contains about 80 acres of improved upland, and about 40 of the best kind of meadow, a bearing orchard of 120 apple & 100 peach trees; the buildings as good as most in this Country—pretty well situated, and five other improved farms, that at this time rent for £43—10— I am accountable for the whole rent, which altogether is £60—so that I shall have the old place for £16—10, to be paid either in money or wheat at 3/ per Bushel.

I considered that land at the Miami Settlement was rising fast, and that I had better pay this low rent for a well improved farm than barter away my

land at a low rate for land here— Land does not rise much in this place, owing to the great emigration down the River. It seems as if people were crazy to get afloat on the Ohio. Many leave very good livings here, set out for they know not where, but too often find their mistake.

I believe this as good as any of the settlements down the River for the present. The Mississippi trade is open at this time, and all the Wheat, Whiskey, Bacon, &c., buying up by those concerned in it; the highest price for Wheat is 4/ in trade, or 3/9 cash, whiskey, 3/ cash, and Bacon, 9d. p. lb. cash, &c—

On the farm where I am going is as good a stream for a Grist Mill as any in the whole forks, and a Mill that can be set going for, I believe, £50, and a number of years given for the repairs. I am in hopes of being able to set it going, as it will produce more grain than all the six farms on the tract.

I am to have possession the first of April next—and flatter myself I have as good a chance as any person in my circumstances could expect— I shall have nothing to attend to but my own private concerns—and think this way of life far preferable to any other.— Richard Shreve is to have one of the small farms; they contain of improved land as follows; one, 40 acres upland and 5 good meadow; one, 35 acres upland and 7 good meadow; one, about 35 acres upland and 6 good meadow; the other two about 25 acres upland and 5 or 6 of good meadow each; the whole in fences, they being the year before last rented for repairs only, &c. Peggy



Shreve has a daughter; she and her husband have been very sickly this last fall, but have recovered. I am grandfather to another son;—John and his wife pretty well, as is our family at present, but expect the measles, as it is in the school where our boys go. I hope you are all well also— I am, with great respect and love,

Your Brother,

ISRAEL SHREVE

To Caleb Shreve, Esq.,

The superscription on the back is:

To Caleb Shreve, Esquire,  
Mansfield, Burlington County,  
New Jersey.

favd. by } To be left at Charles French's,  
Mr. Richard Jones } merchant, next door to Old  
Ferry, Philada.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.—Mt. Pleasant, Mansfield, Burlington Co., N. J., was purchased by Caleb Shreve in 1699. The western portion of the building shown at the right hand end of the engraving which accompanies this journal was standing at that time. The central part of the house was built by him about the year 1725, and the western end was completed in 1742 by Benjamin, his son. Benjamin bequeathed the homestead, with other lands, to his son Caleb. From Caleb the property passed into the hands of his son Benjamin, who died in 1844. Benjamin's son Benjamin then became the owner of the homestead, and upon his death in 1877 it passed into the possession of his son Benjamin F., by whom it is now owned. The house is located upon an eminence, and the views from it are very beautiful and extensive. The internal arrangements of the house are in some respects very

curious, and possess many attractions for the antiquarian in the old Dutch tiled fireplaces, cupboards and other fittings.  
S. H. SHREVE.

### NEW YORK CITY IN 1772

AS DESCRIBED BY ST. JOHN DE CRÈVE-COEUR

(Translated for the Magazine)

The City of New York is beautiful, although irregular. This irregularity arises from the nature of the ground, and the steepness of the Peninsula upon which the first houses were built as much as from the necessity of making artificial soil to enlarge the extent of the City, and procure for trade the necessary warehouses and wharves. The inhabitants owe this taste for building over the water to the early Dutch, but to their own intelligence their remarkable skill in execution. I do not think there are any cities on this Continent where the art of constructing wharves has been pushed to a further extent. I have seen them made in forty feet of water. This is done with the trunks of pines attached together, which they gradually sink, fill in with stones, and cover the surface with earth. Beaver street, to-day so far from the seashore, was so called because formerly it was a little bay, where these animals made a dike. I have talked with old inhabitants, who have seen the tide rise to the neighborhood of the City Hall. You know that is more than four hundred fathoms from the sea. I know an old woman, who told me she had been whipped while a child for stealing apples in an orchard, which stood on

the site now occupied by this same City Hall.

Several of the streets have side walks on the two sides, paved with flat stones and ornamented with plane trees, the shade of which in the Summer time is equally beneficial to the foot passers and houses. Here is found Dutch neatness, combined with English taste and architecture; the houses are finished, planned and painted with the greatest care; the merchants are intelligent, able and rich, and the artisans extremely skillful, especially the carpenters, cabinet makers and joiners. Stone being scarce nearly the whole town is built of brick. Let those who, like myself, have experienced the extent to which the inhabitants of this city push hospitality render them the justice they deserve. New York being the fixed rendezvous of the English Packet ships, this City is necessarily the first where Europeans land; the reception they receive there is quite sufficient to give them a high idea of American generosity as well as of the simple and cordial affability they will meet with in the other towns of the Continent.

I know no place where food of every kind is cheaper and more abundant; meat, pork, ham, mutton, butter, cheese, flour, fish, and oysters, all combine to render living wholesome and reasonable; thus every body lives in comfort, every one is nurtured on excellent food, the poorest laborer not even excepted. I could name you twenty-four different kinds of shell fish and fifty-seven of fish proper; each season furnishes a variety, which appears only for a short period. Each fishing smack is always followed

by a very small boat, made of cedar wood, and full of holes. It is in these travelling reservoirs that all the fish come to the New York market. The quantity of oysters which are brought here from every quarter is surprising; all the great bays of Long Island, as well as the harbor, are full of them; they are ordinarily worth 36 sous the hundred.

The streets are often cleaned, and are lighted in dark nights. The houses number three thousand four hundred; there are twenty-eight thousand inhabitants, and twenty churches<sup>1</sup> belonging to different sects. It is a pleasure to see the College with its beautiful architecture. It is supplied with a good Library and a large number of mathematical instruments of great value. It is only to be regretted that this new Academy was not built far away from the capital, in some rural retreat, where the scholars could be kept from the turmoil of trade, and the dissipations and pleasures always numerous in large cities. There has been lately built at a proper distance from the City, on elevated ground not far from the Hudson River, a magnificent Hospital for Sailors, the architecture, situation and arrangement of which are an honor to the good citizens, who founded, and the Legislative body which founded it. It is a public Institution, incorporated by an Act of the Assembly, and managed by persons who are elected. After the amounts supposed to be requisite were advanced by the subscribers, the Assembly of the Province granted it a considerable supplement.

There is a Chamber of Commerce,

the members of which are incorporated by an Act of the Assembly. Three members of this Body, chosen each month by the rest, decide without expense or delay all the mercantile disputes which are presented to them.

This town also enjoys a Marine Society, likewise incorporated. It is composed of a large number of subscribers, who have supplied the first funds. It gives annual pensions and other assistance to the widows and children of Ship Masters and other Seamen, who for a certain number of years have contributed to the funds of the Society a portion of their yearly pay. The good which results from this institution is inappreciable. It has a fund of \$30,000,<sup>2</sup> and increases daily.

It is hoped that New York will very soon be abundantly supplied with a quantity of water sufficient for the use of houses and washing of the streets. A fire pump is now being erected, the piston of which is eleven inches in diameter, which is to give twelve strokes a minute, and supply fifty-eight pails of water at each movement of the balance wheel.<sup>3</sup> All the inhabitants of the City are divided into Companies, the members of which are obliged to keep suspended in the hall of their houses a certain number of leathern buckets, and a certain number of bags. They are obliged to carry these to fires with the greatest speed, to help the Firemen to preserve order, to carry water and to save the effects of the victims.

There is also in the City of New York an Insurance Company, well managed and very rich. This tends to animate and encourage trade.

This City is surrounded on every side by water; for at a little distance a stream flowing from the North river empties into the Sound, and at a slight expense a canal could have been cut which would have made the city a perfect island; I do not know why this has not been done; the city can only be reached by water except at King's-bridge, where a narrow bridge connects the island of Manhattan with the Continent. From the Jersey side it can only be reached by the Paulus Hook ferry across the Hudson river; from the Long Island by the Brooklyn ferry; these arms of the sea are about a half league wide. The inhabitants of the east side of New Jersey take advantage of their rivers which empty into New York bay to carry to the city on decked sloops all their products; the Sound brings to it the greater part of those which the province of Connecticut raises, the great North River, those of the vast region which it waters; and foreign vessels arrive by Sandy Hook on which there is a fine Light-house, one hundred and twenty feet in height.

Nothing is more beautiful, nothing can give to the contemplative spectator a higher idea of the wealth of this City, as well as of the nature of a happy and free trade, than the multitude of vessels of all sizes which are constantly tacking in this Bay, to leave the harbor or to reach the City; this is the reason why so much business is done here without noise and without carts.

Never was there an island more sterile than that of Manhattan, on the point of which New York is built. The wealth and industry of the inhabitants have

everywhere overcome nature, and everywhere vanquished the obstacles she had set. The eye of a European is agreeably surprised to see the interior of this desert cultivated and filled with farms, these rocky shores planed down, turned into delightful gardens, ornamented with elegant houses, pretty retreats, planted with fruit trees, and become meadows and cultivated fields. This spectacle is still more touching than that which the Town presents, because these wonders are the result of an industry, a perseverance, a pastoral and rural taste, which I prefer to commerce, and which is truly edifying when found united in the same persons.—*Lettres d'un Cultivateur Américain, Paris, 1787.*

<sup>1</sup> The City of New York counts twenty Churches within its walls, that is, three Episcopal, the finest on the Continent; one of these has a portico built upon stone columns sixty feet in height; one Jewish; one French Calvinist; one German Calvinist; one Reformed Calvinist; one Methodist; two Presbyterian; one Old Dutch, the earliest of all; two New Dutch; one Anabaptist; one Seceder; two Quaker; one Moravian, and two Lutheran.

<sup>2</sup> 394,000 livres tournois.

<sup>3</sup> This pump was entirely destroyed by the war, and the City lost seventeen hundred houses.

## NOTES

BAPTISM OF INDIANS AT FORT STANWIX.—When Dr. Peters, Rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia, went to Fort Stanwix, in 1768, he must have performed some effective missionary work, as is testified by his baptisms among the Indians, a record of which he made on his return home in the Church books.

When in Philadelphia, a few days ago, I had access to the Church records,

and send herewith an abstract *literatim et verbatim* therefrom embracing the Indian baptisms, which I believe have never before been in print, and may form an interesting item for the Magazine.

*Minutes of Vestry of Christ Church, Philadelphia, 5th September, 1768.* "The Rector informed the Vestry that there was to be an Indian Treaty held at Fort Stanwix, for the settlement of a boundary line between the Indians and His Majesty, and other matters of importance; and that the Governour and Council had desired he would attend it, from a belief that his long experience in Indian affairs would enable him to be of great service there; and as he thought with them, that he might be of some service, being personally acquainted with Sir William Johnson, and having received letters from Mr. Croghan, Sir William's deputy, expressing their opinion that his attendance would be serviceable, he had consented to go; and Dr. Smith was so good as to promise to do his duty in his absence. The Vestry unanimously expressed their satisfaction, and kindly said, they were a little fearful it would be too great an undertaking, considering the Rector's state of health." (Dr. Peters was then sixty-five years of age.)

### *From Christ Church Records:*

BORN.	
Regina, daughter of John and Mary Ruth,	Sept. 8, 1767.
William, son of Rut (a Tuscarora Indian),	Aged 12 mos.
Mary, daughter of Nicholas (an Oneida Indian),	" 1½ yrs.
Tessanickta, a Tuscarora adult Indian.	
William, son of same,	8 years old.
Elizabeth, daughter of same,	4 " "
John, son of same,	27 " "
Attohichon, a Delaware Indian girl,	14 " "
Catharine, her sister,	12 " "
Sarah, an Indian girl,	3 " "

Peter, an Indian boy, 9 months old.  
 John Harris, a Tuscarora Indian, 18 years old.  
 David, an adult Tuscarora, 30 " "  
 A son of Henry and Sarah, Mohocks, 3 months old.  
 Thomas, son of Adam (an Oneida Indian), Oct. 1, 1768.  
 Dorothy, daughter of Henry and Margaret of Onequago, Sept. 27, 1768.  
 John and Elizabeth, twins of Sagiaturka, a Shawaness, Aged 5 months.  
 A daughter of Henry and Mary, Mohocks, Oct. 26, 1768.  
 Carastaatzi, son of Joseph, a Mohock, and Carastaatzi, a Conewager Indian, Oct. 26, 1768.  
 Anna, a Tuscarora Woman, Aged 25 years.  
 Mary, daughter of Augustus and the above Anna, Aged 18 months.  
 A daughter of Seth and Christiana, Indians of Onequago, Oct., 1768.  
 Mary, wife of William, an Onequago Indian.  
 A son of the said William and Mary, June 1, 1768.  
 Sarah, dau'r of Dan'l and Margaret Pearson, Aug. 18, 1768.  
 Mary, dau'r of Rich'd and Margaret Potter, April 1, 1768.  
 Daniel, son of Daniel and Sarah Bourke, Oct. 18, 1768.

T. H. M.

COATS OF ARMS ON GRAVE STONES.—A list of these family insignia, preserved upon old American grave-stones, would be an appropriate contribution to American genealogy and history, and could find no more excellent medium of publication than the pages of the Magazine. As an example to others I open the list. In the admirable collection of epitaphs from the old burial ground of Groton, Massachusetts, recently published by Dr. Samuel A. Green, there are sketches of coats of arms upon the grave-stones of

JONAS CUTLER, died Dec. 19, 1782, age, 55.

JONATHAN CLARK LEWIS, Esq., died April 7, 1781, in his 32d year.

OLD MORTALITY.

AN OLD FASHIONED PIRATE.—*Extract of a letter from Virginia, 1719.* Capt. Teach, alias Blackbeard, the famous Pirate, came within the Capes of this Colony in a Sloop of six Guns and twenty

Men; whereof our Governor having Notice, ordered two Sloops to be fitted out, which fortunately met with him. When Teach saw they were resolv'd to fight him, he leap'd upon the Round-House of his Sloop, and took a Glass of Liquor, and drank to the Masters of the two Sloops, and bid Damnation seize him that should give Quarter; but notwithstanding his Insolence the two Sloops soon boarded him, and kill'd all except Teach and one more, who have been since executed. The head of Teach is fix'd on a Pole erected for that Purpose.

W. K.

CONTINENTAL COCKADE.—*New London, August 8, 1798.* A citizen of this place, not wishing to be despised for not wearing a cockade, and having a large quantity of a certain species of money in his possession, ornamented his hat with an *old Continental Fifty Dollar bill*.

PETERSFIELD.

SHARP PRACTICE.—*Providence, December 23, 1759.* The people to the northward, about Rhode Island, Marblehead, etc., have fallen into a new way of trade, whereby they supply the French Colonies with all manner of provisions: They secretly load their vessels with provisions, and go to some of the Dutch and Danish islands, where the Captain and all his English people remain, putting Dutch or Danes on board, with Dutch or Danish papers, and send them to the Cape, Port au Prince, &c. The vessels return laden with sugars and molasses; and the English Captain with his people carry them to the port from whence they came. Two of the prizes

sent in here by Captain Braddock are of this sort, and so is Captain McDaniels. PETERSFIELD.

—  
ASSASSINATION OF LA SALLE.—“This is the manner in which Father Anastasius related to me the assassination of the aforesaid Sieur (de la Salle).

“As I have already said they departed with a savage to guide them; when they approached the spot I have named, and M. de la Salle seeing no person was disturbed, when he perceived a flock of eagles in the air. The sight of them led him to believe that those he was in search of could not be far distant, and he accordingly fired a shot so that should they be near by they might hear and reply. This caused his death, for it served to warn the assassins who prepared themselves. Hearing this shot they had little doubt that it must be from the aforesaid Sieur, who was approaching them; they therefore arranged to surprise him. The man, named Duhaut, had passed the river with Larchevesque, and the said Duhaut, seeing from a distance M. de La Salle coming directly toward them, hid himself in the heavy grass to wait the passage of the said Sieur, who dreamed of no danger and had not even recharged his gun after firing. M. de La Salle first perceived Larchevesque, who appeared a little further off, and asked him where the Sieur de Morenger, his (La Salle's) nephew was. Larchevesque replied that he was at the water crossing. At the same moment a shot was fired by the aforesaid Duhaut, who was close by in the grass; the shot struck the aforesaid Sieur in the head, and he fell dead

on the spot without a word, to the great astonishment of Father Anastasius, who was close to him and supposed he would be treated in the same manner; so that he hardly knew what he had better do, whether to advance or fly, as he has since told me. But the aforesaid Duhaut appearing cried out to him not to be afraid, that no harm would be done him, that it was in a stroke of despair that he had committed the deed, that for a long time he had longed to revenge himself on the Sieur de Morenger, who sought his ruin, that he had been the chief cause of the loss and death of his brother and sundry other things. The aforesaid father was greatly disturbed. When the assassins were all assembled they stripped M. de La Salle with the greatest cruelty, and took off even his shirt; the surgeon especially treated him with derision, naked as he was, calling him a great bashaw. After thus stripping him they dragged him to the thicket, where they left him to the mercy of the wolves and other wild beasts. When their rage was thus appeased they began to think of resuming their journey to join us, when they proposed to get rid of me in case they found me in a state of defense. But as they wished to carry off their meat when leaving, they offered some knives to the savages to help them to cure and came to us.”

This is the account given by Joutel in his Relation. (Margry's French Discoveries and Settlements, &c.) La Salle was murdered while on journey of discovery from Matagorda Bay to the Illinois River. The murder was in March, 1687.

EDITOR.



**JOHN PAUL JONES A RUSSIAN ADMIRAL.**—We learn from authority that the Chevalier John Paul Jones is appointed by the Empress of Russia a Rear Admiral, and that he is to command a squadron in the Black Sea, to act against the fleet of the Captain Pacha.—*The Daily Advertiser*, N. Y., August 4, 1788. J. A. S.

### QUERIES

**FIRST LINEN AND CALICO PRINTING IN AMERICA.**—The following advertisement will probably fix the date of the first practical printing of linens and calicoes in America. If any of your readers can furnish an earlier date of the actual operation of this valuable art, they will please communicate it to your Magazine.

*Printed Linens*—Notice is hereby given, that the subscriber, living in Oxford, at the house where Doctor Campbell formerly dwelt, carries on the business of Printing Linens in Oyl, and with the best of colours, and a diversity of figures, agreeable to the European method, which will bear washing. As I expect to leave Oxford in the Spring, and as this business can be carried on in the Winter, those who incline to have work done will reap an advantage by it, as those who have linens printed can have it lay by, for several months, before they will have occasion to use it, whereby the colours will become more fixed and durable. Thin flayed cloth receives the impression and strikes through the best, fine cotton and linen and linen sheets; linen or tow sheets, that are half worn will do more service in a general way than imported calicoes. Bed and

Window curtains, vallens, counterpains men's and women's gowns, waist-coat patterns, and handkerchiefs, and generally any article will be done as cheap as the expense will admit. Women's gowns are printed for six shillings, and from that price to twelve shillings the old way, according to the number of colours, and the neatness of the flowers.

Any sort of produce or money will be received as pay for work done. Business in this way which individuals may order, will be cheerfully entered upon, and faithfully executed by their humble servant, SAML JENNISON. Oxford Sept 5th, 1781.

N. B. A variety of patterns with different colours and figures may be seen at the house aforesaid. *Massachusetts Spy*, September 20, 1781.

W. K.

**PEPPERRELL COAT OF ARMS.**—In a note to the life of Sir William Pepperrell by Usher Parsons the Pepperrell Arms are described as bearing "three pine-apples or cones-vert," with a "fleur-de-lis;" and it is added "no crest, it being an ancient coat before crests were used."

Now these pines-cones of Maine and the emblem of France surely indicate that these arms were originally granted to Sir William for his victory with Maine troops over the French at Louisbourg. Parsons must be in error. What is the record in the Herald office?

GARTER.

**COLONIAL WIG TAX.**—The Assembly of New York resolved September 9, 1730 that a Tax of Three Shillings should be

laid "on every Inhabitant, Resident or Sojourner, young or old, within the Colony, that wears a Wig or Peruke, made of human or horse Hair, or mixed, by whatever Denomination the same may be distinguished."

Were Wigs taxed in the other American Colonies?

REX.

A CURIOUS JUDICIAL RECORD.—Parsons, in his life of Pepperrell, recites a curious record of the court-martial held at Louisburg after it fell into the hands of the New Englanders. "Among other complaints before the court was one against Captain Piercy, who was charged by three complainants with drinking 'Long life to the Pretender' which, at that time, was deemed high treason. Piercy was arraigned before the court, and the charge and affidavits being read in solemn tone, the question was put, 'What is your defence, Sir, in reply to this charge of treason in drinking long life to the Pretender?' 'May it please your Honors,' said the Captain, 'the complainants entirely misunderstood me. I drank *long life to the potatoes!*' The Captain's defense was deemed satisfactory." Of what variety the potatoes were the court records do not say, and Mr. Parsons does not inform us. Were they perchance Blue-noses?

BLUE-NOSE.

SIR PETER WARREN'S HORSES.—In 1754 Sir Peter Warren, from the moneys received by him as commissions on the Cape Breton expedition, sent out from England "two large black horses for Massachusetts," and "proposed that they should be sent into several parts of

the province, and that every one that profited by them should pay the necessary expenses for their keeping." The horses were landed well, though the passage was very troublesome. Are there any known descendants of this stock?

STOCK-BREEDER.

EARTHQUAKES IN CANADA.—Where can one find the earliest and best accounts of the earthquakes in Canada? At one time, near the middle of the seventeenth century, vast quantities of ashes fell. What was the explanation?

OUTIS.

MARM GAUL.—When I was a boy in Charlestown the youngsters were sometimes frightened by stories of "Old Marm Gaul," or "Gorl." On more than one occasion of youthful wrong doing I fancied that she was after me (and I was particularly nervous about dusk) in the form of a short, repulsive old hag, with a stout cudgel, and, I think, a bag big enough to put a bad boy in. Who was "Old Marm Gaul," and what was she doing around Boston?

BREED'S HILL.

HISTORIC CHINA-WARE.—The writer has in his possession a fragment of an old china plate, on the under side of which is painted the following inscription:

"This *piece of plate* is most respectfully presented by the N. Y. Abolition Society to Mrs. Wm. Kemble, in testimony of the exalted opinion they possess for her character as a philanthropist, and of the salutary example which she has set before the citizens of her native



State of Maryland—*by reason of its claim as her proper possession.*

Second of (obliterated) which the laws of her land entitled her to rec. of the Society. A. Tappan, Sec."

Can any reader of the Magazine give the history of this piece of plate? It belonged to the late Gouverneur Kemble.

C. A. C.

—  
URSULINE CONVENT IN MASSACHUSETTS. The Circular or Prospectus of the Ursuline Convent, which once flourished at Mount Benedict, now a part of Somerville, Mass., bore a picture of the convent, printed from a steel or copper plate. This circular was of four duodecimo pages. Can any reader of the Magazine tell who has a copy of the same? It was printed at Boston by J. H. Eastburn.

F.

—  
COL. ROBINSON'S LETTER TO ANDRÉ.—Was the letter which Marbois says was found among Arnold's papers, and which Sargent in his life of André ascribes to Col. Beverly Robinson, genuine, and by whom was it written?

In the appendix to the life of André, page 447, Sargent says: "Mr. Sabine, whose opportunities for procuring information about the Loyalists was very great, declares it certain that Arnold was in communication with Robinson before he went to West Point," and adds: "It is probable that the letter which Marbois says was found among his papers was the first overture received from an agent of Sir Henry Clinton, and was written by Robinson." Then follows the letter, "retranslated here," as he says, "from the French version."

The letter is interesting, and if genuine, most important, as showing the inducements held out to Arnold for his desertion. It was without signature. Arnold is urged to restore peace, upon the ground that the colonies could not much longer sustain the unequal strife. England now offers, the writer says, every thing, and more, than the Colonies asked when the war began: a Colonial Parliament, which shall vote all taxes, and make all laws, with only a nominal recognition of the Crown. In a word, every thing the Colonies had asked was to be granted, Independence only excepted. It is an exceedingly plausible letter, and if genuine, shows that other than selfish motives were presented to Arnold by the British emissaries. Is the letter genuine?

Count Barbé Marbois, a Peer of France, and Secretary of the French Legation at the time of the conspiracy, says in his "Complot de Arnold et de Sir Henry Clinton contre les Etats-Unis de Amerique," published in Paris in 1816, the letter was found among Arnold's papers (after his treason), and was the first overture received by him from an agent of Sir Henry Clinton." Then he says: "Il etoit concer in ces-terms," and then inserts the whole letter in quotation marks. We have then the positive statement of Marbois that it was found among Arnold's papers after his flight; and if not genuine, he must not only have made an untruthful statement, but also forged the document. For this there seems to be no motive. On the contrary, this letter tends to show that Arnold may possibly have been influenced in part by less criminal motives

than those usually ascribed to him, and Marbois shows in his whole work no disposition to extenuate to the least extent Arnold's crime. Why then should the genuineness of the letter be questioned?

Because no one except Sargent, so far as I know, has ever referred to it. Sparks, in his life of Arnold, does not allude to it. He acknowledges his obligations to Marbois, and his work as being of "especial value," but he refers (see his preface) to a translation by Walsh, and published in the second volume of the *American Register*, and this translation, and not the original, Mr. Sparks evidently used, because in this translation this important letter is omitted; and if Mr. Sparks used the translation, it would explain his omission to mention the letter.

It is not improbable that such a letter may have been written, and the opinion of Sargent that it was written by Beverly Robinson is corroborated by the fact that he came up the Hudson with André in the *Vulture* to meet Arnold, and was evidently an important agent in the treasonable negotiations. Does any one know any more in regard to this letter? Is it in existence? Has any one spoken of it except Marbois and Sargent? Did Beverly Robinson write it?

*Chicago.*

J. A.

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BIOGRAPHY OF THE REV. DR. CUTLER. The *Historical Magazine* for May, 1860 (vol. 4, p. 153), printed in its columns of "Historical and Literary Intelligence," the following: "Life of Rev. Manasseh Cutler.—Rev. Edwin M. Stone, of Providence, R. I., has in a state of forwardness a Life of Rev. Manasseh Cutler,

LL. D., of Hamilton, Mass. It will include journals kept by Dr. Cutler, while at New York, in 1787, as agent of the Ohio Land Company, contracting for land in the Northwest Territory, and also of a journey to Marietta, in 1788. Mr. Stone has spent several years in collecting the correspondence of Dr. Cutler, scattered over the United States and Europe, relating to science, history and public affairs. In this he has been unexpectedly successful, and the results of his labors will greatly enrich the volume. This work will give a just position to one connected with some of the most important events in the history of our country, and will be a valuable contribution to this department of literature. Before closing up his work, Mr. Stone is anxious to obtain such incidents as may be treasured in the memory of the aged, or have come down as authentic traditions. Persons in possession of such, or having letters or other mss. from the pen of Dr. C., will render a service by sending them to him. The mss., after examination, will be safely returned to their owners."

A circular letter of similar import was issued by Mr. Stone, dated March 8, 1849. The Life of Dr. Cutler has, therefore, been "on the anvil" for twenty-nine years; and it is more than eighteen years since the public have had any information (as above) of its progress. Letters addressed to Mr. Stone directly by the Cutler family and others, asking for information, have not been answered. Can any correspondent give information as to the present forwardness of the work and the prospects of its publication?

Y.

## REPLIES.

BATTLE OF MONMOUTH (II., 408, 569). A correspondent signing himself "Trenton," seeks to disparage my account of the Battle of Monmouth by the comparison of my statement and a citation of Sir Henry Clinton's report. If official military reports are not open to investigation and are to be received as unanswerable or infallible history, what need, then, is there for a subsequent writer to attempt to sift out the truth. If such a rule is adopted, it would simply be necessary to stereotype the reports, on one side or the other, and rest the case, on the principle of the Dutch justice, who invariably decided after hearing the plaintiff because, he said, "if he listened to both parties it only bothered his head." If all the official reports on both sides were published, without comment, it would be impossible to reconcile the contradictions, as was absolutely the case in regard to Monmouth. For instance, contrast the following statements. Sir Henry Clinton says he marched from Monmouth, at 10 P. M., by the light of the moon and to take advantage of this. I believe him. Washington says, "he [Clinton] moved about 12 P. M.," when the moon had set. I think Washington's informants were mistaken. On the other hand, I believe Washington is the more correct when he says "The slow advance of the enemy had greatly *the air of design*, and led me, with many others, to suspect that General Clinton, desirous of a general action, was endeavoring to draw us down into the lower country, in order by a rapid movement to gain our right,

and take possession of the strong grounds above us. This consideration, and to give the troops time to repose and refresh themselves from the fatigues they had experienced from rainy and excessively hot weather, determined me to halt at Hopewell township, about five miles from Princeton, where we remained till the morning of the 25th." Greene, second alone to Washington as a strategist, corroborates the latter's view, and pretty much all the testimony establishes the idea by implication, that Clinton moved slowly to invite an attack on ground favorable to the admirable organization of his "three arms." Caldwell, third Editor of the noted "Portfolio," in his "Memoirs, &c.," of M. G. Nathaniel Greene, remarks at page 76, "For this lingering advance, no plausible reason could be assigned, except a wish on the part of Clinton to engage his adversary in a general action."

Reports are very often written with the sole intention of deceiving; for example, Napoleon's bulletins. Even if the Americans did destroy some of the small bridges, they made no effectual stand. They abandoned the important pass at Mount Holly and bridge over Rancocus Creek, and von Eelking only mentions one attempt to break down, completely, one *important* bridge (at Crosswicks), which was frustrated by the Hessian Jagers. If one clause of Sir Henry's report is extracted as incontrovertible evidence against my deductions, on the same principle the whole report should be accepted *verbatim*. This is the only fair alternative. I read from fifty to seventy-five authorities and judged for myself, and then submitte

the original article in Ms. to one of our regular Major-Generals, himself a military writer, who served throughout the Rebellion and held the highest subordinate commands. This reply has been likewise laid before one of the most accomplished and successful of our Major-Generals and by him considered an all sufficient answer to "Trenton." It is very likely there were two reasons for Sir Henry's slow advance: First, his desire to court a fight; second, his determination to bring off in safety his trains of all kinds, his armies' "loot," and the vast "*impedimenta*" which embarrassed his movements. An army encumbered with a superabundance of vehicles moves very slowly over the best of roads and under the most favorable circumstances. General de Wimpffen, writing as late as 2d of September, '78, speaking of the French army at home, marching over the finest possible routes at the most propitious season of the year, when speed was the *desideratum* of the hour, says "We accomplished in some or several (quelques) days scarcely a distance of six to eight leagues, eighteen to twenty-four miles." As a set off to this, Clinton, in a new country, amid heavy showers of rain, alternating with fatal heat, on very bad roads, mostly deep, heavy sand, although kept back by a train which stretched out twelve to fourteen miles, in spite of opposition and every effort to destroy the bridges, etc., accomplished eighteen to twenty-three leagues, fifty-four to seventy miles (according to the roads as then or now laid out) in eight or nine days. Calculate this. He left Philadelphia on the 18th and was at Monmouth on the night of

the 26th June, according to his own Engineer's map, of which a copy is in the N. Y. Historical Society.

If one clause of Sir Henry's report is to demolish my reliableness, then the rest of it should be accepted, however unfortunate its citation might prove, whether as regards Washington or any one else.

I drew my inspiration from a library of books and maps, and stand by the result arrived at with so much care.

J. W. DE P.

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THE MOHAWKS. — (II., 635.) That the word Mohawk was, in general use, to designate not only the tribe of the Iroquois that bore that name but the whole confederacy, appears from the following:

When Admiral Walker was in Boston harbor preparing for the Canada expedition of 1711, he entertained the Chiefs of the Connecticut and New York Indians on board the man of war the *Humber*. The Admiral gives an account of what passed on the occasion in his journal.

"This afternoon Lieutenant General Nicholson came aboard, and with him some of the *Chief Indians from the five Nations, called the Mohawks*. They were much surprised and amazed, as well as pleased, at the Bigness of the Ship and the Number of Men and Guns which they saw. I entertained them as I had done the Connecticut Indians with some Musick and the Seamen Dancing and they appeared very much delighted therewith, and then entertained us with their Way of Dancing which was a very different Manner to

any thing ever seen in Europe; for each in his turn sung a song and danced, while the rest sate down and hum'd and hollow'd at distinct Periods of his Dance, with a Tune very odd and loud, but yet in Time. When they had ceased Dancing one of them in the Name of the *five Nations* made a long Speech to me which the Interpreter told me was to this Effect, viz: 'That they had long expected what they now saw, and were much rejoiced that the Queen had taken such care of them, of which they had almost despaired; that at this Time they would exert themselves in a most extraordinary manner and hoped that the French in America would now be reduced.'

"He that spoke delivered himself with much Gravity and Sagacity, and to me they seem'd to be a People of Thought and Understanding, Serious and void of Levity. I told them by the Interpreter that now an End would be put to all their Wars and a lasting Peace ensue and drank to them wishing them Success and Prosperity, and that this Expedition might Create so good an understanding and Friendship between the Queen and their Nations as would last for ever. They pledged me, and drank the Queen's Health; and when they went away, I gave them cheers and guns. It seems these are of more Account and Consideration than those of Connecticut, the Country from which they came being able to bring a pretty good Force into the Field."

J. A. S.

FRANKLIN SQUARE, NEW YORK CITY.  
—(II., 698.) The following resolution,

passed by the Board of Aldermen, March 17th, 1817, will remove all doubt as to the origin of the name of Franklin Square.

"*Resolved*, That the Square now called St. George's Square at the intersection of Cherry Street be hereafter named and called Franklin Square as a Testimony of the high respect entertained by this Board for the Literary and Philosophical Character of the late Dr. Benjamin Franklin." W. K.

#### BOOKS WANTED.

*We beg to inform our subscribers that hereafter we shall devote so much of this column as may be necessary to a department of BOOKS WANTED. Through this medium collectors will be enabled to communicate with each other, and thus perhaps acquire books for which they have sought elsewhere in vain, or dispose of books for which they may have no further use. Collectors desiring to avail themselves of this column will please give their addresses in full, so that those who wish to communicate with them can do so directly, and not through us.*

*RATES, 30 cents a line of ten words. Advertisements must be accompanied by the cash in every instance.* A. S. BARNES & CO.

J. HOPE SUTOR, Lock Box 1088, Zanesville, O.

Has for sale or exchange for historical works, a copy of Knight's Shakespeare, Virtue & Yost's Edition, 2 vols., 4to, illustrated and handsomely bound.

O. H. MARSHALL, Buffalo, N. Y.

St. John Hector (Crève Coeur) Letters from an American Farmer. Philadelphia. Matthew Carey, 1794.

J. SABIN & SONS, 84 Nassau Street, N. Y. City.

Burke's Virginia, 4 vols., 8vo, *uncut*.  
Beverly's Virginia, *uncut*.  
(Peters, S.) History of Connecticut, London edition, *uncut*.  
Brereton's Virginia, 4to.  
Bullock's Virginia, 4to.  
Hamor's Virginia, 4to, original edition.  
Weymouth's Voyage to Virginia, 4to.  
Hariot's Virginia, London, 1588, 4to.

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

**PRIVATE LIBRARIES OF PROVIDENCE,** with a preliminary Essay on the Love of Books. By HORATIO ROGERS. 4to, pp. 255. SIDNEY S. RIDER. Providence, 1878.

The series of sketches gathered together in this elegant volume were originally written for a local newspaper, and thence copied into the *American Bibliophist*. They now appear enlarged, rewritten, with many additions and an essay on the Love of Books, in this attractive and permanent form. Providence deserves the name of a university town, and the rare value of its private libraries bears constant witness to the culture of its private citizens.

The place of honor in this collection naturally belongs to the John Carter Brown library, which is unsurpassed in its rare Americana, except by the magnificent collection with which, and its appropriate housing, Mr. Lenox has endowed New York. An elaborate catalogue of the rich collection of the merchant prince, John Carter Brown, prepared by John Russell Bartlett, is well known to students of American history. The work before us gives some account of its chief rarities, among which are numbers of original tracts, besides complete sets of the earlier editions of collected voyages. Next in order comes the library of Joseph J. Cooke, styled the Richard Heber of Providence, whose residence at Elmwood is running over with books, already estimated at twenty thousand in number, and continually added to with a rapidity only equalled in the increase of the Congressional Library at Washington, the Astor in New York and the Public Library of Boston. From the sale of the great Menzies' collection, which took place in New York in 1876, an event in bibliographical history, Mr. Cooke carried away over eleven hundred volumes, which cost in the aggregate more than twelve thousand dollars. This is a grand collection, in which belles lettres and history have equal attention. One of its gems is a well-known copy of Eliot's Indian Bible; another, the Ms. letters of Washington to Joseph Reid, which brought two thousand two hundred and fifty dollars—both obtained at the Menzies' sale.

The next in order is that of John Russell Bartlett, a thorough working library, not extensive, but carefully selected, and thorough in the branches of Geography and Archaeology. These are followed by descriptions of the libraries of Royal C. Taft, abounding in pictorial galleries and works of general illustration; of Mr. Alexander Farnum, rich in its collection of Dibbins and specially illustrated works. Of this collection, the high praise is given that

every author appears in it at his best. The library of Mr. C. Fiske Harris is described as a house full of books; books having overrun his residence, from garret to cellar, as thoroughly as the rats the famous Mausethurm of Bishop Hatto. American poetry, from the earliest period, is the specialty of Mr. Harris. His poems now number over five thousand titles. Features of this collection are the abundance of folios of rare prints, complete sets of the etchings of Waterloo and Salvator Rosa, and a large assortment of early typography, including specimens of the rare Block Books.

The library of Mr. Sidney S. Rider, the ardent bibliographer, whose heart as well as head is in the business of books, contains some curious volumes; two hundred titles of Dorr war literature, a hundred year series of Providence newspapers, carefully indexed by himself, and rare manuscripts, orderly books, etc., of the revolutionary period.

The last account is of the library of the author, Horatio Rogers, a collection of four thousand volumes, arranged in a room twenty feet square. Montaigne, if our memory serves, lived in a circular library, lighted from the top, books lining the entire circumference from floor to skylight. Mr. Rogers has squared the circle, but his cases overrun doors and windows, having, if we rightly understand his description, not even a spot whereon a ghostly raven could sit and prophecy. It is strong in bibliography, and rich in missals, wood-cuts, copper-plate portraits, miniature paintings.

The preliminary essay on the Love of Books shows that to this careful description Mr. Rogers has brought the enthusiasm of a Dibdin and the heart of a Charles Lamb. We have read it with delight, not unmixed with the pain which every such description causes us in the reopening of the irreparable wound caused by the destruction of a library of twenty years selection, the contents of which (four thousand volumes) were from their bindings "untimely ripped" by a faithless Vandal custodian, and sold for old paper, while the covers remain to attest that Dr. Wynne's account of its rare treasures was not overdrawn.

The beautiful volume before us is illustrated with fine views of the interior of the libraries and proofs of the book plates of their owners.

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**THE LIFE OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER,** APOSTLE OF THE INDIES AND JAPAN. From the Italian of D. BARTOLI and J. P. MAFFEI. With a preface by the Very Rev. Dr. FABER.

Eighth American from the last London edition. 8vo, pp. 653. JOHN MURPHY & CO. Baltimore. (1877.)

This elaborate history of the life and apostolic labors of one of the most illustrious members of the Order of the Society of Jesus, was originally given to the world in the year 1858. A companion of Ignatius Loyola, Xavier was one of the original members of the order of Jesuits, which has carried the fame of its founder to the four corners of the earth. To the careful memoirs of its followers the student of American history is indebted for most of his knowledge of the condition of this continent and its inhabitants at the period of the arrival of the white man. The field of St. Francis was Japan. During his ten years' mission this "apostle of the Indies" is said to have planted the faith in fifty-two kingdoms, and to have baptised a million persons.

**FORTUNE OF THE REPUBLIC.** LECTURE delivered at the Old South Church, March 30, 1878, by RALPH WALDO EMERSON. 16mo. The Riverside Press. HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & Co. Boston, 1878.

In compact form and a clear but incomparable style, every part of which is transparent and attracting, the philosophic sage surveys the past and present of the Republic, and predicts its future destiny. In the past he considers the planting of America as the culmination of the triumphs of humanity. In the present he holds that America represents in the opinion of nations the sentiment and the future of manhood. The new conditions of human life here are favorable to human progress. The lodging the power in the people holds things closer to common sense, and republics are less liable, in his judgment, to run into follies than courts and aristocracies. Not the less unsparing, however, is his sharp denunciation of the evil tendencies which are shown in our political economy; the disregard of precious things, the selfishness of the individual, the partisanship of the citizen. "Parties," he remarks in his pungent vein, "keep the names, but exhibit a surprising fugacity in creeping out of one snake-skin into another of equal ignominy and lubricity, and the grasshopper on the turret of Faneuil Hall gives a proper hint of the men below."

Everything yields, so that *will* alone cannot be relied on for our salvation. Still, as the faults in the working appear in our system, they suggest their own remedies. The hope is that ours is the country of poor men, of practical democracy, of mankind in its shirt sleeves—all hard at work—in the steady improvement of public schools, and the orderly instincts of the

people. Beyond these that we are a nation of individuals, of highly intellectual organizations, and quick to see and feel moral distinctions. In this is our hope.

In the European influences on American society he finds the first danger that would excite the alarm of a "temperate wise man." While our politics threaten England, English manners threaten us. How thoroughly true this is can readily be understood by the visitors to our fashionable summer watering places, where everything is English, and the table talk turns upon the insignificant movements of London society, as recorded in the twaddle of the London World and Vanity Fair. This is rendering America, which has been free and original for a half century again provincial. No crime so great in the eyes of an original mind like that of Emerson as imitation. He despises it, and lashes it with the thongs of his scorn. He would reserve America for those native or foreign who have cast out the passion for Europe. Those for whom London and Paris have spoiled their own homes can be spared to return to these cities. We have no use for them. Those that remain shall decide whether we shall be a multitude of people, or the new nation, guide and law-giver of all nations, as having clearly chosen and firmly held the simplest and best rule of political society.

When so many voices are lifted up, crying aloud against the demoralization of the times and noisily proclaiming the decadence of the Republic, it is cheering to hear such words of promise and hope as these. In the felicity, without example, that has rested on the Union thus far this calm seer finds new confidence for the future. He sees in all directions the light breaking. To use his own closing words, as we have in nearly all that precedes them in this brief notice, "Trade and Government will no alone be the favored aims of manhood, but every useful, every elegant art, every exercise of imagination, the height of reason, the nobles affection, the purest religion will find their home in our institutions, and unite our land for the benefit of man."

**THE JAMES RIVER TOURIST—A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF HISTORICAL LOCALITIES OF JAMES RIVER.** pp. 51. Prepared by W. D. CHESTERMAN. For sale by WART, JOHNSTON & Co. Richmond, Va., 1878

This is, as its title implies, a guide to the localities of this historic river, famous alike in the early annals of the country and as the line of operations in one of the most colossal struggles of modern times. There are a few well-executed illustrations.

**ECONOMIC MONOGRAPHS. A SERIES OF ESSAYS BY REPRESENTATIVE WRITERS ON SUBJECTS CONNECTED WITH TRADE, FINANCE AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.** 8vo. G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS. New York, 1878.

- I. **WHY WE TRADE AND HOW WE TRADE—** or an Inquiry into the Extent to which the Existing Commercial and Financial Policy of the United States restricts the material Prosperity and Development of the Country. By DAVID A. WELLS.
- II. **THE DOLLAR OF THE FATHERS VERSUS THE DOLLAR OF THE SONS.** By DAVID A. WELLS.
- III. **THE TARIFF QUESTION AND ITS RELATIONS TO THE PRESENT COMMERCIAL CRISIS.** By HORACE WHITE.
- V. **FRIENDLY SERMONS TO PROTECTIONIST MANUFACTURERS.** By J. S. MOORE. Published by the Council for Tariff Reform.
- V. **OUR REVENUE SYSTEM AND THE CIVIL SERVICE: SHALL THEY BE REFORMED?** By ABRAHAM L. EARLE.
- VI. **FREE SHIPS: THE RESTORATION OF THE AMERICAN CARRYING TRADE.** By CAPTAIN JOHN CODMAN.
- VII. **SUFFRAGE IN CITIES.** By SIMON STERNE.
- VIII. **PROTECTION AND REVENUE IN 1872.** By Prof. W. G. SUMNER.
- IX. **FRANCE AND THE UNITED STATES; THEIR COMMERCIAL RELATIONS CONSIDERED WITH REFERENCE TO A PROPOSED TREATY OF RECIPROCITY.** A series of papers. By PARKE GODWIN, M. MESSIER, LEON CHOTTEAU and J. S. MOORE.

In this valuable collection of monographs may be found careful examinations of the economic condition of the United States; each from the pen of a well-known advocate of a special class of doctrine, which may be best expressed by the word liberal as distinguished from restrictive. They are all doctrinal in their manner of treatment; their purpose is not inquiry, but instruction. In the main the views they propound are sound, although by no means accepted as correct by individual consent. No series as able, has yet appeared in this country. The cheap rate at which they are published

places them within easy reach, and they form an excellent antidote to the economic nostrums with which the country is flooded. We shall notice these issues hereafter in detail, and endeavor to keep pace with the interesting discussions.

**HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS, FROM ITS FOUNDATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.** In two volumes. Translated from the French of J. M. S. DAURIGNAC by JAMES CLEMENTS. Second revised edition, with an appendix from 1862 to 1877. Two volumes. 12mo, pp. 421 and 399. JOHN MURPHY & Co. Baltimore, 1878.

Monsieur Daurignac, the author of this excellent compendium of the history of the famous order, founded by Ignatius Loyola, was not a member of this Society, but received ample aid in material and information from its leaders. The idea of a company seems to have been derived by Loyola from the romances of chivalry, which were the staple literature of the sixteenth century, and the order was patterned on those of the Round Table, the Knights of the San-Graal and other romantic institutions. He first conceived the idea in 1522 while secluded for penance in a cave near Manresa in Catalonia. In January, 1523, he embarked at Barcelona for Jerusalem, where he purposed to found his Society. Compelled to return to Europe, he entered the University of Alcalá, whence he was driven by his too great zeal in conversion to Salamanca, and thence in turn to Paris, the famous University of which he entered in 1528. Here he met Peter Lelèvre, Francis Xavier, a nobleman of Navarre, and a few other choice spirits, whom he associated with him in his work. In 1537 the companions separated, some for Rome to place themselves at the disposal of the Pope, others for the celebrated universities of Italy to obtain recruits. Previous to their departure Loyola announced to them that the order they had founded was "The Society of Jesus." The book is divided into accounts of the several generalships, from the first of St. Ignatius Loyola, 1541-1556, to the twenty-third of Father Peter Becket, 1853-1860. An appendix brings the history down to 1878.

The missions of the Society in America include that of New York and Canada, connected with which are several Indian missions. The American Province of New York, as it is styled, numbers 308 members; of Maryland, 293; Missouri, 334. The early history of American colonization is interwoven with that of the Jesuit missions, and this account of the order deserves a place in every historical library.



**THE LIFE AND ADVENTURES OF WILBURN WATERS, THE FAMOUS HUNTER AND TRAPPER OF WHITE TOP MOUNTAIN, embracing early history of South-western Virginia, sufferings of the Pioneers, etc., etc.** By CHARLES B. COALE. 8vo, pp. 265. G. W. GARRY & Co. Richmond, 1878.

The author of this sketchy volume was for thirty-three years editor of the *Abingdon Virginian*, and the chapters which compose it were originally parts of a series of articles written for this weekly paper for the purpose of preserving for the use of historians scattered facts connected with the settlement of South-western Virginia.

White Top Mountain, or as it is now familiarly known in its neighborhood, Iron Mountain, is a peak in the Appalachian range, near the point where the States of Virginia, North Carolina and Tennessee join at a common corner. Until quite recently, it has been almost unknown, save to the trappers and hunters or an occasional swindler fleeing from the pursuit of the law. Its summit is a vast field of three to five hundred acres, without other vegetation than a profusion of wild grass, and bordered by a growth of timber of enormous height of the Norway spruce species, known by the name of Lashom.

On the base of this mountain nearly a half century ago lived Wilburn Waters, the hero of the story, then a youth of twenty. To this day the hermit hunter, as the author calls him, has lived a lonely life in the obscure "cove" which he made his home. He is one-fourth Indian, which may account for his preference of this lonely life to the comforts of civilization. His father was a French Protestant, who emigrated to Charleston about the beginning of the century. The earlier chapters describe his first adventures as a woodsman, in which he had many escapes from the wolves and bears, and savage bucks of the vicinity. The later chapters contain matter of more historic importance; accounts of the first settlement in Southwest Virginia at St. Clair's Bottom, in what is now Smyth county, where an adventurer of this name fixed his home about 1755, the period of Braddock's defeat. The soils and products of Washington county, the saltworks, the natural curiosities of Tazewell county are carefully described, and traditions of pioneer life, and reminiscences of the war are narrated with an easy pen.

The closing chapter gives a history of the weeping willow, and derives the descent of a part of the large family of this tree, the *Salix Babylonica*, from two willows which were growing on the estate of General Tate, at Broad

Ford, near the saltworks, in 1806. The first weeping willow planted in America was from a twig of the tree sent to the poet Pope from Egypt, brought over to America by an English officer in 1776, presented by him to Mr. Custis Washington's stepson, and by him planted at the Custis estate of Abingdon on the Potomac.

**HAMMERSMITH; HIS HARVARD DAY CHRONICLED.** By MARY SIBLEY SEVERANCE. 12mo, pp. 524. The Riverside Press. Houghton, Osgood & Co. Boston, 1878.

This is a college story, in which boat race cricket and class-day festivals have more place than any of the more serious part of student life. The curtain lifts at Parker's well known tavern, the favorite resort of Harvard boys, where the heroes of the morning boat race had gathered of a midsummer afternoon. It was class-day somewhere in the fifties. The inquisition of the big wigs, as the examination is entitled, describes the annual scene in Harvard Hall. Well do we remember tumbling over the old benches one hot day in the forties to the lower seat at a professor's call—the flap of our first tail coat flying in the wind, and our first stove-pipe pointing the downward way. But there was no such familiarity between big wig and examinee as seems to have existed between Professor Darby and Tom Hammersmith. A chapter describes the foot-ball match on the Delta, when Seniors and Sophs met the Freshmen and their Junior protectors in the day when kicking was considered necessary to education. And what stirreth blood like the shout of the combatants in this most spirited of game and the wild cry of Home, when the tight strung ball is sent to bounds. The hand to hand struggle, into which the game had degenerated in the fifties, was unknown to the friendly rivalry of the older time.

College clubs and secret societies, the latter the curse of all colleges and utterly hostile to the spirit of American institutions, have their part, and the female element is introduced to an extent which seems exaggerated. Save on class-day, a petticoat was a *rara avis* on college grounds, and the occasional visitors in bonnet who made the meadows green, were curiously scanned from a very safe distance by all save the lordly Seniors, on whose backs the shell of the chrysalis was already showing cracks.

There is a love story, to which Tom is a part. He graduates in due form, and enlists for the war with one of his class. Matrimony as California life conclude the story. To us it brings up few memories of old Harvard, as it was in our day.

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF GREAT BRITAIN, THE UNITED STATES AND FRANCE IN THE USE OF MONEY. A New Source of Production and Exchange. By T. B. HOWE. 8vo, pp. 592. [The Riverside Press.] HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & CO. Boston, 1878.

This weighty volume, dedicated to the bankers of the United States, professes to promulgate an entirely new theory of money, and consequently of deposits, which the author admits is "so entirely opposed to all current ideas and the language which embodies them, that to get a fair hearing at once may perhaps be difficult." Argument and the understanding of argument certainly require an agreement as to the meaning of the words or terms in which it is conveyed. Mr. Howe ascribes to words meanings not accepted, and labors therefore under the necessity of teaching his alphabet before stating his propositions. We venture to say that few persons will consent to undergo this preliminary instruction. Money he claims is a unit of valuation, and nothing more. The ordinary mind supposes that a unit of money is simply a certain amount of metal, which legislation has made the measure of value. Bullion is value. Bullion stamped is money, and its own intrinsic value being declared by such stamp, becomes the measure of other values. Any departure from this elementary principle is sure to lead into a fog of misunderstandings.

The inquiries of Mr. Howe extend over the whole field of finance. He takes issue with the theories of Mill and Price as to the causes of crises and panics. Value and price he declares to be in reality the same, and intrinsic value a contradiction in terms. We doubt whether such assertions and denials will find adherents. To us they seem to be logical consequences of the original error in his definition of money. The banking systems of the United States, Great Britain and France are contrasted, but they are not, it seems to us, correctly defined. The circulating medium of the three nations is the same, a mixture of coin and paper. Unfortunately the proportion of the two component parts are not the same. In France, where financial panics never occur, the proportion of metal to paper is as seven to two. In England, where they occasionally occur, as of five to two. In the United States before 1860, where panics constantly occurred, the ratio was nearly three to two. The stability of the finances of a country does not therefore so much depend upon its wealth as the ratio of coin to paper in its circulating medium.

The subject is too vast for more than brief mention. We refer our readers to the volume itself, where he will find much that is sound and proven, with much that is of doubtful merit and entirely theoretical.

THOMAS NEWELL, WHO FIRST SETTLED IN FARMINGTON, CONN., A. D. 1632, AND HIS DESCENDANTS. A Genealogical table, compiled by Mrs. MARY A. (NEWELL) HALL. 8vo, pp. 268. COCHRANE BROS. Southington, Conn., 1878.

Who and what the Thomas Newell who was who founded the family here commemorated does not appear. His name is among the original settlers of Farmington about 1640. His descendants and their marriages are numerically arranged, and there is an alphabetical index.

SMITHSONIAN'S MISCELLANEOUS COLLECTIONS, 258. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL INDEX TO NORTH AMERICAN BOTANY; or Citations of Authorities for all the Recorded Indigenous and Naturalized Species of the Flora of North America, with a Chronological Arrangement of the Synonymy. By SERENO WATSON. Part I. Polypetalae. 8vo, pp. 476. Published by the Smithsonian Institute, March, 1878.

This is a contribution towards a history of the known species of North American plants. It is exceedingly valuable as a book of reference, giving indications as to where all known information touching upon the systematic botany of America can be obtained. The territory embraced includes Greenland and the Arctic coast upon the north and the borders of Mexico closely adjacent to the United States on the south.

MEMORIALS OF THE HISTORY FOR A HALF CENTURY OF THE SOUTH CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, BOSTON. Collected for its Jubilee Celebration, February 3, 1878. 4to, pp. 119. Franklin Press. RAND, AVERY & CO. Boston, 1878.

This memorial volume is composed of a historical discourse, read on the morning of February 3, 1878, the day of the Jubilee celebration, by Edward E. Hale. The sketch covered a period of fifty years of church history. The South Congregational Church sprung from the united efforts of three circles of people. The corner-stone was laid August 7, 1827. The remaining chapters contain letters from Dr. Huntington, and a discourse by Mr. Hale on the Sermons of our Fathers, read February 10, 1878. Notes on the original members complete the book.

AGAMENTICUS. BY E. P. TENNEY.  
16mo, pp. 262. LEE & SHEPARD. Boston,  
1878.

Readers of the Magazine may remember the erudite and amusing sketch of a Lost City in New England, by Mr. De Costa. Therein may be found an allusion to the story of Agamenticus, which flourished upon paper at least soon after the Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock. "In truth," adds the learned antiquary, "it should be known that Agamenticus, like Tarsus of Cilicia, was no mean city, for while Boston was still a collection of poor huts huddled together under a hill, the corporation of Agamenticus basked in the beams of municipal splendor." In 1642 it had a mayor, and two annual fairs on occasion of the Festivals of Saints James and Paul.

This mysterious city Mr. Tenney has chosen for the scene of his curious story, the design of which, involved in many convolutions, seems to be to teach in the life of the principal personage of the tale, Pastor Benson of Agamenticus, a Christian lesson. Mr. Tenney is thoroughly imbued with the realistic spirit of our day. He draws his characters, not from imagination, but from actual life. Samuel Moody, Pastor of York, on the Maine coast, was the original of David Benson, and the words of the latter even are taken from the anecdotes told of the former. Habits are faithfully portrayed, and the costumes of the people accurately described. Herein lies the historic value of the work. "The Agamenticus women," we are told, wore linen with a blue stripe in it, and then turned it over to the men folk, who cut their Sunday pantaloons out of it, but the boys had to be content with trousers of tow-cloth. The girls walked to church adorned in butternut-colored flannel of their own make—carrying their shoes in their hands till they were close upon the meeting house." The women wore Shaker bonnets, shaped like log-houses; the men carried long muskets. The church pulpit resembled an inverted bell, in which the minister stood for the clapper. Here we have a perfect colonial scene in a few broad artistic touches.

The chapter on the taking of two cities, in which the City of Zion was first captured by the heaven sealing enterprise of prayer, and Louisbourg thus secured to the strong right arms of the godly people of Kittery and Agamenticus, under doughty Pepperrell and brave Peter Warren, is an amusing description of the absolute dependence of our Puritan forefathers on the efficacy of much praying. There is a vein of satire in the account of the chain shot that Sewall Benson pitched into the enemies of Zion on the day and hour of the capitulation of the French, which so greatly contributed to the victory of the New England troops. But the

reader must read for himself. He will be amply repaid.

The bases of authority are the Moody and Preble biographies and genealogies, and Emery's Ancient City of Gorgeana.

LIFE OF JOHN FITCH, THE INVENTOR OF THE STEAMBOAT. By THOMPSON WESTCOTT. 12mo, pp. 428. J. B. LIPPINCOTT & Co. Philadelphia, 1878.

The purpose of this volume the author plainly announces in his preface is to establish that John Fitch was the inventor of the steamboat, and that Robert Fulton, whose memory has been honored by statesmen, orators and writers, was but the imitator and copyist. He bases his argument upon the successful experiments made by Fitch from 1786 to the year 1790, when they were crowned by the running of a passenger and freight steamboat on the Delaware.

If Fitch's success in 1790 does not entitle him to the honor of priority in inventions, then Mr. Westcott asserts that it must be accorded to Symington's steamboat, which was tried in England in 1788, and practically succeeded in 1801. Fulton's experiments at Plombieres were no made until 1803, and his triumphs on the Hudson were not had until 1807.

We give the argument almost in the words of the author. Mr. Westcott has not confined himself, however, to a scientific treatment of the subject. He supplies the best biography of Fitch yet written, that of Whittlesey being meagre and unsatisfactory in detail. John Fitch belonged to the Connecticut family which gave a Governor to that colony. He was born at Windsor, near Hartford, in 1743, and educated in the latter place, which was famous for its educational advantages from the first beginning of the liberal settlement. The narration gives an account of his early life, of his mathematical studies and mechanical pursuits under severe personal privations, and endless variety of experience. During the revolution he served in the New Jersey line, where his evil star still followed him. Towards the close of the war he visited Kentucky, where he had an appointment as deputy surveyor. Here he had a glimpse of success, and made locations of land warrents on shares with a clergyman friend. His own share reached sixteen hundred acres. While on one of his expeditions he fell into the hand of the Indians, and was taken prisoner to Canada. Meanwhile Cornwallis had been captured with his army, and a general exchange of prisoners was effected. Fitch again visited the West, and made extensive surveys on the Ohio and Great Kanawha, and on his return made a map of the North-western territory, which he engraved upon a sheet of copper, hammered

and polished with his own hand, and then printed from a press also made by himself.

He now turned his attention to the application of steam to land travel and navigation, stimulated no doubt by the example of Christopher Colles, whose experiments in the application of steam were attracting attention. We shall not follow him through his various efforts to secure legislative appropriations in aid of his schemes to his final success, nor his many quarrels and controversies. Even when complete success had crowned his experiments, and demonstrated the correctness of his plans, mishap pursued him; his boat took fire, and new boilers had to be constructed. At this period Fitch was almost destitute both of money and friends—the latter alienated by his irritable temper. While engaged in his most important enterprises he was often in want of even decent clothing. About 1793 he left the United States for France. That country was hardly in a state for successful enterprises, and the next year the restless inventor returned as a common sailor to his native land. In 1796, aided by Chancellor Livingston, he propelled a steamboat by a screw in the Collect Pond in New York. He then revisited Kentucky to form a company on the Western waters. There is not much known of his life at this time. He brought it, however, to an abrupt conclusion, as an unsuccessful experiment, by suicide in July, 1798.

The mental and moral, as well as the intelligent traits of this "child of misfortune" are well described in this thorough biography, in which a complete table of contents and elaborate index leave nothing to be desired.

#### NOTES ON THE VIRGINIA COLONIAL

CLERGY. By EDWARD D. NEILL, Presbyterian of Reformed Episcopal Church. Reprinted from Episcopal Records. 8vo, pp. 34. 1220 Sansom street, Philadelphia. 1877.

The competence of Mr. Neill for this class of investigation is well known. In the first chapter he gives an account of the chaplains of the early expeditions to Virginia, of whom Rev. Robert Hunt, who landed with the founders of Jamestown, was the first. Rev. Mr. Glover came over with Sir Thomas Gates in 1611. Alexander Whitaker was Minister at Henrico from 1611 to 1617. Besides the short biographies, there are some initial notes concerning their views and works. Chapter II concerns the clergy from 1619 to 1630. Chapter III, those from 1630 to 1660; Chapter IV, from 1660 to 1688. In Chapter V is a more elaborate notice of the life and times of James Blair, D.D., the founder and first rector of William and Mary College. Blair was gradu-

ated from Edinburgh University. Chapter VI treats of the life and times of Jonathan Boucher, the Tory clergyman, 1759 to 1775. He was born in England in 1738, landed at Port Royal in 1759, and was called to the ministry in 1762, and preached at Leeds. At the breaking out of hostilities he announced that he would preach a sermon on the day set aside for fast by the authorities. Arrived at church, he found the desk occupied by a republican curate, and a crowd at the door to prevent his entrance. He drew a pistol, and attempted to force his way through, but was pushed out. The next Sunday, however, he preached the sermon prepared for fast-day on a text from Nehemiah II, 10, 11. In August he fled to England, where he became Vicar of Epsom, and died in 1804.

#### RAILROADS — THEIR ORIGIN AND

PROBLEMS. By CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, Jr. 8vo, pp. 216. G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS, New York, 1878.

The railroad system of the United States has for many years had a careful and patient observer in this accomplished gentleman. The present treatise is divided into two parts—the first the genesis of the railroad system, the other "the railroad problem." The first of these opens with an account of the celebrated pageant of 1830, when George Stephenson, the inventor of the locomotive, received his ovation on the opening of the Manchester and Liverpool railroad, an occasion also memorable in its episode of the death of Mr. Huskisson, accidentally injured. Mr. Adams does not concur in the usual belief that the first American railroad was the Quincy railway of 1826. This he claims was only a tramway until 1871. The cars were moved by a stationary engine. To South Carolina he accords the palm of having been the first to follow the English example, by the construction in 1830 of a machine at the West Point foundry works in New York, which began its trips in Charleston in 1831. A railroad, however, had been completed between Schenectady and Albany, August 12, 1830. The same year an engine, constructed by Peter Cooper, was beaten by a horse on a trial of speed on the Baltimore and Ohio road. Yet with these small beginnings America was more ready than Europe to take advantage of Stephenson's initiative. A railroad mania ensued; Massachusetts led in 1826, Pennsylvania followed in 1827, Maryland and South Carolina in 1828. The trunk line of the New York Central was chartered in 1828. Albany and Boston were connected by rail in 1841.

In the discussion of the railroad problem Mr. Adams recites the experiences of Great Britain, Belgium, France and Germany under their dif-

ferent systems—with their plans of individual proprietorship, government control and government ownership. Some remarkable articles in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* have admirably described the advantages and drawbacks of government interference. The New World system is based on a different theory; but under any conditions a railroad must somewhat partake of the character of a monopoly, and of a monopoly which favors or injures beyond redress; this as it affects locality. In describing its effect upon individuals, Mr. Adams makes the profound remark, that wherever an enterprise partakes of the character of a monopoly, as the water supply, gas lighting, telegraph facilities, or railroads, the effect of competition is "*not to regulate cost or equalize production, but under a greater or less degree of friction to bring about combination and a closer monopoly.*" This is an invariable law, and knows no exceptions. In considering this branch of the problem, or rather this problem, he examines the competition and resulting combinations of the grand trunk lines which diverted trade from New York, until the New York Central totally withdrew from all agreements, and set to work to restore New York supremacy.

The present condition of the American railroad system Mr. Adams pronounces to be wretched. The consolidation of interests under the Vanderbilt control is gradually building up an enormous "one man combination," and similar combinations are absorbing the roads in the West and on the Pacific Slope. The Union Pacific alone controls three thousand miles of track.

The scheme of the Southern Railroad and Steamship Association is examined, and approved as containing every essential safeguard against abuse, and is considered a great advance on any other form of solution which has yet been suggested, but Mr. Adams is wary in his judgment; as he justly remarks, the history of railroads is a history of surprises, and the future has no doubt those in store which may as much surprise the railroad kings as their vassals or the public. There are many phases of consolidation.

**SOUTHERN HISTORICAL SOCIETY PAPERS.** Vol. VI. September No. 3. 8vo. Rev. J. WILLIAM JONES. Richmond, Va., 1878.

In this number may be found articles by General C. M. Wilcox on the battle of Gettysburg; Brigadier-General J. H. Trapier, of the fight of the 7th of April, 1863, in Charleston Harbor, the history of Hart's South Carolina battery, and a Review of the Confederate Career of General Albert Sidney Johnston, by General Basil W. Duke of Kentucky.

We read this interesting publication with pleasure, not unmixed with surprise that the Southern chieftains, who have thrown down the sword for the pruning hook, seem to forget that this implement may be as profitably employed in literature as in horticulture. Some of these sketches read more like the stories of Gawain and Lancelot, or the *gates* of the knights of Charlemagne, than accounts of modern history. Proverbs without end bear testimony to the safety which is to be found in moderation.

#### RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL TRACTS

NO. 3. HISTORY OF THE WANTON FAMILY OF NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND. By JOHN RUSSELL BARTLETT. 4to, pp. 152. SIDNEY S. RIDER. Providence, 1878.

This is the third of the elegant series of tracts, published in limited editions by Mr. Rider. The present sketch of this old Newport family, distinguished in the Colonial period of Rhode Island history, and which gave four Royal Governors to the Colony, originally appeared in the Providence Journal in 1871. It is now enlarged by the addition of numerous documents relating to the wars of the last century. The last Wanton of note was Governor when the revolution broke out, and was dismissed from his office by the Assembly in 1776. His large estates and those of his son, who had been Deputy Governor, were confiscated for treason to American liberties.

Besides an ample genealogical account of the descendants of Edward Wanton, who first appears in Boston in 1658, the accomplished author supplies minor sketches of fifteen families, who were allied to that of Wanton.

#### THE FIRST VISIT OF DE LA SALLE TO

THE SENECA, MADE IN 1669. Read before the Buffalo Historical Society, March 16, 1874, by ORSAMUS H. MARSHALL. 8vo. pp. 45. Previously printed [1574].

The recent publication of Mr. Margry's volumes on the discoveries and settlements of the French in the West and South, and La Salles explorations, awakens public attention to all that concerns this bold and sagacious adventurer who did so much to found the vast American empire which France so little understood to keep. Our readers are acquainted with the familiarity of Mr. Marshall with the entire subject. The pamphlet before us contains a textual translation from the 'obscure and antiquated French of the Journal of the Abbe Galinée.' It recites the visit of La Salle and his companions, to the river 'Karontagonat' as the Mohawks called Irondequoit Bay, and the village of the Senecas.

**CENTRAL NEW YORK IN THE REVOLUTION.** An address delivered August 15, 1878, at the unveiling of a monument in commemoration of the massacre at Cherry Valley, New York, in 1778, by DOUGLAS CAMPBELL. 8vo. pp. 34. F. J. FICKER, Printer, New York. 1878.

The muse of history is up and doing in the State of New York. From the day of the celebration of the Battle of Harlem Plains in September, 1876, until the present, the hills and dales of the historic State have echoed to the tramp of multitudes thronging to commemorate some event in Revolutionary history. Lafayette, it is said, was averse to the celebration of the battle of Brandywine, where he fell wounded, because it was a defeat. Such is not the present sentiment. Events are commemorated as historic incidents to be kept ever in mind. Thus, while the birth of the State was duly celebrated at Kingston, the struggle of Oriskany on the battle field, and the double battle of Bemis Heights and Saratoga brought together tens of thousands to listen to the oft-told tale of the victory of Gates, no less interest was felt in the anniversary of the massacre at Cherry Valley, the most disgraceful blot on the character of the Tories of Central New York.

Mr. Douglas Campbell, the orator of the day, is an enthusiast in the study of the history of the State of New York, which is just beginning to be understood. In his glowing words, "New York prior to the Revolution was always foremost. She first resisted the oppressions of the Crown; she first made stand against the power of Parliament; she led in resistance to the Stamp Act; her merchants signed the first non-importation agreement; her citizens organized the first committee of correspondence; she first suggested Colonial independence; upon her soil the first blood was shed in the Revolutionary struggle, and within her border was fought the turning battle of the war. And yet historians have called her lukewarm. She first founded the freedom of the press; she first established full religious toleration; by her magnanimity she formed the first Confederation of the States; she gave to the Supreme Court its first Chief Justice; she gave to America its first and greatest financier; and yet her history has been substantially ignored." And although her territory was overrun north and south and west, and her populous capital in the hands of the enemy, New York was one of the three of the thirteen states which furnished their full quota of men to the Continental army, and one of the two which furnished their full quota of money and supplies, and the only one of the thirteen that furnished her full quota of men, money and supplies.

The speech closes with an earnest appeal to the people of the State to stand firm as a bulwark against the pressure of the rising socialist tide which threatens national disintegration and national dishonor.

**OBSERVATIONS ON A GOLD ORNAMENT FROM A MOUND IN FLORIDA.** By CHARLES RAU. Reprinted from the SMITHSONIAN REPORT for 1877. 8vo. pp. 6. Government Printing Office, Washington. 1878.

**THE STOCK-IN-TRADE OF AN ABORIGINAL LAPIDARY (Mississippi).** By Charles Rau. Reprinted from the Smithsonian Report for 1877. 8vo. pp. 9. Government Printing Office, Washington. 1878.

The first of these pamphlets describes a curious relic of gold discovered in a mound in Manatee County, Southern Florida. The maker evidently intended to represent the head of the ivory-billed woodpecker, which it curiously and grotesquely resembles in a manner which to our observation seems strangely analogous to the Assyrian stone sculptures of bird-masked kings and priests to be seen in the Lenox-Nineveh collection in the New York Historical Society. The composition of the gold-plate from which the specimen is made indicates its post-Columbian origin. This origin may be not far distant. The lesson, to be drawn from its discovery, Professor Rau considers to be the evidence its presence in the centre of a mound affords that *moundbuilding was continued in this country after its occupation by Europeans.*

The second treatise is of more general interest. It describes a deposit of aboriginal manufactures, which shows a division of labor among the earlier inhabitants of this country. Students who keep pace with the archaeological investigations of Europe have read with delight the fascinating article of Mr. Burnouf on the age of bronze, which appeared about a year ago in the *Revue des deux Mondes*. In it the accomplished author described the treasure-keeps, which, found on the mountain passes and in places remote from the centres of population, where they have lain concealed for ages, now reveal the habits of the travelling artisans who supplied the demand for implements of husbandry, of householdry and of war. The treasure-keeps to which Mr. Rau invites attention are of the age of stone. The most remarkable and extensive was discovered in a cotton field on Silver Creek, Lawrence County, Mississippi, in 1875. It consisted wholly of jasper ornaments, mostly unfinished, and was evidently the stock-in-trade of an Indian lapidary. Of the

age of this deposit nothing certain can be predicated. Jasper is a very hard substance, capable of resisting the influences of contact and exposure for ages. On the other hand a comparatively recent, though pre-Columbian, origin of the deposit is by no means improbable.

ON A POLYCHROME BEAD FROM FLORIDA. S. S. HALDEMAN. Reprinted from the Smithsonian report for 1877. 8vo, pp. 6. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE, Washington. 1878.

This bead, now in the United States Natural Museum, is of a kind known to archaeology as the star pattern, the white between the exterior blue and inner red forming a terminal star or zigzag band when the original cylinder is ground into an oval, so as to expose the interior colors. Several specimens of Egyptian, Samian and Cyprian origin are described. Many varicolored specimens of the latter are in the Cesnola collection in New York. The Venetian bead, known as the Cornaline d'Aleppo, has been found in excavations at Santa Barbara, and that and an other Venetian variety are in use among the modern Utes.

Mr Morlot of Lausanne claims that the Northmen received these beads from the Phœnicians, and carried them to America, but other authorities will not allow a more remote origin than the fifteenth or sixteenth century for any of the North American examples. Strange as it may seem, the paper of Professor Haldeman, while describing the bead, of which he gives a drawing, does not say where in Florida or when or how it was discovered.

#### THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

Edited by ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE. September-October, 1878

This number introduces to us a new contributor to American magazine literature in no less a person than the Right Honorable W. E. Gladstone. The title of his article hardly defines its scope. The *Kin beyond Sea* makes a small part of the ingenious argument of this most ingenious of reasoners in favor of British institutions. There always has been and still is a cloudy mistiness about the English Constitution, which has perhaps as much as anything else contributed to the Englishmen's love and veneration for it. It is an essence, and not a thing. Mr. Gladstone confesses the difficulty of describing that which is a vague mass of negations, of usages out of use, and of laws which are only laws because never questioned, but still resolutely attempts the task, in which he has of course succeeded as none have done before him. He seems to con-

sider that in preparing the article he for the first time grasped his subject, and found its slipper nature. He says himself that he believes the "slight record he has traced to tell more than in the school of British practice is elsewhere to be learned of the machine" of English Government. He believes devoutly in the merits of the English system. He analyses with remarkable subtlety the paradoxes of the English Constitution, and the no less striking paradoxes of English character.

He avoids any reference to his successful rival, who, with the art of a magician, has persuaded the British people that they are again the arbiters of the world, when to the common view they are simply participants in the most discreditable act of spoliation that has disgraced the history of Europe since the partition of Poland.

Of America and its institutions, of his kin beyond sea, Mr. Gladstone says little; he confesses his incompetency. Just as little competent are Americans to judge of Englishmen. The servility of class to class, a system of national toadyism which pervades every section of English society, is to an American mind absolutely incomprehensible.

Mr. Gladstone pays us one noble compliment which we commend to those of our political leaders who can see nothing but evil in the powers that be. He records his conviction that "the great acts and the great forbearances which immediately followed the close of the civil war form a group which will ever be a noble object in the political retrospect to the impartial historian; and that proceeding as they did from the free choice and conviction of the people and founded as they were on the very principle of which the multitude is supposed to be least tolerant, they have, in doing honor to the United States, also rendered a splendid service to the general course of popular government throughout the world."

Admiral Porter contributes an article on Torpedo Warfare, and the future of this terrible engine. We recommend our naval gentlemen to read the admirable sketch of Admiral de L. Gravière on the Battle of Salamis, and the probable return of a period of coast naval warfare somewhat analogous to that memorable and decisive battle.

Mr. John Jay contributes a paper on Civil Service Reform. We have watched this controversy with extreme interest, and, like the rest of our countrymen, have certain settled convictions on the subject. The remarks applied above to the British Constitution hold here also. We know perfectly well what civil service reform is not, but we patiently wait to be informed by some one in authority what civil reform is, what are its principles, and what its code. We pause for a reply.

AN ADDRESS, DELIVERED AT THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF THE BATTLE OF GERMANTOWN, OCTOBER 4, 1877, by M. RUSSELL THAYER. 8vo, pp. 22. COLLINS, Philadelphia. 1878.

In this sketch Mr. Thayer has not considered it his province to describe the incidents of the fight which rolled through the village of Germantown on the morning of the 4th of October, 1777. That part of the services of the day fell to the pen of Dr. Lambdin. The orator confines himself to general considerations of the effect upon the army, the country and foreign powers of the sudden turn of Washington after the defeat at Brandywine, and his bold attack with green troops upon Howe's army flushed with victory. This boldness, which surprised Vergennes, has always been a trait of American troops, whom a great military authority pronounced to be as dangerous in defeat as in victory.

We are surprised that Mr. Thayer repeats the oft-refuted charge that "Schuyler was unjustly superseded by Gates" in command of the Northern army. Schuyler himself wrote to Washington and to Congress that he had lost the confidence of his troops and of the country around him. His superseding was not only wise, but an imperative military necessity. These are not opinions, but indisputable facts.

THE PRINCETON REVIEW. FIFTY-FOURTH YEAR. September. 37 Park Row, 1878.

In addition to the numerous thoughtful essays of a critical and metaphysical character, which we are accustomed to find in this admirable Review, there is an article by Arthur Arnold of London on the Cost of a Landed Gentry, which arrives at a most appropriate season as an accompaniment to the laudations of the English system of government, which Mr. Gladstone addresses to Kin beyond Sea through the North American Review.

The breath of '89, which swept like a whirlwind over the continent of Europe, toppling over thrones, and blasting secular institutions and customs, had not the force even to shake the solid feudal system which the Norman conqueror planted in the free soil of Saxon England. One of the strongest parts of that system was the organization of social life on the idea of the *rule of the family*. To found and perpetuate a family is the crowning ambition of an Englishman, and his pride is more in the family itself than in the illustration of it. Thus the country gentleman of the elder branch of the Stanley blood repelled the idea that he was of the Duke

of Norfolk family. The Duke of Norfolk was of his family, and the Duke of Norfolk would have been the last to question the right of the untitled gentleman. To carry out this idea of the rule of family, primogeniture was established and closely adhered to. The natural result has been the concentration of land in the hands of a small number of noblemen. In late Domesday books the names are found of only 525 nobles, mostly members of the House of Peers, who are returned as the owners of one-fifth of the entire area of the United Kingdoms. After these come the lesser landed gentry, seven thousand in number, who own three-fifths of the land. The summary shows that four-fifths of the soil is held by fewer than ten thousand persons. All of these estates are *settled*, as the term is, on the same general plan. The property is conveyed in entail, and as the new men come in again re-entailed, all personal consideration of individual pride giving way to the family idea. So far the enormous landlord power has reigned supreme, almost unquestioned. When, on the lapsing of his thousand leases, the Duke of Argyle gave notice to the tenants, who had occupied his lands for centuries, that he had no further use for them, and converted whole counties in Scotland into sheep folds, his right was not questioned, and his humanity hardly censured. He wrote touching letters to Lincoln on the emancipation of American slaves, whose fate under favorable conditions, even of slavery, was quite as happy as that of the secular tenants of his estates. Mr. Gladstone in 1853, as Prime Minister, took the field against the tax exemptions the landlords had secured by privileges in favor of settled estates, but only half succeeded. The House of Lords yielded a part of what was demanded, and the exemptions were modified. But the bill of Mr. Gladstone did not assail the great principle of life-tenure, which, Mr. Arnold remarks, is the bane of English agriculture.

The change in sentiment on the subject of land subdivision and small farms has undergone a radical change. A century ago Goldsmith, a thorough Englishman, mourned over the decay of the Yeomanry in memorable lines—but there was a revulsion of opinion after the French revolution, and the extensive subdivision of the soil among small holders which followed. It was considered that agriculture could not be successfully carried on upon small farms, that machinery could not, or would not be used. We remember to have heard that wise and universal observer, the great Albert Gallatin, express the opinion that this subdivision was one cause of French inferiority as an agricultural nation and a money power. Now the whole current of sentiment is in the other direction. The miracles of French industry and finance are attributed to the small holdings



and the direct interest of each cultivator in the land he tills. Radical changes of law in England can hardly be expected. The landholders will yield only when compelled. He can only be reached through taxation. Cobden warned the aristocracy against any factious opposition, and any attempt to reopen the question of tax exemptions.

The success of the system, based on the Individual, in force in France and America, in contradistinction to that based on the Family, as in England, is now showing itself in results so astounding that even the self-complacent Englishman must take notice of it.

It is not too much to say that but for the outlet for population, which the development of America and Australia have afforded since 1844, with the addition of cheap steam conveyance to stimulate emigration, the wave of revolution, checked in 1848, would have engulfed England as well as the Continent.

What is to be the final outcome of the militarism, which has taken possession of the European powers, it is hard to predict. It is safe to presume that the rapid conclusion of the spoliation Congress at Berlin was caused more by mutual fear of Socialist and Nihilist revolution than by any common accord between the great powers. The Tory party in England were quite ready to share in the plunder and commit the country to the new and dangerous policy, while the nation at large seems to have jumped eagerly at any settlement that averted present war. It is possible that by English militarism, the aristocracy, which means the landlords, may yet for a while maintain their extensive privileges. The final struggle in Europe between Democracy and Aristocracy, between right and privilege, is to be fought out on German soil. If the aristocracy prevail, there are those living who may see the English Government sustained, and the privileges of the British landholders maintained by Prussian bayonets.

VORTRAG ÜBER DEN MEXICANISCHEN CALENDER-STEIN, gehalten von Prof. PII. VALENTINI, am 30 April, 1878, in Republican Hall, vor dem Deutsch ges. wissenschaftlichen Verein. New York: A. MARRER & SOHN. 1878.

From the time when the so-called "Mexican Calendar-Stone" was unearthed from the Grand Plaza of the City of Mexico until now, the work of Gama has been considered as the authority on the subject. That writer taught that the stone in question was astronomical in its character, and also served the purpose of a sun dial. When his views were criticised and his interpretation challenged, he displayed a certain haugh-

tiness, and declined to notice the objections suggested. The author of the above lecture has re-examined the whole subject; this he has done with great thoroughness, and with a large knowledge of Mexican antiquities. As the result, he arrives at an entirely different conclusion from Gama's, and sets forth the theory that the stone was made for a sacrificial purpose, and formed a part of the altar which was raised upon the pyramid in the square of Mexico. The sculptures upon the stone are accepted as historic and chronological, with an arrangement of the Mexican year, divided into days, weeks and months. The author believes that this is the stone that was made by a well-known Mexican king in conformity with a vow, and that when the pyramid was destroyed by the Conquerors it was buried in the earth. The theory has been worked out with a surprising amount of labor, perseverance and ingenuity, and at the same time everything appears reasonable, and is not forced. Some of the author's deductions are quite remarkable, and if correct, they open a new chapter in American history; connect as he does the people of Mexico with the Old World stock in an unexpected way, and show that the chronological periods of the Old World and New are alike, at the same time indicating an identity of origin. This lecture forms only a part of an elaborate work, which it is understood that Mr. Valentini has in hand, but if we may judge of what is in store from this specimen we may reasonably anticipate a very original and valuable treatise, based upon correct methods of investigation. The lecture was delivered, the title indicates, before one of the German Unions of this city, and is accompanied by a correct representation of the stone, which is now preserved in the wall of the Cathedral of Mexico. These researches are not to be confounded with those of another writer on the same subject.

A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE MEXICAN SILVER DOLLAR OF THE UNITED STATES. 8vo, pp. 46. BY PHEN T. SOUDER, Philadelphia.

This brief pamphlet, in its new silver dollar edition, and presents on its closing page a view of the new piece, of the policy of issue of which such different opinions are held. It contains a history of the institution, with a full description of the manner in which gold, silver, nickel and copper are converted into money. Valuable tables of foreign coins are given, with their value in United States currency, together with other information in regard to the mint of general interest. The practical operations are here described in turn. The mint, besides its regular work, can turn out each month 1,750,000 of the new silver dollars, of which Mr. Sherman now has his hands full.

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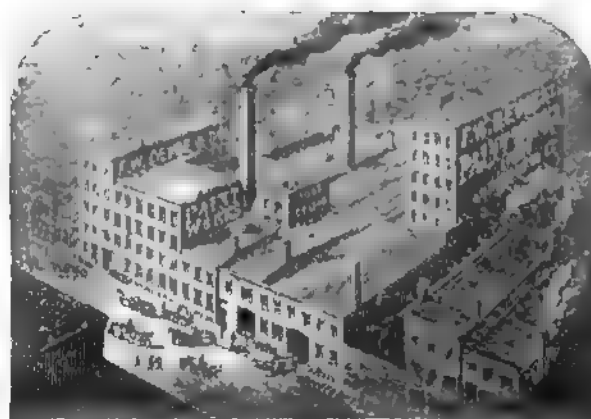
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WITH  
NOTES AND QUERIES

EDITED BY  
JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS

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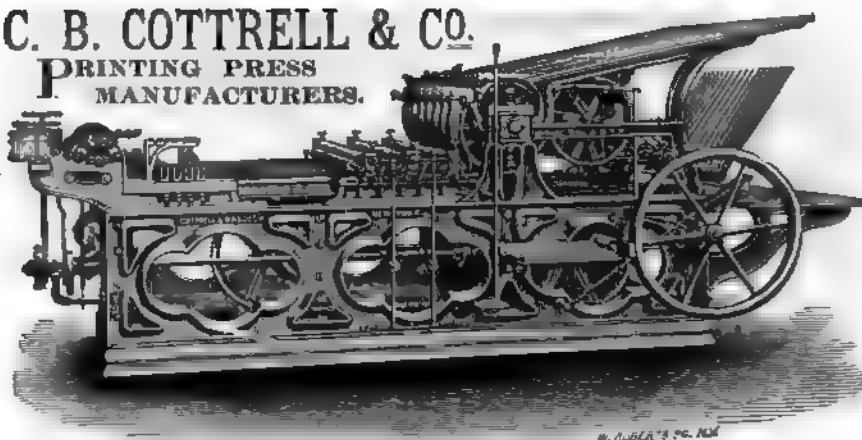
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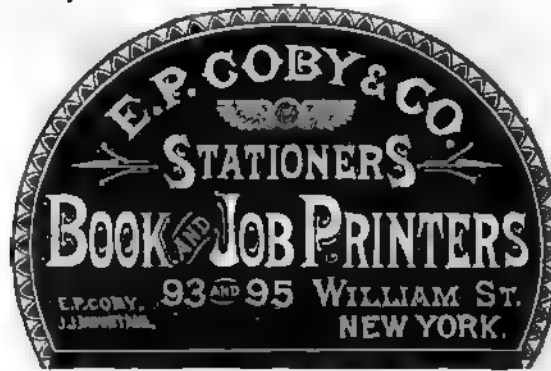
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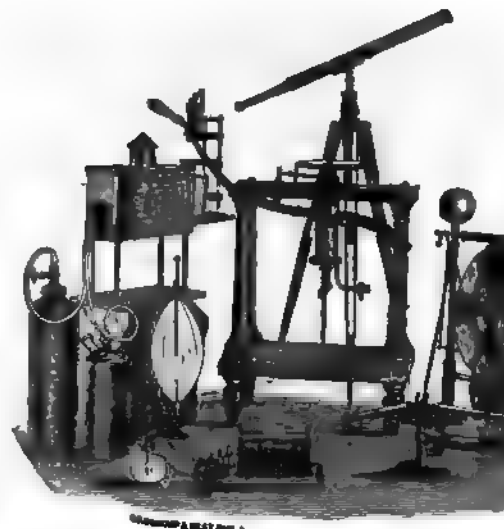
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